THE LIVES

Of ſundry Modern

Engliſh Divines,

Eminent

In their Generations for Learning, Piety, and painfulneſſe in the work of the Miniſtry, and for their Sufferings in the Cauſe of CHRIST, and an Aaccount of the First Persecutions.

By SAMUEL CLARKE Paſtor of *Bennet-Fink* LONDON.

Qui ſanctum virum imitatur, quaſi Exemplum aliquod intuetur, ſeſeque in illo quaſi ſpeculo proſpicit, ut adjiciat, quod deeſſe virtutis agnoſcit. Minus enim ſeipſum homo conſiderat: ſed dum alterum intendit, id quod minus eſt virtutis addidit.
Iſiod. de ſummo bono.

LONDON,
Printed by *T. Ratcliffe* and *E. Mottershed*, for *Thomas Underhill* and *John Rothwell* in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1651.

To his loving Friend Master CLARKE upon his *Lives* of these eminent DIVINES.

SAMUEL CLARKE.
Anagr.
Make us recall.

Make us recall the lives of Worthies dead,
(Herein thou art, blest soul, our learned *Clark.*)
In suffering times thereby to hold up head,
And live their lives, (Herein thou art our *Mark*)
To soare aloft their glories to ascend,
And sing such praises, (here thou art our *Larke*)
To live when we are dead, and so to end
Our Pilgrimage, and enter *Noah's Arke.*
Thy paines and pattern *Make us* to *recall.*
Their Graces, Gloryes, and their *Lives* withall.

John Hering, M^r. *of Arts, and*
Minister of Gods Word.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Christian Reader,

THou hast here presented to thy view that strange sight which so much astonished *Moses*, Exod. 3. 3. *A bush burning with fire, and not consumed*: A lively Emblem of the Church, oft times all on a light flame with the fire of Persecution, and yet so far from being consumed, that The bloud of the Martyrs proves the seed of the Church: And indeed she is the only, and true *Salamander*, that can live in the fire: Yet this, not by any strength of her own, but because the Angel of the Covenant, even the Lord Jesus Christ is in the bush, either to slack the fire, or to strengthen the bush, and make it incombustible. In this Book thou maiest see, as in a Mirror, what hath been the lot and portion of the Church and people of God from the Creation hitherto, *viz.* *Through many tribulations to enter into the kingdom of heaven.* Act. 14. 22. Here thou hast a certain and infallible mark of the true Church of Christ, *viz.* To be hated and persecuted by the devil and his instruments. Here thou maiest see what is the constant concommitant of the Gospel, when it is received in the love and power of it, *viz.* Persecution, according to that of the Apostle, *Ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction*, &c. 1 Thes. 1. 4. Neither yet is God an hard Master in dealing thus with his faithfull servants: He knows that heavy afflictions are the best benefactors to heavenly affections; and that grace is hid in nature here, as sweet water in rose leaves, which must have the fire of affliction put under to distill it out. He knows that when afflictions hang heaviest, corrupt affections hang loosest upon his children. Yet doth not the Lord afflict willingly, nor grieve the children

Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiæ.

Lam.3.33,34

dren of men, to crush under his feet all the prisoners of the earth: but he will hereby try who are his indeed and in truth, not in name and profession only: For as the Eagle tries her young ones by turning their faces to the sun beams, so those Christians that can outface the sun of Persecution, are sincere indeed.

One thing is very remarkable in this History, that usually before any great Persecution befell the Church, the holy men of those times observed that there was some great decay of zeal, and of the power of godlinesse, or some mutuall contentions and quarrels amongst the people of God, or some such sin or other that provoaked God against them; and then, as the shepherd sets his dog upon his sheep, when they go astray, to bring them in, and then rates him off again: So God lets loose wicked Persecutors upon his own children, but it's only to bring them in unto him; and then, he not only restrains their rage, but casts the rod into the fire. *If judgement begin at the house of God, what shall the end be of them that obey not the Gospel of God?* Much excellent use may be made of this History: As,

Isa.10.12. 1 Pet.4.17.

1. That whosoever will take Christ truly, must take his Crosse as well as his Crown, his Sufferings as well as his Salvation.

2. That Persecution is the bellows of the Gospel, blowing every spark into a flame; and that Martyrs ashes are the best compost to manure the Church, their bloud to water it, and make it fertill.

3. That Gods children are like Starres, that shine brightest in the darkest night: Like Torches that are the better for beating: Like Grapes that come not to the proof, till they come to the presse: Like Spices, that smell sweetest, when pounded: Like young Trees, that root the faster for shaking: Like Vines, that are the better for bleeding: Like Gold, that looks the brighter for scouring: Like Glow-worms, that shine best in the dark: Like Iuniper, that smels sweetest in the fire: Like the Pomander, which becomes more fragrant for chafing: Like the Palm tree, which proves the better for pressing: Like the Cammomile, which the more you tread it,

the

the more you ſpread it. Yea God knoweth that we are beſt, when we are worſt, and live holieſt, when we die faſteſt; and therefore he frames his dealing to our diſpoſition, ſeeking rather to profit, then to pleaſe us.

That when God expoſeth us to Perſecution, he expects our ſpeedy and thorow Reformation, if we deſire the affliction to be removed. For as it were to no purpoſe for the Finer to put his gold into the fire, except it lie there till it be refined: So were it to ſmall purpoſe for God to lay afflictions on us, if ſo ſoon as we whine and groan under his hand, he ſhould remove them, before we be bettered thereby. Whereas afflictions, like *Lots* Angels, will ſoon away, when they have done their errand. Like plaiſters, when the ſore is once whole, they will fall off of their own accord. 4.

That we ſhould with patience ſubmit to the afflicting hand of the all-wiſe God, and our merciſull Father, ſaying with the Church, *I will bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him*: Conſidering alſo that impatience under affliction, makes it much more grievous. As a man in a feavor, that by toſſing and tumbling, exaſperates the diſeaſe, and encreaſeth his own grief. 5. Micha 7.9.

That *all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution*. It hath been the portion of all the Saints, from the creation hitherto. *What ſon is there whom the Father chaſteneth not?* One ſon indeed God had without ſin, but not without ſorrow; for though Chriſt, his naturall Son, was *ſine corruptione*, without corruption, yet not *ſine correctione*, without correction; though he was *ſine flagitio*, without crime, yet not *ſine flagello*, without a ſcourge. And *if they did theſe things to the green tree, what ſhall be done to the dry?* And behold the wonderfull wiſdom of God herein? who by theſe afflictions ſeparates the ſinne that he hates, from the ſon that he loves, and keeps him by theſe thorns from breaking over into Satans pleaſant paſtures, that would fat him indeed, but to the ſlaughter. 6. 1 Tim. 3.12. Heb. 12.7. Luk. 23.31.

In this Book I have ſpoken nothing of the Perſecutions of the Church here in *England*, partly becauſe they are moſt of them ſo largely ſet down by M. *Fox*, in his Book of *Martyrs*;

but principally becauſe I intend (the Lord giving me leave) to write a diſtinct Book of them, wherein I ſhall adde many things, and contract and methodize the reſt, ſo as to make it the more profitable to every Reader.

In an *Appendix* to this Book, I have added the Lives of ſundry of our Modern Divines, which I conceive not to be heterogeniall to the reſt of the Work; for though they were not Martyrs, yet may they well be ſtiled Confeſſors, in regard of the great Perſecutions and Sufferings, which moſt of them met withall whileſt they lived here. And if any ask the reaſon why I have added no more? It is becauſe my intelligence comes in ſo ſlowly; and if ſuch as are able, will take the pains to inform me, I ſhall adde more to the end of my *Engliſh Martyrologie*. I hope that theſe my weak and poor endeavours will not prove ungratefull, nor be judged unſeaſonable, conſidering the times wherein we live. For if the ſame ſins abound amongſt us in theſe daies, which have been the forerunners of Perſecutions formerly; we have cauſe to fear the worſt, and to prepare for it; Forewarned, forearmed. The reading of this Hiſtory will manifeſt what wonderfull conſtancy and patience the Saints have ſhewed in their greateſt ſufferings; what hath been the power of Almighty God in their ſupport; and what miſerable ends many of their Perſecutors have come to. My hearty deſire is, That by reading of this Book, God may have the glory, and thy ſoul the comfort, and I ſhall be well appaied for my pains, Who am,

Premonitus premunitus.

Thine in the Lord,

From my Study in
Thridneedle-ſtreet,
March 25. 1651.

SA. CLARKE.

Πρὸς τὸν αἰδέσιμον ἄνδρα Σάμυήλ τὸν Κλάρκον.

Σαμυήλ Κλάρκος.

Ἀναγραμματικῶς

Κάλλος, Κῆρ, Μῦσα.

Τᾶ σεία ταῦτα χέι σέθεν ἔναρα φαίδιμε Κλάρκε.
Τοῖς πεποθητα βεότοις τὰ σεῖα ταῦτα χέει.
Κάλλος ἔχυσι πινες ὥσε βλεπόμενον ἀκμήεισι ἄνδρες.
Κηρὸς ἄκευ χάλλως χὴ μετέικοσι πινες.
Οἷσι χὴ ἀμφότερον μάλα παλλάκις εἰσὶν ἄμυστι.
Παύερις συλλήβδην ἡ σεία, ὅζιν ὅλη.
Ἐοσὶ σὺ τῶν πάυρων εἷς φίλε. τὸ σῶμα καλόν τε
Ρωμαλέοντε τεῖν χρησὶς ἔδωκαθέος.
Καὶ δῶκε χραδίαν πινυτὴν, βαθύπλυτον, ἀτειρῆ,
Περφρονα, φιλόφιλον, φιλόθεόν τε μάλα.
Καὶ δῶκεν μῦσαν πολυπείκελον, ἀνθεμόεσσαν.
Οἱ δημογέροι μάρτυρες εἰσὶ λόγοι.
Μάρτυρες αἱ ὠρότεραι ὥσε καλλέες εἰκόσι βίβλοι,
Αἷς πάλαι ἐκφανέες νῦν ἀναζῶσι νεκροὶ.
Μάρτυρες αἱ ὡρῶται πολυανθέες. ἄνδρα μέλισσαι
Ἄν πινα πις καλέσι καί σε μέλισσαι ἐρῆ.
Καὶ μάρτυρ παρέοσα βίβλος τοῖς Μάρτυσι πλήρης,
Οἵπερ ὑπὲρ Χεισῦ πάντα πεπόνθοντο καλά.
Καὶ τύποι ἐομένων ἐγένοντο. θανόντας ἐγείρει
Κείνυς, ἀθάνατον καί σε χαφοντα ποιεῖ.
Αὐτὸς ἔσι ποτὲ μάρτυρ ἰσως, σὺν πᾶσιν ἀδελφοῖς
Ἶφι καὶ εἰλικρινῶς ἀμφαγαπῶσι θεόν.
Αὐταρ ἐνὶ ξαθέοις σέο ζήσεται ὄνομα βίβλοις.
Ὄυνομα, Κάλλος, Κῆρ, Μῦσα, θαλεῖται ἀεί.

Thomas Dugard. A.M.
Rector Barfordia.

Πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν.

Ὠρύεται Σατανᾶς· ὤρυσεν λαίλαπα· πλοῖον
Κύμασι Χεισοφόρον σμερδαλέοισι πλάζη.
Χειζὶς ἀκύσει ἴσως, καὶ ἀγίυια νῆα σαώσει,
Εἰς τε καλὺς λιμένας θήσει, ἔκσαν ἕλιν.
Καὶ τυχὸν ἐκ ἐθέλει, κεφαλῆς ποτε δεινὰ παθόσης
Νηῒ σύμμορφα θέλων εἶναι ἅπαντα μέλη.
Ἥσυχος ὅτι βίος μόνος ἔυβιος. ὅζιν ἄναιμος
Καὶ μαλακὸς θάνατος μῦνος ὁ ἐυθάνατος.
Αὐτὰρ ἐὰν βίοτον μογερὸν, πολυτειρέα, δώσῃ,
Καὶ μόρον ἰδυκρίτης αἱματόεντα θεὸς,
Δεῖ γενναῖα φέρειν καὶ ζερρῶς, ὥσπερ ἔνεγκον
Μύριοι ἐν μικρῇ μάρτυρες ὡδὲ βίβλῳ.
Χιλίαδες τὸν Ἐρεσμον ἀγαπήσαντα πιθοῖσι,
Χιλιάδες Κλάρκον καὶ πολύτιμον ἔασι.
Σαὶ μάλα χιλιάδες παρακλητικαὶ ἄμμιν ἔασι.
Καιροῖς ἐν χαλεποῖς καίειος ὅτι βίβλος.

Tho. Dugard.

To the Reverend, the Author of the Book, CALLED *A Generall Martyrologie*, &c.

WHat? yet more Books? What ſpirit now inſpires
Your Pen to write of Torments, Warres and Fires?
What? Will that Pen that drew to th' Life before,
Change ſtile, draw Death, and ſpeak of Life no more?
What bluſtering Boreas rais'd theſe ſtormy Windes,
Which blew down Churches, ſhook the ſteddieſt Mindes?
Sure Hell's broke looſe, and Devils in the fleſh
Are come out thence to try their wits afreſh.
Who ever heard *Troy*'s ſtory with his ears,
And could reſtrain his eies from ſhedding tears?
I quake to hear what Saints in former daies
Ne're ſhook to feel, ſo they might win the Baies.
They conquered all: Their patient diſpoſition,
O'recame both Pope, and *Spaniſh* Inquiſition.
They conquered Kings, and won the Crown at laſt;
Preſt towards the Prize, forgetting what was paſt.
The Story's ſad; 'tis true, yet th' Authors skill
Hath made that pleaſant, which in't ſelf is ill.
Away long-winded Volumes, Times diſeaſe;
This Author doth our phanſies better pleaſe.
Large Books are endleſſe; but 'tis his deſign
T' encloſe great Volumes in his ſingle Line.

E. C.

To the Reverend Mr *Sa. Clarke*,
ON HIS
MARTYROLOGIE.

OH, Welcome home, Divine *Drake*, welcome home,
First girdle of the World of *Martyrdome*.
Who seeks for more, can no new thing descry,
Y' have left no room for new discovery.
These *Maps* and *Charts* you bring, nay every letter
Makes you the Worlds great Patron, it your Debtor.
To call't a Map doth but a part implie,
'Tis the whole Globe of *Martyrologie*.
Each Picture is a Map, each Figure breaths
A little Hist'ry of the Martyrs deaths.
Pisgah's too farre to see the *Holy-Land*,
Stand here on *Calvary*, and view't at hand.
Let others brag at large, whose fancy 'tis
To say A SAINT by a Periphrasis.
Who doth this Book of yours with theirs confer,
Findes *Saint* and *Martyr* in one Character.
Those (some there be) that differ from the rest
In judgement, and account short-writing best:
Those I am sure will praise you when they eye
Your skill in *Tachybagiography*.
Th'are many words make Volumes, do but look
And you shall see 'tis matter makes a Book.
All Volumes of this Subject here are set
As't were contracted in an *Alphabet*.
In characters, for brevity, 'tis good
That Vowels be by Cons'nants understood.
The least is best, if no essentiall be
Wanting to make't a perfect Entitie.
Man's but the World *Epitomiz'd*, but this
Compendium of *Saints* and *Martyrs* is.
Its commendation is it self, 'tis best
Though't were without this my *Probatum est*.

F. C.

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There



THere is lately come forth a Book called *Abel Redivivus*, or *The Lives of Modern Divines*, wherein there are threescore and nine Lives Printed *verbatim* out of my first Part of *The Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, and divers more, with very little variation; which I thought fit to give the Reader notice of, that so he may not be deceived in buying the same thing twice.

Errata.

PAg. 11. line 21. reade *force.* p. 23. l. 21. put in, *were brought forth.* p. 36. l. 35. r. *to cry.* p. 75. l. 3. r. *which.* p. 77. l. 33. r. *ſhe.* p. 161. l. 27. for *being*, r. *was.* p. 206. l. 36. put in, *to bring him.* p. 216. l. 9. for *which* r. *whom.* p. 262. l. 10. r. *Peckin.* p. 358. l. 25. r. *their.* p. 421. l. 36. r. *Hola? que nous dira ceſt' enfant icy?* p. 444. l. 21. r. *out-breaches.* p. 455. l. 20. for *hundred* r. *thouſand.* p. 476. l. 5. r. *Pupil.* Other literal faults are eaſily amended.

THE PERSECUTIONS mentioned in the Old Testament.

CHAP. I.

The Persecution of the Church in the first ages of the World, and so forward till the Incarnation of Christ.

THE first murtherer and Persecutor that was in the world was the Divel, and the first method and means that he made use of to carry on this persecution, was by subtilty and large promises, that by eating the forbidden fruit, they should have *their eyes opened, and should be as gods knowing good and evil:* and hereby he drew our first Parents from their obedience unto God, and cheated them of that blessed and happy estate which God had created them in. Since which time his enmity against the Church and Children of God hath never ceased: but by his *effectuall working in the children of disobedience,* he hath provoked and stirred up one man to be the persecutor and devourer of another: Thus he provoked *Cain* to rise up against, and to slay his brother *Abel*, and though the Scripture be silent how the wicked *Cainites*, the sons of men, behaved themselves towards the sons of God; yet doubtlesse they persecuted them with the tongue, if they proceeded no further. Can we imagine that *Noah*, that was *a Preacher of righteousnesse* in the midst of a perverse generation, could scape without hatred, scorn and contempt? How many jeers (think ye) had he whilest he was building the Ark, as doting and dreaming (not of a dry Summer, but) of a wet winter? the earth in his daies was said to *be corrupt and filled with violence*, which violence certainly was principally exercised against the Church of God:

Gen. 3. 5.

Gen. 4. 8. *Abel.*

Noah.

Gen. 6. 11.

Gen.9.22. *Lot.* *Iſaac.* *Jacob.* *Joſeph.*

And afterwards when the world was reduced to a very ſmall number, yet then Satan had his curſed *Ham* that perſecuted and mocked his own father, the righteous *Noah*. Was not *Lot* alſo perſecuted and ſcoffed at in *Sodom*? Gen.19.9. *Iſaac* in *Abrahams* houſe mocked by *Iſmael*? Gen. 21.9. Was not *Jacob* hated and perſecuted by his brother *Eſau*? Gen. 27.41. *Joſeph* by his brethren? *Gen.*37.4. and that becauſe *he brought unto his father their evil report*, ver.2. Was he not afterwards caſt into a pit by them? *ver.*24. Then ſold to the *Iſhmaelitiſh* Merchants, who carried him into *Egypt*, ver.28. There he was perſecuted by his whoriſh Miſtriſſe, *Gen.*39.17,18. Caſt into priſon, where *his feet were hurt with fetters, and he was laid in irons*, Pſal.105.18. But theſe were but ſmall perſecutions in compariſon of thoſe which followed.

The *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*.

For when the children of *Iſrael* were multiplied in *Egypt*; *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt* ſet over them taskmaſters to afflict them with their burdens, *Exod.* 1.11. thinking thereby to eat up, and wear them out: and when that prevailed not, they *made them ſerve with rigour, and they made their lives bitter with the hard bondage in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of ſervice in the field; all the ſervice wherein they made them ſerve was with rigour*, ver.13,14. And when this prevailed not, the King commanded the Midwives *Siphrah* and *Puah, when they did the office of a Midwife to the Hebrew women, and ſaw them upon the ſtools, if they were delivered of a ſon, they ſhould preſently kill him*, ver.15,16. and when theſe Midwives neglected his commands, he *charged all his people that every ſon that was born to the Iſraelites ſhould be caſt into the River* Nilus, *ver.*22.

Moſes.

Moſes was perſecuted by *Pharaoh*, who ſought to ſlay him; which cauſed him to fly into the Land of *Midian*, Exod.2.15. And when God ſent him back into *Egypt* to deliver his people from the houſe of bondage, how did *Pharaoh* perſevere and proceed in his perſecuting the people of God: he cauſed ſtraw to be taken from them, and yet the number of bricks to be continued, and when the task was not done, *the Officers of the children of Iſrael were cruelly beaten*, ver.14. And when God had brought out his people with an high hand from under the Tyranny of the *Egyptians*, and carried them into the wilderneſſe, how did Satan ſtirre up ſome ſons of *Belial* againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, even *Korah*, and his complices, two hundred and fifty Princes, who cried out againſt them; *Yee take too much upon you ſeeing all the Congregation are holy, even every one of them*, Numb.16.3. Afterwards when the children of *Iſrael* were ſetled in the land of *Canaan*, they were often grievouſly oppreſſed, and perſecuted by the wicked and Idolatrous nations that lived amongſt them, and round about them: as firſt by *Chuſhan-Riſhathaim* King of *Meſopotamia*, who tyrannized over them eight years, *Judg.*3.8. Then by *Eglon* King of *Moab*, who ſlew many of them, and oppreſſed them eighteen years, *ver.*13,14. Then by the *Philiſtines*, ver.32. Then were they mightily oppreſſed for twenty years together by *Jabin* King of *Canaan*, Judg.4.2,3. Then did the *Midianites* perſecute them with ſo much cruelty, that they were forced to forſake their houſes, and to make them dens and caves in the mountains, to

Moſes and *Aaron*.

Iſrael in the time of the Judges.

ſhelter

shelter and hide themselves from them, *Judg.*6.2. yea for seven years together they tyrannized over them; and when the *Israelites* had sowen their land, they came up in such multitudes, that they *destroyed the increase of the earth, and left no sustenance for Israel, neither sheep, nor oxe, nor asse,* ver.3,4. then the *Philistines* again, and the *Ammonites* Lorded it over *Israel,* and brought them into great distresse for eighteen years, *Judg.*10.8. After that the *Philistines* yet again oppressed them for forty years together, *Judg.*13.1. and afterwards they slew of them in two battels thirty four thousand, and carried away the Ark of God also, 1 *Sam.*4.2,10,11. Then in *Sauls* time, these *Philistines* so distressed *Israel,* that the people were forced *to hide themselves in caves and thickets, and in rocks, and in high places, and in pits*; yea some of them forsook their own countrey, *and fled beyond Jordan,* 1 Sam.13.6,7. and the land was so enslaved to them, that there was *not a smith to be found in Israel,* but the *Philistines* either slew them, or carried them away captives, so that the *Israelites* were fain to goe to the *Philistines* to have their instruments of husbandry set in order, *ver.*19,20.

Israel in *Saul's* time.

How *David* was persecuted by *Saul* all his time, the Scripture doth amply set forth, 1 *Sam.*19,*&c.* and was not he persecuted grievously, when cursed and railed upon by *Shimei,* 2 Sam.16.5,6,&c. The Church of God was afterwards persecuted under *Rehoboams* reign, by *Shishak* King of *Egypt,* who took *Jerusalem,* and carried away the Treasures of the Lords house, and of the Kings house into *Egypt.* And again under *Asa,* by *Baasha* King of *Israel,* 1 King.15.16. and by *Zerah* the *Ethiopian,* who came against *Judah with an Army of a thousand thousand men, and three hundred charets,* 2 Chron.14.9. Yea so malicious and subtill is Satan, that he sometimes stirs up one Saint to persecute another: as he stirred up good King *Asa* to persecute the Prophet of the Lord who dealt plainly and faithfully with him, by casting of him into prison, 2 *Chron.* 16.10.

David.

1 King.14.25, 26.

Judah under the Kings.

Asa persecutes a Prophet.

Michaiah also was persecuted and imprisoned by *Ahab,* 2 Chron.18. 25,26. Under *Jehosaphat* the Church of God was persecuted by the *Moabites, Ammonites* and *Edomites,* whom God destroyed by setting of them one against another, 2 *Chron.*20.23.

Michaiah.

Gods judgement on Persecutors.

Elijah was persecuted by *Ahab* and *Jezabel,* 1 King.18.10. and 19.2. The Prophets of the Lord were slain by *Jezabel,* 1 King.18.13. *Elisha* was hated and persecuted by *Jehoram.* 2 King.6.31. In the reign of this *Jehoram,* the *Philistines* and *Arabians* mightily oppressed *Judah,* 2 Chro.21. 16,17. Then *Athaliah* by murthering the Kings seed, usurpeth the Kingdom, and tyrannizeth five years, 2 *Chro.*22.10. *Joash* in his reign slayeth *Zechariah* for reproving of him, 2 *Chron.*24.21. The Church was oppressed at the same time by the *Syrians,* ver.23. and afterwards also in the reign of *Ahaz,* 2 Chron.28.5. and about the same time the King of *Israel* slew of *Judah* a hundred and twenty thousand, and carried away captive two hundred thousand men, women and children. *Judah* was also oppressed by the *Edomites,* ver.17. and by the *Philistines,* ver.18. and by the King of *Assyria,* ver.20. and chap.33.1. *Manasses* persecuted

Elijah.

Elisha.

Zechariah.

2 Chron.28.8.

Iſaiah. the Prophet *Iſaiah* for reproving him, and cauſed him to be ſawn aſunder with a woodden ſaw. *Joſephus.* Afterwards *Pharaoh Necho* tyrannized over *Judah*, 2 Chron. 36.3. and after him *Nebuchadrezzar*, v.6, &c.

Jer. 24.1, &c. and ſo the ſins of *Judah* being come to the full, the good figgs were carried away captive to *Babylon*, and the land afterwards was wholly laid

Jeremiah. waſte and deſtroyed: which being foretold by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, the wicked *Jews*, firſt perſecuted him with the tongue, *Jer.* 18.18. then was he ſmitten, and put into the ſtocks, *Jer.* 20.2. then was he in danger of death by the Prieſts and falſe Prophets, *Jer.* 26.8. then was he impriſoned by *Zedekiah*, Jer. 32.2,3. then he is beaten, and again put into priſon, *Jer.* 37.15. and after that caſt into a dungeon, where he ſtuck in the mire, *Jer.* 38.6. then by the wicked Captains he was carried into *Egypt*, *Jer.* 43.6,7. What grievous afflictions the Church and people of God endured about this time, ſee it ſet forth to the life in the book of the *Lamentations*,

The 3 Children. *Daniel.* *Mordecai.* In the time of the Captivity, the three Children were perſecuted by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and thrown into the fiery fornace, for refuſing to worſhip his golden Image, *Dan.* 3.23. *Daniel* was perſecuted by *Darius* his Courtiers, and caſt into the Lions den, *Dan.* 6.16. *Mordecai* was hated and perſecuted by *Haman*, and a Decree procured for the murthering of all the people of God in one day, *Eſth.* 3.13.

Iſrael after the Captivity. After the return of the Jews from captivity, the people of the Land laboured to weaken the hands of the men of *Judah*, and troubled them in the building of the Temple, and hired Counſellors againſt them to accuſe them to *Cyrus* and *Ahaſuerus*: they wrote alſo againſt them to *Artaxerxes*, that they were a rebellious people, and that if they ſhould be ſuffered to build *Jeruſalem*, they *would neither pay toll, tribute, nor cuſtom to the King*, Ezra 4.4, &c. and having by this malicious ſuggeſtion gotten authority, they came upon the poor people of God, and *enforced them to give over their work*. Yea, and afterwards, when by the command of the Lord, the *Jews* had again ſet upon the building, *Tatnai* and *Shether-Boſnai* came up to diſcourage and diſcharge them from it; and when this prevailed not, they wrote againſt them to King *Darius*. Again, when *Nehemiah* came to *Jeruſalem*, and began to build the wall

Nehe. 2.19. and 4.2,3,8. of the City, how were they ſcorned and jeered by *Sanballat*, *Tobiah* and *Geſhem*? And when the work proſpered in their hands, and jeers would not prevail to ſtop it, they then conſpired to fight againſt *Jeruſalem*, and ſo to hinder it; but neither that prevailing, by reaſon of the prudent carriage of *Nehemiah*,

Nehemiah. they then ſought to entrap him, and by deſtroying him, to hinder the work, *Nehe.* 6.2. Then they accuſed the people of God of treaſon and rebellion, *ver.* 6, *&c.* Then they hired a falſe Prophet to terrifie *Nehemiah*, ver. 10,12. Then they corrupted, and held intelligence with ſome of the Nobles of *Judah* to betray him; notwithſtanding all which deſignes, God preſerveth *Nehemiah*, and the building of *Jeruſalem* is finiſhed. And thus farre the ſacred Scriptures of the Old Teſtament have given us a certain Regiſter of the Perſecutions, Martyrdomes and ſufferings of the Church and children of God for

the

the ſpace of about three thouſand, five hundred years, from the Creation of the world, to the Reſtauration of the *Jewiſh* Politie under *Nehemiah*.

Chap. II.

The Perſecution of the Church from Nehemiah *to* Antiochus *his time*.

After the death of *Eliaſhib* the High-Prieſt, *Judas* his ſonne ſucceeded, and after him *John* his ſonne, which *John* had a brother called *Jeſus*, who was much favoured by *Bagoſes* Generall of *Artaxerxes*, who promiſed him the Prieſthood, which made him take occaſion to quarrel with his brother *John*, who thereby was ſo much provoked againſt him, that he ſlew him in the Temple; *Bagoſes* being informed hereof, came with his Army to *Jeruſalem*, and kept the *Jews* in bondage ſeven years, making them tributaries, ſo that before they could offer their daily ſacrifice, they were compelled to pay for every Lamb, fifty Drachmes. After the death of *John*, *Jaddus* his ſonne ſucceeded in the Prieſthood, in whoſe time *Alexander* the Great paſſed over the *Helleſpont*, and having overcome the Lieutenant of *Darius*, he conquered many countries in *Aſia minor*, intending ſuddenly to come upon *Jeruſalem*: *Jaddus* being informed of his intention, was ſore afraid; he therefore offered ſacrifice, and commanded the people to make their prayers unto God, for direction and protection in this common danger: and when he heard that *Alexander* approached, he cauſed the Prieſts and people to put on white garments, and himſelf, attired in his Prieſtly robes, went before them; when *Alexander* eſpied them, he himſelf marched before the reſt of his company, and coming to the High-Prieſt, he fell down on his face before him: then did all the Jews circle him in round about, and with one voice ſaluted him. *Alexanders* chief Commanders were wonderfully aſtoniſhed at this deportment of the King, and thought he was out of his wits: and *Parmenio* ſtepping to him, asked him, what he meant thus to adore the High-Prieſt of the Jews, whenas all other men adored him; *Alexander* anſwered, I doe not adore him, but that God whom the High-Prieſt worſhippeth; for in my ſleep I ſaw him in ſuch an habit when I was in *Macedonia*, conſulting with my ſelf how I might conquer *Aſia*; and he bad me to make no delay, aſſuring me that he would both guide me and my Army, and would deliver the Empire of the *Perſians* into my hands: Then gave he the High-Prieſt his hand, and went with him to the City, and coming to the Temple, he offered ſacrifice according to the direction of the High-Prieſt; then did *Jaddus* ſhew him *Daniels* prophecy, wherein his victories over the *Perſians*, and his Monarchy were foretold, which much rejoyced *Alexander*: then did he command the *Jews* to ask ſome favours at his hands: the High-Prieſt requeſted only that they might

The *Jews* perſecuted by *Bagoſes*.

Prayer in times of danger.

live after the Ordinances of their forefathers, and that every ſeventh year they might be exempted from taxes and tributes, which he fully granted: they beſought him likewiſe that the Jews which were in *Media* and *Babylon*, might be permitted to live after their own Laws, which he willingly promiſed, and ſo departed: this was about the year of the world 3632. and before Chriſts nativity 332.

After the death of *Alexander*, his Kingdom was divided amongſt his Captains, amongſt whom, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* held *Egypt*, who falling out with *Antigonus* that held *Aſia minor*, there grew great wars between them, wherein *Ptolemy* won from him all *Syria*, and going to *Jeruſalem* on a Sabbath day under pretence to offer ſacrifice, the Jews ſuſpecting nothing, he ſurpriſed the City, carrying away many of the Jews into captivity into *Egypt*: but after his death, his ſon *Ptolemy Philadelphus* at his own coſt redeemed an hundred and twenty thouſand of them, paying twelve Crowns apeece for each of them, and ſent them back into their own countrey: He ſent alſo by them fifty talents of gold for the Temple, and obtained of *Eleazer* the High-Prieſt, the Law of the Jews, and 72 Interpreters (out of every Tribe ſome) who tranſlated it into Greek in 72 daies: and having finiſhed their work, *Ptolemy* returned them with great rewards for themſelves, and with many rich preſents to *Eleazer*.

Antiochus and *Ptolemy* being at war each againſt other, the Jews ſuffered much by them, *Mach.* 1.

Collected out of *Joſephus*.

Chap. III.

The perſecution of the Church of God under Antiochus Epiphanes, *before the nativity of Chriſt about* 168 *years.*

Apoſtates.

Afterwards the Jews being divided amongſt themſelves, one part of them went to *Antiochus*, telling him that their purpoſe was to forſake the Religion and Ordinances of their forefathers, and to follow that of the Kings, and to live after the manner of the Greeks, entreating him to licenſe them to live in *Jeruſalem*; which *Antiochus* aſſenting to, they went to *Jeruſalem*, where they behaved themſelves very wickedly: but finding oppoſition from the other party of the Jews, they ſent for *Antiochus*, who led his army againſt *Jeruſalem*, and encamped before it, and by his faction within, had the gates opened, and the City betraied to him, about the year of the world 3796. and before the nativity of Chriſt 168.

Antiochus entred *Jeruſalem*.

Being entred *Jeruſalem* he ſlew many of the faithfull *Jews*, and having taken great ſpoils, he returned back to *Antioch*.

Two

Two years after he came to *Jeruſalem* again, and having ſeen what quantity of gold was in the Temple, and what a huge number of preſents and precious ornaments were in the ſame, he was ſo overcome with covetouſneſſe, that he violated all conventions and conditions formerly made, equally raging againſt his own and the adverſe party, ſparing neither friend nor foe: then he ſpoiled the Temple, and carried away the Veſſels dedicated unto God, the golden Table, the golden Candleſtick, the Cenſers, *&c.* leaving nothing behinde him of any value; yea he inhibited the godly *Jews* to offer their uſuall and daily ſacrifices to God; and having ſpoiled the whole City, he ſlew many of the inhabitants, and carried the reſt away into Captivity, with their Wives and Children, to the number of ten thouſand: He alſo burned the faireſt buildings of the City, and brake down the wals, and raiſed a Fortreſſe in the lower City, and having incloſed it with high wals, he planted a Gariſon of *Macedonians* therein, with whom remained the ſcum of the Apoſtate *Jews*. He alſo cauſed an Altar to be erected in the Temple, on which he commanded Swine to be offered in ſacrifice, contrary to the Law.

Antiochus robs the Temple.

Forbiddeth the daily ſacrifice.

He conſtrained the *Jews* to forſake God, and adore thoſe Idols which himſelf worſhipped: he forbad them to Circumciſe their children, and appointed overſeers to conſtrain them to fulfill his commandments, ſo that many for fear of puniſhment conformed themſelves to his will: But ſuch as were of upright hearts and valiant mindes, little reſpected his menaces; whereupon they were beaten, and expoſed to cruel puniſhment many daies together, in the midſt of which they yielded up the ghoſt: For after they were whipt, and maimed in their bodies, they were tortured and crucified; the women were ſtrangled, and the circumciſed children were hung about the necks of their parents: and where any books of the ſacred Scripture were found, they defaced and burnt them, and ſuch with whom they were found, were put to moſt cruel deaths.

His cruelty.

Chriſtian courage.

The Scriptures burnt.

At this time there dwelt at *Modin* (a Village of *Jury*) one whoſe name was *Matthias*, a Prieſt of the rank of *Joarib*, that had five ſons, *John* called *Gaddis*, *Simon* called *Matthes*, *Judas* called *Maccabeus*, *Eleazer* called *Aaron*, and *Jonathan* called *Apphus*. This *Matthias* often complained to his ſons of the miſerable ſtate of their Country, of the ſack of their City, the profanation of the Temple, and the miſeries of the people, telling them that it was better for them to die for the Law, then to live in ignominy. When therefore the Kings Commiſſaries came unto *Modin*, and commanded the people to ſacrifice according to the Kings Edict: They firſt applied themſelves to *Matthias*, as to the moſt Honourable perſon amongſt them, requiring him firſt to offer ſacrifice, that others might follow his example, promiſing that the King would much honour him for it. *Matthias* anſwered that he would by no means commit that Idolatry, aſſuring them, That though all other Nations, either for love or fear, ſhould obey the Edicts of *Antiochus*, yet that he, nor his children could be induced to forſake the Religion

Matthias his zeal.

A noble reſolution.

Religion of their fathers: As ſoon as he had thus ſpoken, a certain *Jew* ſtepped forth to offer ſacrifice according to the command of the King, wherewith *Matthias* inflamed with zeal, was ſo diſpleaſed, that he and his ſons fell upon him, and with their ſwords hewed him to pieces; he alſo ſlew *Apelles* the Kings Captain, and ſome other ſouldiers, who would have withſtood him. Then he overthrew the Altar, and with a loud voice, he ſaid, *If any one be affected to the Laws of their fathers, and to the ſervice of God, let him follow me?* and ſo he retired into the deſerts with his ſons; the like did the reſt, with their wives and children, hiding themſelves in caves and dens. The Kings Captains having intelligence hereof, with the Gariſon that was in the Citadell at *Jeruſalem*, they purſued them into the deſert, and having overtaken them, they firſt endeavoured by perſwaſions to draw them to Idolatry; but the *Jews* abſolutely refuſing to yield to their wicked wils, reſolved rather to die then to ſubmit to them, and to commit ſuch impiety; whereupon theſe bloudy perſecutors aſſailed them on the Sabbath day, and burned them in their caves, who neither reſiſted their enemies, nor cloſed up the mouths of their caves, ſuppoſing it to be a violation of the Sabbath, if they ſhould fight or work upon that day: ſome thouſands of men, women, and children were there ſtifled; yet divers eſcaped, who joined themſelves with *Matthias*, and choſe him for their Captain. Then did he inform them, that they ought to fight on the Sabbath day, if they were aſſailed by their enemies, and prevailed with them not to be guilty of their own death, by their neglect to defend themſelves; and ſo having aſſembled a ſufficient number, he deſtroied the Altars, and ſlew thoſe that had forſaken their Religion: commanding others to Circumciſe their children, and driving thoſe from every place, whom *Antiochus* had ſet to ſee his Laws executed. But when he had thus governed one year, he fell ſick, and perceiving his end to approach, he called his ſons, and exhorted them to follow his ſteps in maintaining the Law of God, and fighting for their countrey, telling them, that then they ſhould have God for their aſſiſter, who will not forſake thoſe that love and fear him, but taking pleaſure in their vertues, will once more grant them favour to recover their former peace and liberty; and ſaith he, *God will eſtabliſh you in the poſſeſſion of your ancient Laws; and though our bodies be mortall, and ſubject unto death, yet the memory of our vertuous actions is enfranchiſed by immortality; make therefore no difficulty to hazard your lives in ſo good a cauſe: But above all things I exhort you unto concord, and in whatſoever any one of you ſhall be found more naturally apt and fitted then another, he may proſecute the ſame without any contradiction from the reſt: I charge you to obey your brother* Simon *(who is a Politick and valiant man) in whatſoever he ſhall counſel you: but make* Judas *your Captain, who is both valiant and ſtrong, for he ſhall revenge the injuries and outrages which have been done to our nation, and ſhall put our enemies to flight; ſecond him therefore with men of valour, and ſuch as fear God, and by this means you ſhall be ſure to prevail.*

Zeal.

The *Jews* murthered refuſing to fight on the Sabbath day.

Matthias his ſickneſſe.

His counſel to his ſons.

His death.

Chap. IV.

The Life of Judas Maccabeus.

After *Matthias* his death, *Judas* took upon him the government of the wars, and by the help of his brethren, and other *Jews*, he drave the enemies out of the countrey, purging the land of all the uncleanneſſe that had been brought into it. But when *Apollonius*, who was *Antiochus* his Generall in *Samaria*, heard of it, he gathered his Army together, and invaded *Judea*, againſt whom *Maccabeus* went forth, and after a terrible battel, overthrew him, ſlew *Apollonius* and many of his ſouldiers, took his Camp, and therein a very rich booty; and *Judas* gat *Apollonius* his ſword for his part in the ſpoil. Then *Seron* Governour of *Cæloſyria* gathered all his forces together, and hired many Apoſtate *Jews* to join with him, and ſo marched againſt *Judas* as far as *Bethoron*: *Judas* alſo advanced towards him, but when he perceived that his ſouldiers were unwilling to fight, by reaſon of the inequality of their numbers, and for that they had eaten no meat, but had faſted for a long time, he encouraged them, ſaying, that the means to obtain the victory conſiſted not in the greatneſſe of their number, but in their devotion towards God; whereof they had evident examples in their forefathers, who with a ſmall number, had often defeated many thouſands of their enemies, *&c.* Hereby he ſo prevailed with his ſouldiers, that dreadleſſe of the number of their enemies, they all together ran upon *Seron*, and after a cruel fight, routed his Army, and ſlew him, together with eight hundred of the *Syrians*; the reſt eſcaped by flight.

Apollonius ſlain.

Judas encouraged his ſouldiers.

Seron ſlain.

Antiochus hearing of theſe things, was highly diſpleaſed, and therefore he aſſembled all his forces, and hired many mercenaries; but having muſtered his Army, he found that his treaſure failed him to pay ſo great a multitude; whereupon he reſolved firſt to go into *Perſia*, to gather up his tributes: and in the mean time he made *Lyſias* his Vicegerent, a man of great eſteem with him, and one that governed all the countries from *Euphrates* to the borders of *Egypt*: with him he alſo left ſome Elephants, and part of his Army, commanding him expreſly, that when he had conquered *Judea*, he ſhould make the inhabitants thereof his ſlaves, and ſell them to thoſe that would give moſt for them, and that he ſhould deſtroy *Jeruſalem*, and utterly aboliſh that race. *Lyſias* having received this commandment, ſent *Ptolemy*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* (men of great authority about the King) with an Army of forty thouſand Foot, and ſeven thouſand Horſemen, to invade *Jury*; who marching as far as the City *Emmaus*, encamped in the field, and increaſed their Army with many *Syrians* and Apoſtate *Jews*. There came alſo divers Merchants along with them to buy the priſoners that ſhould be taken, bringing gins along with them to manacle

Antiochus his cruel command.

the priſoners withall. *Judas* having viewed the Camp, and number of his enemies, encouraged his ſouldiers, exhorting them to repoſe their confidence and hope of victory in God: he alſo appointed a Faſt, that they might humble themſelves, and call upon God, by ſupplications and praiers for ſucceſſe in ſuch an extream danger. Then he told them that God would have compaſſion upon them, and give them ſtrength to ſtand againſt their enemies, and to put them to ſhame. The next day he marſhalled his Army by thouſands and by hundreds, and ſent away all that were newly married, or that had lately bought poſſeſſions, according to the Law. And then he ſaid unto the reſt: *My countrymen and companions, we never yet had any occaſion more neceſſary, wherein we ought to expreſſe our courages, and contemn dangers, then at this preſent: for now if you fight valiantly, you may recover your liberties, which ought the more to be priſed, becauſe thereby you may win opportunity to ſerve God, and ſo live an happy life: but if you prove cowards in the fight, you ſhall be branded with perpetuall infamy, and hazard the utter extirpation of our nation. Think therefore, that if you fight not, you muſt die: and on the contrary, aſſure your ſelves, that in fighting for your Religion, Laws and Liberty, you ſhall obtain immortall glory: be ready therefore, that to morrow morning you may bid your enemies battel.* Immediatly news was brought him, that *Gorgias* with five thouſand foot and a thouſand horſemen, was ſent forth under the conduct of ſome fugitives, by night to fall upon him; whereupon he reſolved the ſame night to break into the enemies Army whileſt they were thus divided. Having therefore refreſhed himſelf and Army, leaving many fires in his Camp, he marched all night to ſeek out the enemy. *Gorgias* finding that the *Jews* had forſaken their Camp, conceited that for fear they were fled into the mountains, and therefore he reſolved to ſearch them out diligently. But in the morning, *Judas* accompanied only with three thouſand men, and thoſe ill armed becauſe of their poverty, ſhewed himſelf to the enemies that were at *Emmaus*, and having viewed their warlike diſcipline, and mighty number, and how well they were encamped, he encouraged his followers to fight valiantly, telling them, that God would deliver their enemies into their hands; and thereupon cauſing his Trumpets to ſound, he ruſhed in upon his enemies with ſuch fury and reſolution, as altogether affrighted and diſcouraged them; and having ſlain ſuch as reſiſted, he purſued the reſt as farre as the plains of *Idumæa*, &c. In this fight about three thouſand of the enemies were ſlain; yet would he not ſuffer his ſouldiers to take the ſpoil, telling them that as yet they were to fight with *Gorgias* and his Army, but ſo ſoon as they had through Gods mercy with the like valour beaten them, they might then ſecurely enrich themſelves by the prey of all their enemies. *Gorgias* with his Army being upon an hill, and diſcovering the flight of their friends, and the *Jews* readineſſe to give them battell, were ſo affrighted, that they alſo fled; whereupon *Judas* with his men returned to gather the pillage, and having found great ſtore of gold, ſilver, ſcarlet and purple, he returned to his dwelling with joy, praiſing God for their happy ſucceſſe.

Faſting and prayer before the battel.

His exhortation to his Army

A wonderfull victory.

Gorgias flies.

Thankſgiving.

Lyſias

Lysias hearing of this overthrow was much enraged, and presently assembled another Army of neer sixty thousand chosen foot, and five thousand horsemen, wherewith he went to invade *Judæa*, and encamped in *Bethsura*: *Judas* hearing of it, came forth against him with ten thousand men, and seeing the number of his enemies so farre to exceed his, he earnestly cried unto God, that it would please him to fight with, and for him; and then charged the vanguard of the enemy with so great force, that he discomfited, and slew about five thousand of them: *Lysias* perceiving hereby the resolution of the *Jews*, who would rather die then lose their liberty, he returned with the rest of his Army unto *Antioch*: where he continued, and entertained many mercenaries, to make a greater Army for the conquest of the *Jews*: In the mean time *Judas* assembled the people, and told them, that having obtained so many victories through the mercy of God, they ought now to goe up to *Jerusalem*, and purifie the Temple that was desolate, and to offer unto God the sacrifices that were ordained by the Law. Then going up with a great multitude of people, he found the Temple desolate, the gates burned, and grasse growing within the same: grieving therefore at so sad a spectacle, he began to weep, and all the people that were with him, and having chosen out some of his best souldiers, he commanded them to enforce the garisons which were in the fortresses, whilest himself purged the Temple. Then he caused to be made a Table, a Candlestick and Altar for incense, all of gold; he put up a rail also, and set gates to the Temple: and having thrown down the Altar of burnt-offerings that was profaned by *Antiochus*, he built a new one of stones neither hewed nor hammered: Then on the 25th of *Chasleu* [*September*] were lights set in the Candlestick, perfumes laid upon the Altar, loaves set upon the Table, and sacrifices offered upon the new Altar, which was the same day three years wherein before the sacred service was changed into profane and hatefull impiety. Then did *Judas* with his country-men celebrate a feast unto the Lord for eight daies, praising God with *Hymns* and *Psalms*. He enclosed the City also with a wall, and built high Towers thereon, in which he planted Garisons against the incursions of the enemies. He fortified also the City of *Bethsura*, that it might serve as a fort against the enemy.

Prayer.

Lysias beaten.

The Temple cleansed.

The service of God restored.

But the nations round about them, being greatly displeased with this prosperity of the *Jews*, oppressed divers whom they surprised by ambushes and treachery; whereupon *Judas* warred against them to hinder their incursions: he slew many of the *Idumæans*, and brought away a great prey out of their country, and shut up the sonnes of *Baan* their Prince, who lay in wait for the *Jews*, and after a siege, he overcame them, setting fire on their Towers, and killing all the men that were therein. After this he made warre upon the *Ammonites*, who had a mighty Army under the conduct of *Timotheus*: with these he fought and overcame them, and took their City of *Jazor*, and burned it, leading their wives and children into captivity, and so returned into *Judæa*: But the neighbouring nations hearing of his departure, assem-

The *Edomites* overcome.

The *Ammonites* overcome

bled themſelves together againſt the *Jews* in *Galaad*, who retiring into the fort of *Dathema*, ſent to *Judas*, requeſting him to come and relieve them; and whileſt he was reading their Letters, other meſſengers came out of *Galile*, informing him that they were aſſaulted by the inhabitants of *Ptolomais*, *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, and others thereabouts. Hereupon *Judas* commanded his brother *Simon* to take three thouſand choſen men, and with them to relieve thoſe *Jews* that were aſſailed in *Galile*: and himſelf with his brother *Jonathan*, accompanied with eight thouſand fighting men, marched into *Galaad*, leaving the reſt of his forces under two other Captains, whom he commanded to have a watchfull eye over *Judæa*, yet not to join battell with any one till his return. *Simon* in *Galile* fought againſt his enemies, diſcomfited them, purſued them to the gates of *Ptolemais*, and ſlew about three thouſand; and having gathered their ſpoils, he releaſed many *Jews* that were priſoners, reſtored their goods to them, and ſo returned home. But *Judas* having paſſed *Jordan*, and marched three daies journey, he met the *Nabatheans*, who told him that his brethren were beſieged in their Caſtles and Cities, and ſome of them were already brought into great extremity and penury: Hereupon he firſt aſſailed the inhabitants of *Boſra*, took their City, ſet it on fire, and killed all the men that were able to bear arms; then marching all night, he came early in the morning to the Caſtle, where the *Jews* were beſieged by *Timothies* Army. The enemies were juſt then raiſing their ladders to ſcale the walls, and applying their engins for battery: Then did he encourage his men to fight valiantly for their brethren that were in danger, and cauſing his Trumpets to ſound, he diſtributed his forces into three battalions, wherewith he aſſaulted the enemies: but they, hearing that it was *Maccabæus*, were ſtrook with ſo great a fear, that immediatly they fled: *Judas* with his men purſuing of them, ſlew about eight thouſand, and then marching to *Malla* [a City of the enemies] he ſurpriſed it, ſlew all the men therein, and burnt it with fire; after which he deſtroyed *Chaſpomo*, *Boſor*, and divers other places.

Simons victories in *Galile*.

Judas taketh *Bozra*.

Overcometh *Timothy*.

Shortly after *Timothy* leavied another great Army, hired many of the *Syrians*, and drew forth all his allies to his aſſiſtance; with theſe he marched to *Jordan*, exhorting them valiantly to oppoſe the *Jews*, and to hinder their paſſage over the river, telling them that if the *Jews* gat over, they were ſure to be put to the worſt: *Judas* hearing hereof, marched haſtily againſt his enemies, and having paſſed the river, he preſently ſet upon them, killing ſome, and grievouſly affrighting the reſt, who caſting away their arms, immediatly fled; ſome of them to ſave themſelves fled into a Temple called *Carnain*, but *Judas* having taken the City and Temple, ſlew them and burnt the ſame. Then did he lead away with him all the *Jews* that lived in *Galaad*, together with their wives, children and ſubſtance, and brought them into *Judæa*.

Timothy again overcome.

When he drew near to the Town of *Ephron*, they had baricadoed up his way that he could not paſſe: then did he ſend Ambaſſadors to them, to deſire them to open his paſſage; which when they refuſed, he

he beſieged the City, took it by aſſault, burned it down, and ſlew all the men that were therein. After having paſſed over *Jordan* they came into *Judæa* with great joy and gladneſſe, praiſing God, and offering ſacrifices of thankſgiving to him, for the ſafe return of his Army; for that in all thoſe battels and encounters, he had not loſt one *Jew*.

Ephron deſtroyed. Thankſgiving for victory. A miracle of mercy.

But whileſt *Judas* and *Simon* were gone upon theſe expeditions, the two Captains which he had left for the Gariſons of *Judæa*, being deſirous to obtain the reputation of valiant men, took their forces, and went towards *Jamnia*; againſt whom *Gorgias*, Governour of that place, iſſued out, and ſlew two thouſand of them; the reſt fled to *Judæa*.

Vain-glory puniſhed.

Afterwards *Judas* and his brethren warred againſt the *Idumæans*, took divers of their Cities, and with a great booty returned home with great joy. *Antiochus* in the mean time being in *Perſia*, heard of a wealthy City called *Elymais*, in which was a rich Temple of *Diana*, *&c.* thither he went, and beſieged it, but the inhabitants ſallied out, and with great loſſe drave him from thence, whereupon he returned to *Babylon*: There alſo news was brought unto him of the overthrow of his Captains in *Judæa*, and that the *Jews* were grown ſtrong; which together with his former defeat, ſo wrought upon him, that he fell ſick, and finding no hope of recovery, he called his moſt familiar friends to him, and told them that his ſickneſſe was violent and deſperate, and that he was plagued with this grievous affliction, for that he had tormented the people of the *Jews*, deſtroid their Temple, committed horrible ſacriledge, and contemned the reverence of God; but now he vowed, that if it would pleaſe the Lord to reſtore him, he would become a *Jew*, and doe many great things for the people of God; as alſo that he would goe through all the known world to declare the power of God. Notwithſtanding which, the Lord knowing his hypocriſie, continued to plague him after a terrible manner: he had a remedileſſe pain in his bowels, and intollerable torments in all his inward parts: His body bred abundance of worms, which continually crawled out of the ſame: yea he ſo rotted above ground, that by reaſon of the intollerable ſtink, no man could endure to come near him, neither could he himſelf endure the ſame: and thus this vile perſon, who had formerly in a proud and inſolent manner, proteſted that he would make *Jeruſalem* a common burying place, and the ſtreets thereof to run with the bloud of Gods people; by Gods juſt judgement ended his life in extream miſery: but before his death, he called *Philip* one of his chief Captains, and made him governour of his Kingdom, requiring him to be very carefull of his ſonne *Antiochus*.

The *Idumæans* overcome.

Antiochus his horrible death.

Gods judgements on Perſecutors.

Then was *Antiochus* proclaimed King, and ſirnamed *Eupator*: About which time the Gariſons and Apoſtates that were in the Fortreſs at *Jeruſalem*, did much miſchief to the *Jews*; for ſetting unawares upon thoſe that came to the Temple to worſhip, and to offer their ſacrifices, they ſlew them: Hereupon *Judas* reſolved to cut off theſe Gariſons, and to that end he aſſembled all the people, and beſieged them, and having made certain Engines, and raiſed divers Rams, he earneſt-

Antiochus Eupator.

ly profecuted the ſiege: but divers of thoſe Apoſtates eſcaping by night, went to *Antiochus*, deſiring him not to ſuffer them to periſh, who for his fathers ſake, had forſaken their Religion, *&c.* Then did *Antiochus* ſend for his Captains, commanding them to raiſe a mighty Army, which accordingly they did, gathering together a hundred thouſand footmen, and twenty thouſand horſmen, and thirty two Elephants; with theſe Forces he departed out of *Antioch*, and made *Lyſias* Generall of his Army: Then did he beſiege *Bethſura*, a ſtrong City, but the inhabitants valiantly reſiſted him, and ſallying out, burned his Engines which he had prepared for battery. The King continuing the ſiege for a long time, *Judas* hearing of it, raiſed his ſiege from before the Caſtle of *Jeruſalem*, and marched towards *Antiochus* his Army, and when he came neer to the enemies Camp, he lodged his Army in certain ſtreights called *Beth-zacharia*.

Bethſura beſieged.

The King hearing thereof, raiſed his ſiege from *Bethſura*, and marched towards the ſtreight where *Judas* with his Army was; The King firſt cauſed his Elephants to march thorow the ſtreight; about each Elephant were a thouſand Footmen, and a hundred Horſemen for his guard, each Elephant carried a Tower on his back, furniſhed with Archers: the reſt of his Forces he cauſed to march two waies by the mountains, commanding them with huge ſhouts and cries to aſſail their enemies, and to uncover their golden and brazen bucklers, that the reflection thereof might dazle the eies of the *Jews*; yet was not *Judas* at all amated, but entertained the Army with a noble courage, ſlaying about ſix hundred of the forlorn hope: But *Eleazer*, *Judas* brother, ſeeing a huge Elephant armed with royall trappings, ſuppoſing that the King was upon him, he ran againſt him with a noble courage, and having ſlain divers that were about the Elephant, he thruſt his ſword into the belly of the beaſt, ſo that the Elephant falling upon him, ſlew him with his weight.

Eleazer ſlew, and is ſlain by an Elephant.

Judas ſeeing the great ſtrength of his enemies, retired back to *Jeruſalem*; and *Antiochus* ſent back part of his Army againſt *Bethſura*, and with the reſt he marched on towards *Jeruſalem*. The *Bethſurites* deſpairing of relief, and their proviſions failing them, ſurrendred their City, having the Kings oath that no outrage ſhould be offered to them, yet he thruſt them out of the City, and placed a Gariſon in it. He ſpent alſo a long time in beſieging the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, they within defending it gallantly; for againſt every Engine that the King erected, they ſet up a contrary Engine: Their only want was of victuals, becauſe (it being the ſeventh year) the land had not been tilled; whereupon divers of them fled away ſecretly, ſo that very few remained for the defence of the Temple. But behold the good providence of God! juſt then came tidings to *Antiochus*, that *Philip* coming out of *Perſia*, intended to make himſelf Lord and Maſter of the country, whereupon *Antiochus* concluded to give over the ſiege and to march againſt *Philip*; but firſt he ſent an Herauld to *Judas*, promiſing them peace, and liberty to live according to their Religion, which conditions *Judas* accepting

Bethſura ſurrendred.

The Temple beſieged.

A ſpeciall providence.

cepting of, took an oath from the King for performance, and ſo ſurrendred up the Temple. Whereupon *Antiochus* entred the ſame, and ſeeing it ſo impregnable a place, contrary to his oath, he commanded his Army to levell the wall that environed it, and then he returned to *Antioch*, leading away with him *Onias*, ſurnamed *Menalaus* the High-prieſt, whom, by the counſell of *Lyſias*, he put to death, becauſe he had adviſed his father to enforce the *Jews* to forſake their Religion: A juſt reward for ſo wicked a fact.

Perfidiouſneſs.

A juſt judgement.

Antiochus finding that *Philip* had already conquered much of his country, went ſtrait againſt him, fought with him, and ſlew him.

Preſently after, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Seleucus* took poſſeſſion of *Tripolis* in *Syria*, and ſetting the Diadem upon his own head, he levied an Army, and invaded the Kingdom of *Antiochus*. The people generally ſubmitted themſelves to him, and laying hold of *Antiochus* and *Lyſias*, they brought them both to *Demetrius*, who cauſed them to be ſlain.

Antiochus ſlain by *Demetrius*.

To this new King, divers *Jews* (baniſhed for their impiety) together with *Alcimus* their High-prieſt, reſorted, accuſing their Nation, and in particular *Judas* and his brethren, for killing their friends, and baniſhing ſuch as were friends to *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* was much moved with theſe reports, and therefore he ſent a great Army under *Bacchides*, a valiant and experienced Captain, with commiſſion to kill *Judas* and his confederates. *Bacchides* with his Army marched into *Judea*, ſending an Herauld to *Judas* and his brethren, pretending peace, when he intended to ſurprize them by ſubtilty and treachery. But *Judas* ſeeing that he came with ſo great an Army, found out his drift, and would not truſt him: yet many of the people were deceived with his Proclamation of peace, and therefore ſubmitted to live under his government, firſt having received an oath from him, that neither they nor any of their followers ſhould be endamaged: but when they had committed themſelves to him, he falſified his oath, and ſlew ſixty of them.

The wickednes of Apoſtates.

Bacchides ſent againſt *Judas*.

Perjury. Perfidiouſneſs.

Then removing his Army from *Jeruſalem*, he came to the village of *Bethzeth*, where apprehending many of the *Jews*, he ſlew them all, and commanded the reſt in the country to obey *Alcimus*, with whom he left a part of his Army, and ſo returned to *Antioch* unto *Demetrius*.

Alcimus by his feigned and familiar deportment, drew many more of the wicked *Jews* to join with him, and then he went with his Army thorow the country, and ſlew all that took part with *Judas*. *Judas* perceiving that hereby many upright men, and ſuch as feared God, were ſlain; he alſo with his Army went thorow the Land, and ſlew all Apoſtates that were of *Alcimus* his faction. Whereupon *Alcimus* repaired to *Demetrius*, and made grievous complaints againſt *Judas*; who fearing that if *Judas* proſpered, it would be prejudiciall to his eſtate, he ſent *Nicanor* to make warre againſt him, and having furniſhed him with a ſufficient Army, he commanded him that he ſhould not ſpare any one of that Nation.

Alcimus his ſubtilty and cruelty.

Nicanor ſent againſt *Judas*.

Nicanor

His subtilty.

Nicanor coming to *Jeruſalem*, offered no act of hoſtility, endeavouring to entrap *Judas* by ſubtilty, ſending him a peaceable meſſage, wherein he proteſted that he would doe him no injury, and that he came only to expreſſe the good affections of *Demetrius* to the Nation of the *Jews*.

Judas in danger.

Judas and his brethren being deceived with this glozing meſſage, entertained him and his Army. *Nicanor* then ſaluted *Judas*, but whilſt he was conferring with him, he gave a ſign to his ſouldiers to lay hands on him; but *Judas* diſcovering the treaſon, brake from him, and eſcaped to his Army. Then did *Nicanor* reſolve to make open war upon him, and bad him battel near to a Burrough called *Caphar-ſalama*, where he obtained the victory, and conſtrained *Judas* to retreat into the Fortreſſe at *Jeruſalem*; there did *Nicanor* beſiege him for a while, and then retired; at which time certain of the Prieſts and Elders met him, and having done their reverence, they ſhewed him thoſe ſacrifices which they intended to offer to God for the Kings proſperity; but he blaſpheming, threatned them, that if they did not deliver *Judas* into his hands, he would deſtroy the Temple at his return. Hereupon the Prieſts wept abundantly, praying unto God to defend the Temple, together with thoſe which called on his Name therein, from the outrage of their enemies.

Judas forced to retreat.

Nicanors blaſphemy.

Nicanor coming neer to *Bethoron*, received a great ſupply of ſouldiers out of *Syria*. *Judas* alſo was about thirty furlongs diſtant from him with about a thouſand men, yet he exhorted them not to fear the multitude of their enemies, but to ſet couragiouſly upon them, expecting help from God; and ſo encountering with *Nicanor*, there was a very doubtfull conflict, yet *Judas* had the upper hand, and ſlew a great number of the enemies. *Nicanor* himſelf alſo fighting valiantly, was ſlain; whereupon his Army fled: but *Judas* ſpeedily purſuing, made a great ſlaughter, and by ſound of trumpet, giving notice to the neighbouring places, the inhabitants thereof betook themſelves to their weapons, and meeting thoſe that fled, they ſlew them, ſo that no one eſcaped from this battel, though they were at leaſt nine thouſand men.

A terrible battel.

Nicanor ſlain.

Then enſued a little peace to the *Jews*. Shortly after *Alcimus* the High-prieſt, intending to beat down an old wall of the Sanctuary, was ſuddenly ſtricken by God, became ſpeechleſſe, and fell to the ground, and having endured many grievous torments for many daies, he died miſerably. Then did the people by a generall conſent give his place to *Judas*: who hearing of the great power and victories of the *Romans*, ſent two of his intimate friends to *Rome*, to intreat the *Romans* to be their Allies and Confederates, and to write to *Demetrius* to give over his warres againſt the *Jews*.

A juſt judgement.

Judas ſends to the *Romans*.

The Embaſſadors coming to *Rome*, were entertained by the Senate, and friendſhip concluded betwixt them, upon theſe conditions; That none under the *Romans* ſhould warre againſt the *Jews*, nor furniſh their enemies with Victuals, Ships or Silver: That if any enemies ſhould aſſail

A league between the *Jews* and *Romans*.

assail the *Jews*, the *Romans* should succour them to the uttermost of their power; that if any made war upon the *Romans*, the *Jews* should succour them: That if the *Jews* would adde, or diminish any thing from this Association, it should be done with the common advice of the *Romans*; and that what should so be ordained, should remain irrevocable.

Nicanors death, and the discomfiture of his Army being reported to *Demetrius*, he sent another Army under *Bacchides*, who coming into *Judæa*, and hearing that *Judas* was encamped at *Bethzeth*, he marched against him with 20000 footmen, and 2000 horsmen. *Judas* had not in all above 2000 men, who seeing the multitude of *Bacchides* Army, were afraid, so that some forsaking the Camp, fled away, insomuch as there then remained with *Judas* but 800 men. His enemies also pressed so upon him, that he had no time to re-assemble his forces: yet he resolved to fight with those 800 men, whom he exhorted to be of good courage, and to fight valiantly: but they answered, that they were not able to make head against so great an Army, and therefore they advised him to retire, and stand on his Guard, till he had gathered more forces: *Judas* replied: *God forbid that the Sun should see me turn my back upon the enemies; though I die, and spend my last blood in this Battel, yet will I never soil my former worthy actions by an ignominious flight.* And so having encouraged his souldiers, he commanded them without apprehension of danger to bend themselves altogether against the enemy. *Bacchides* drew out his Army, arranged them in battel, placing his horsemen in the wings, his archers and light-armed men in the front, and then the *Macedonian Phalanx*, and so causing his Trumpets to sound, and his Souldiers to shout, he charged his enemies. *Judas* did the like, and encountred *Bacchides*, so that there was a most cruel conflict, which continued till Sun-set.

Bacchides sent against *Judas*.

Judas his resolution.

A terrible battel.

Judas perceiving that *Bacchides*, and the flower of his Army fought in the right-wing, he chose out the most resolute of his souldiers, and drew them towards that quarter, and set upon them, brake their squadron, and thrusting into the midst of them, he forced them to flie, and pursued them as far as to the Mount *Aza*, but the left wing followed *Judas*, and so enclosed him on the back part. He seeing himself thus enclosed, resolved with his followers to fight it out to the last. He slew a great number of his enemies, till at last he was so wearied, that he fell to the ground, and was there slain: His souldiers seeing him dead, betook themselves to flight. *Simon* and *Jonathan* his brothers, by intreaty recovered his body, carried it to *Modim*, where they interred it, all the people weeping divers dayes for him; and *Jonathan* his brother succeeded him in the Government.

Judas slain.

Chap. V.

The Martyrdom of the Maccabees.

WHilſt *Antiochus Epiphanes* was living, he thruſt out *Onias* the High-Prieſt from his Office, and put into his room *Jaſon* his brother, whereupon *Jaſon* promiſed to pay him yearly 3660 Talents of ſilver. This wicked *Jaſon* preſently forced all the people to forſake their Religion, and to build Baths: He hindered the defence and building of the Temple. Hereat God was very wroth, and ſtirred up *Antiochus* to go to *Jeruſalem*, where he was gallantly entertained by the *Jews*. Then did he preſently make an Edict, That whoſoever of the *Jews* refuſed to offer Sacrifice to the gods, he ſhould preſently be broken to pieces on the wheel. But thoſe that were godly did little eſteem that Edict.

Antiochus his cruel Edict.

Antiochus perceiving that the rigour of his Edict prevailed little, and that many choſe rather to die, then to forſake their Religion, he, ſitting in an eminent place, and calling all the *Jews* together, cauſed Swines-fleſh to be ſacrificed on the Altar, and to be offered to every *Hebrew* to eat. Amongſt the multitude thus aſſembled, there was one *Eleazar* a Prieſt, one that feared God, and very aged, of a reverend countenance, and famous for his vertue: To him *Antiochus* ſaid: *Be adviſed by me, holy old man, to avoid thoſe torments which are prepared for the obſtinate; preſerve thy reverend age, and contemn not the benefit of life; take the Sacrifice, and eat of the Swines-fleſh, for no wiſe man will credit the Jews opinion to refuſe that meat which nature hath ordained for mans uſe, as well as any other: why ſhould this Beaſt be more abominable then others?* &c. *Or ſuppoſe your Laws are to be obſerved, yet will they excuſe thee, ſeeing thou ſinneſt not voluntarily, but by compulſion?* To whom "*Eleazar* anſwered: We, O *Antiochus*, follow not vanity, but the "verity of Religion, and fear of torments cannot make us embrace "another: but ſuppoſe that the Religion left us by our fore-fathers had "no firm ground, yet ſhould not torments make me forſake it. Do not "eſteem it a ſmall matter to eat forbidden meat, and to taſte of that "which is ſacrificed to Idols: for it is a profane thing to touch things "that are profane, and we are taught by our Law to ſuffer with patience whatſoever for Gods cauſe is inflicted upon us, *&c.* And therefore I refuſe this profane meat, well knowing what I ought to eat, as "warranted by Gods Law, which I have learned to obey, *&c.* and "herein will I perſiſt, though with tyrannous hand thou pluck out "mine eyes, or with a ſharp knife rip up my entrails. Think not that "becauſe I am old my body is feeble: If I muſt be ſacrificed for Gods "ſake, thou ſhalt finde me as luſty, and conſtant as a young man, and "moſt joyfull in torments. Prepare an extraordinary fire, or what elſe "thou pleaſeſt, thou ſhalt finde me more conſtant in the midſt of all "tor-

Conſtancy.

Subtilty.

Courage.

"torments, then I am now before they come, *&c.* The chaſte, and "pure company of Fathers ſhall receive me into their number, where "I ſhall not fear (O impious King) thy threats, *&c.*

Whilſt *Eleazer* ſpake thus boldly, the ſouldiers haled him to be tortured, and ſtripping him naked, they hanged him up, and whipped him; and whilſt on either ſide he was thus beaten, one cried, Obey the Kings pleaſure and command. But this worthy man was not overcome by torment, but ſuffered as though he had been in a ſleep: and fixing his venerable eyes upon Heaven, he knew in whom he believed, and to whom he ſacrificed his life, and beholding the fleſh on each ſide of his body rent and torn, and the bloud iſſuing out abundantly, he admired his own patience, and thanked God the author of it: At laſt finding his own frailty, ſcarce able to endure ſuch torments, he fell upon his face, which with ſtripes was all rent, and torne, ſtill glorifying God, as he did before: Then a ſouldier to gratifie the King like a mad man, did ſpurn, and tread upon him, to encreaſe his torments: but *Eleazer* ſtrong in body and minde, like a Champion of the true God did never ſhrink at thoſe pains, but by patience overcame the cruelty of his tormentors, ſo that his torturers admired that he ſhould be able to bear them: Then the Kings Officers ſaid, *How long wilt thou forbear to obey the King? eat Swines-fleſh, and free thy ſelf from all that thou endureſt. Eleazer*, though hitherto he had been ſilent in all his torments, yet could he not hear ſuch profane counſel without anſwering, where-"upon he cried out; We *Hebrews* are not ſo effeminate as to forſake the "way of ſalvation wherein we walk to our old-age, neither are we "taught for fear of contumely, which will not long endure, to give "others an occaſion, and example to ſin, *&c.* Wilt thou, O Tyrant, "eſteem of us if we ſhould yield unto thee? nay, thou mighteſt juſtly "reprove our inconſtancy: Then did the ſouldiers by the Kings command caſt him into the fire, and poured ſtinking, and loathſome liquors into his noſtrils, all which he patiently ſuffered, till he was conſumed in the flames: Yet when nature began to fail, lifting up his daz-"led eyes to Heaven, he ſaid, Thou, O God, art he from whom life, "and ſalvation proceedeth: Behold I die for obſerving thy Laws: Be "mercifull to this thy Nation, and forſake not them whom hitherto "thou haſt protected in thy boſom, and under the ſhadow of thy "wings, let my death end all miſery, *&c.* and ſo he joyfully yielded up the ghoſt.

Eleazer cruelly beaten.

His admirable patience.

His zeal.

His prayer at death.

Antiochus was but more incenſed hereby, and therefore he cauſed ſeven Children of the *Hebrews* to be brought to *Antioch*, who being young, and therefore as he thought weak, and unable to endure torments, he preſumed that either by perſwaſion, or fear, he ſhould enforce them to forſake their Religion.

Then he commanded theſe ſeven, together with their mother *Salamona*, now aged, to be brought before him: They were of excellent beauty, and worthy children of ſo vertuous a mother. The Tyrant beholding them, with a merry countenance, craftily ſpake unto them:

Antiochus his ſubtilty.

I wiſh your good, O admirable young men, do not therefore like mad men reſiſt my commands: Avoid not only torments, but death alſo: I deſire not only to exalt you to honour, but to encreaſe your riches, and poſſeſſions: Contemn therefore your own ſuperſtition, and embrace our Religion: If you refuſe this (as I hope you will not) I will deviſe all torments, that by a lingring, and painfull death, I may conſume you: And to terrifie them the more, he cauſed all ſorts of Inſtruments for torment to be brought forth before them, as Wheels, Rods, Hooks, Racks, Cauldrons, Cages, Gridirons, *&c.* with Engines to torment the fingers, and hands, as Gauntlets, Auls, Bellows, Brazen-pots, and Frying-pans, *&c.* Then ſaid he, *Obey me, O prudent young men, for if I command a ſinne, yet do not you offend being compelled to it.*

The ſeven Brethrens courage.

But theſe holy young men, inflamed with a divine Spirit, contemned theſe torments, and deſpiſed both threats, and flatteries, denying to eat of the ſacrificed Swines-fleſh, and ſaying: "Where-"fore, O Tyrant, doſt thou perſecute us that are innocent? We de-"ſire to die, and will, till death expels life, firmly keep that which "God commanded, and *Moſes* taught us: and therefore ſeek not, O "Tyrant, to ſeduce us by proteſting of feigned love: Thou lover of "injuſtice, maſter of cruelty, deviſer of iniquity, the pardon thou pro-"fereſt is more painfull then puniſhment: We contemn death, and "eſteem not thy words, our maſter *Eleazer* having taught us to deſpiſe "them. Why doſt thou expect ſuch puſillanimity in us young men, "when of late thou foundeſt ſuch courage in an old man? Thou canſt "not know our mindes except by tearing our bodies thou ſearcheſt "them out: We will willingly for our God ſuffer any thing, and ex-"pect Heaven, whilſt thou for thy cruelty to innocents, ſhalt be re-"ſerved to eternal fire.

Maccabeus his torments.

The Tyrant greatly moved herewith, cauſed them to be beaten with Buls-pizles: firſt commanding *Maccabeus* the eldeſt to be ſtripped, and ſtretched out upon a Rack, and his hands to be bound, and ſo to be moſt cruelly beaten, who ſo wearied his tormentors by ſuffering, that they rather deſired to give over, then he requeſted it: Then was he put upon a Wheel, and a weight hanged at his feet, and ſo ſtretched round about it, that his ſinews and entrails brake, yet all this while he called upon God: and then ſaid to the Tyrant: "O bloudy Tyrant,

His reſolute ſpeech.

"who perſecuteſt the Majeſty of God; I whom thou thus tormenteſt, "am no witch, nor murtherer, but one who dies for obſerving Gods "Law: And when the tormentors, overcome with compaſſion, willed him to ſubmit to the Kings pleaſure, he ſaid; "O ye wicked miniſters "of Tyranny! Your Wheels are not ſo ſharp and cruel, that I there-"by will be forced to forſake Heaven, whereon my minde is fixed: "Tear my fleſh, yea, if you pleaſe, roſt it at the fire: torture each par-"cel of my body with ſeveral cruelties, yet you ſhall not be able to "force us young men to impiety.

His Martyrdom.

As he thus ſpake, a fire was kindled, and he thus racked on the Wheel, was thrown into it, and by flames was ſo burned that his bowels appeared,

peared, yet was his minde unmoved, and in the midſt of his torments, he cried thus to his brethren; "O beloved brethren, make me your "example; deſpiſe the alluring baits of this world; obey God rather "then this Tyrant, who can if he pleaſe humble the proud and migh- "ty, and exalt the dejected: Then was he taken from the fire, and ſlain alive; his tongue was pulled out of his head, and he put into a frying pan, and ſo he departed out of this life, to the admiration of his enemies, and the joy of his mother and brethren. His ſpeech at death.

Then was the ſecond brother, called *Aber*, haled by the ſouldiers; and the Tyrant ſhewed him all thoſe inſtruments of torment, and aſked him if he would eat of the ſacrifice: which he denying to do, his hands were bound with iron chains, and being hanged up thereby, the skin of his body was ſlain from the crown of his head to his knees, ſo that the entrails in his breaſt were ſeen: Then was he caſt to a cruel *Libard*, greedily thirſting after bloud, but the beaſt ſmelling at him, forgat his cruelty, and went from him, without doing him any harm: This increaſed the Tyrants rage, and *Aber* by his torments grew more conſtant, crying aloud, "O how pleaſant is that death to me, which "is cauſed by all ſorts of torments for Gods ſake! yea the more plea- "ſant, becauſe I know I ſhall be rewarded in heaven: Let theſe tor- "ments, O Tyrant, ſatisfie thy cruelty, for my pain is not increaſed "by them, but my pleaſure, as thou ſhalt finde by my patience in "theſe ſufferings; I am more willing to ſuffer, then thou to puniſh, "yet my pain is leſſe in ſuffering, then thine by inflicting; I am tor- "mented for keeping the Law, thou by Gods juſtice ſhalt be baniſhed "from thy Regall ſeat, yea eternall torments are prepared for thee, "which neither thy prophane minde is able to endure, nor thy power "to decline, *&c.* And ſo ſhortly after he yielded up his ſoul to God. *Abers* torments. Or Leopard. His ſpeech at death.

Then *Machir* the third ſon was brought, whom all pitied, and exhorted by his brothers examples to forſake his opinion, and ſo decline the puniſhment; but he being angry at ſuch counſel, replied, "One "Father begat us, one Mother bore us, one Maſter inſtructed us, *&c.* "Therefore no longer prolong the time in vain; I came to ſuffer, not to "ſpeak, uſe all the tyranny that poſſibly you can againſt my body, yet "have you no power over my ſoul. This ſo moved the Tyrant, that he deviſed new torments beyond the reach of humane wit; and commanding a globe to be brought, he cauſed him to be tied about it in ſuch ſort, that all his bones were put out of joint, hanging one from another in a moſt pitifull manner; yet was the holy Martyr nothing diſmaid: Then the skin of his head and face was pulled off, and then was he put upon the wheel, but he could be racked no worſe, for all his bones were diſlocated before: The bloud iſſuing from him abundantly, he ſaid, "We, O Tyrant, endure this torment for the love of "God, and thou the author of ſuch cruelty, ſhalt be puniſhed with "everlaſting pain: Then was his tongue cut out, and he being put into a fiery frying pan, reſigned his ſpirit unto God. *Machir* brought forth. His courage. His torments. His ſpeech at death.

Next followed *Judas* the fourth brother, whom all the people per-

Judas his courage.

swaded to obey the King: But he said, "Your fire shall not separate "me from the Law of God, nor from my brethren; To thee, O "Tyrant, I denounce destruction, but to such as believe, salvation: Try "me thou cruel wretch, and see if God will not stand by me, as he did "by my three brethren now in glory, *&c.* The cruel Tyrant hearing this, was so enraged, that he leaped down from his chair to torment

His torments.

this Martyr himself; He commanded also his tongue to be cut out, to whom *Judas* said, "Thy cruelty will nothing avail thee, our God

His speech at death.

"needs not by voice to be awakened, *&c.* he heareth such as call upon "him with their hearts, and know's our thoughts afar off, *&c.* Cut "out my tongue if thou please, would thou wouldst so sanctifie all the "parts of my body, *&c.* and think not that thou shalt long escape unpunished: Then was his tongue cut out, and he bound to a stake, was beaten with ropes ends, which torments he bore with admirable patience: After which he was put upon the wheel, where he ended his life, and went to the rest of his brethren.

Achas his courage.

Then spake *Achas* the fift brother, "Behold, O Tyrant, I come to "be punished before thou commandest me, therefore hope not to alter "his minde that desireth to be tormented: The bloud of my innocent "brethren hath condemned thee to hell, I shall make up the fift, that "by it thy torments may be increased: What offence have we committed that thou thus rageſt against us? *&c.* All that thou canst al"ledge against us is, that we honour God and live in obedience to his "Laws, and therefore we esteem not punishment, which is an honour "to us; though no part of us be left untormented, yet we shall be "the more rewarded by God. Then at the command of the King,

His torments.

the executioners cast him into a brazen pot, where he was prest down with his head to his feet, and afterwards he suffered all the torments inflicted on his brethren, but he was so far from being discouraged, that suddenly starting up, he said, "Cruel Tyrant, how great bene-

His speech at death.

"fits dost thou (though against thy will) bestow upon us! yea the "more thou rageſt, the more acceptable to God shalt thou make us; "therefore I shall be sorry if thou shewest me any mercy: by this tem"porall death, I shall go to everlasting life. And having thus finished his sufferings, he died.

Areth his courage.

Then was *Areth* the sixt brother brought, to whom the Tyrant profered the choise of honour, or punishment; But he grieved at this profer, said, "O Tyrant, though I be younger in years then my bre"thren, yet the constancy of my minde is not inferiour; as we have "lived, so we will die together in the fear of God: Haſten therefore "thy torments, and what time thou wouldest spend in exhorting me, "spend it in devising torments for me. Whereupon *Antiochus* in a rage,

His torments.

commanded him to be tied to a pillar with his head downwards: Then caused he a fire to be made at such a distance, as might not burn, but rost him: Then he made them prick him with awles that the heat might

His speech at death.

pierce the sorer: In these torments much bloud, like froth, gathered about his head and face; yet said he, "O noble fight! O valiant "warre!

" warre! O ſtrife between piety and impiety! My brethren have paſt " through their Agonies, whoſe crown of Martyrdom is the puniſh- " ment of their perſecutors. I willingly follow them, that as by bloud " I am conjoined to them, ſo by death I may not be ſeparated from " them. Deviſe, O Tyrant, ſome new torment, for I have overcome " theſe already: O Maſter of cruelty, enemy of piety, and perſecu- " tor of juſtice! we young men have conquered thy power, thy fire " is cold, and heateth not: thy weapons are bended, and blunted in " our bodies; our God giveth us more courage to ſuffer, then thou " haſt to puniſh, *&c.* As he thus ſpake, they pulled out his tongue with an hot pair of tongs, and laſtly frying him in a frying pan, he gave up the ghoſt.

There being now only the youngeſt brother left, called *Jacob*, he preſenting himſelf before the Tyrant, moved him to ſome compaſſion, wherefore he called the childe to him, and taking him aſide by the hand, he ſaid, *By the example of thy brethren thou ſeeſt what to expect if thou diſobeyeſt me; therefore deliver thy ſelf from theſe torments, and I will give thee what honour my kingdom can afford; thou ſhalt be a Ruler, Generall of my Army, my Counceller,* &c. But when this prevailed not, he called his mother, who coming, and ſtanding by her ſon, the Tyrant ſaid to her, *O worthy woman, where now are all thy children? yet thou haſt one remaining; adviſe him therefore not to ruine himſelf, and leave thee childleſſe by his obſtinacy,* &c. The mother bowing her ſelf to the King, ſaid to her childe in *Hebrew*, that ſhe might not be underſtood of others, " Pity and comfort thy ſorrowfull mother, O my ſon, who bare " thee nine moneths in my womb, gave thee ſuck with my breaſts " three years, and with great care have brought thee up hitherto. I " pray thee, dear ſon, conſider the heavens and earth, and remember " that God created them all of nothing, *&c.* fear not therefore theſe " pains and torments, but imitate thy brethren, and contemn death, " that in the day of mercy I may receive thee with thy brethren again in heaven. Then did he deſire to be unbound, which being granted, he immediatly ran to the torments, and coming where was a frying pan red hot, he ſaid to the King; " Cruel Tyrant, I now know thee " not only to have been cruel to my brethren, but even cruelty it ſelf. " Wretch that thou art, who gave thee theſe purple robes? who ex- " alted thee to thy Kingdom? Even he whom thou in us doſt perſe- " cute, whoſe ſervants thou tormenteſt and killeſt, for which thy ſelf " ſhalt ſuffer eternall tormen:s: though thou art above others, yet he " that made other men, made thee alſo of the ſame nature, for all are " born, and muſt die alike. He that kils another, ſheweth that he " himſelf may be killed; thou teareſt and tormenteſt thine own Image " all in vain: In thy fury thou killeſt him, whom God created like " thy ſelf, *&c.* thou pulleſt out our tongues, teareſt our bodies with " fleſh hooks, and conſumeſt us with fire; but they that have already " ſuffered, have received everlaſting joies, and everlaſting puniſhments " attend thee. Think not that I expect any favour, I will follow my " brethren,

Jacob brought forth.

Antiochus his ſubtilty.

His mother encourageth him.

His noble courage.

His torments.

" brethren, and remain conſtant in keeping Gods Law. The Tyrant herewith inraged, cauſed him to be tormented; but his mother comforted him, and with her kinde hands held his head, when through violence of the torturers, bloud iſſued out of his mouth, noſe and privy parts; the tormentors not ceaſing till his life was almoſt ſpent; but then giving over, God gave him ſtrength to recover, and to endure more then any of his brethren had done. At laſt his hands and arms being cut off, with his eies lift up to heaven, he cried, " O * Adonai, " be mercifull unto me, and receive me into the company of my brethren, *&c.* Then was his tongue pulled out, and he of his own accord going into the fiery frying pan, to the great admiration of *Antiochus*, died.

* Lord.
His laſt words.

Salamona's zeal.

The mother ſeeing all her children dead, was inflamed with an holy zeal to ſuffer Martyrdom alſo; and deſpiſing the Tyrants threats, ſhe offered her motherly breſt to thoſe torments which her children had ſuffered before her. Indeed herein ſhe excelled them all, in that ſhe had ſuffered ſeven painfull deaths, before ſhe came to ſuffer in her own perſon, and feared in every one of them, leaſt ſhe ſhould have been overcome. She alone with dry eies did look upon them whilſt they were torn in pieces, yea ſhe exhorted them thereunto, rejoicing to ſee one torn with fleſh-hooks, another racked upon the wheel, a third bound and beaten, a fourth burned, and yet ſhe exhorted the reſt not to be terrified thereby; and though her grief in beholding their torments was greater then that which ſhe had in childe-birth, yet did ſhe frame a chearfull countenance, as if it had been one triumphing, wiſhing rather the torments of their bodies then of their ſouls; for ſhe knew that nothing was more frail then our lives, which are often taken away by Agues, Fluxes, and a thouſand other waies. Therefore when they were firſt apprehended, ſhe thus exhorted them in the Hebrew tongue,

Her ſpeech to her children.

" O my moſt dear and loving children, let us haſten to that agony " which may credit our profeſſion, and be rewarded by God with eter- " nall life. Let us fearleſly preſent our bodies to thoſe torments which " aged *Eleazer* endured. Let us call to minde our father *Abraham*, who " having but one only ſon, willingly ſacrificed him at Gods com- " mand, and feared not to bring him to the Altar, whom with many " prayers he had obtained in his old age. Remember *Daniel*, the three Children, *&c.* *Antiochus* being enraged againſt her, cauſed her to be ſtripped naked, hanged up by the hands, and cruelly whipt: then were her dugs and paps pulled off, and her ſelf put into the red hot frying pan; where lifting up her eies and hands to heaven, in the midſt of her prayers ſhe yielded up her chaſt ſoul unto God. But God ſuffered not the cruel Tyrant to eſcape unpuniſhed, for in his warres againſt the *Perſians*, the Lord ſtruck him with madneſſe, his intrails were devoured with worms, and ſtinking like a carrion, in the extremity of his torments he gave up the ghoſt.

Her torments, and death.

See more of this before.

Concerning this *Antiochus*, Daniel 8 9,10,*&c.* ſaw in the viſion, that there *came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great to-*

wards

wards the South, and towards the East, and towards the pleasant Land, and it waxed great even towards the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the starres to the ground, and stamped upon them: Yea he magnified himself even to the Prince of the host, and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his Sanctuary was cast down: And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered. Which afterwards is thus interpreted by the Angel unto *Daniel*, vers. 23,&c. *In the latter time of their Kingdom, when the transgressours are come to the full, a King of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up, and his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power, and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and holy people: And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnifie himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many: He shall also stand up against the Prince of Princes, but he shall be broken without hand.*

Collected out of *Josephus*, and the Books of the *Maccabees*.



Here place the first Figure.

Charles Boarnot his Book

CHAP. VI.

The Perſecution of the Church from Chriſts time to our preſent age; and firſt of thoſe mentioned in the New Teſtament.

Mat. 2. 2, 5, 16. *Herod* the great, hearing by the Wiſe men of one that was born King of the *Jews*, and being informed by the chief Prieſts and the Scribes, that the place of his birth ſhould be *Bethlehem* of *Judah*, he ſent forth ſouldiers, and ſlew all the children that were in *Bethlehem*, and in all the coaſts thereof, from two years old and under, hoping thereby to have deſtroyed Chriſt: for which cruel fact the Lord gave him over to ſuch a ſpirit of phrenſie that he ſlew his own Wife, his Children, and neareſt Kinsfolks, and familiar Friends. And ſhortly after Gods heavy judgement fell upon him by a grievous ſickneſſe, which was a ſlow and ſlack fire in his inward parts: and withall, he had a greedy appetite after food, and yet nothing ſufficed him: he had alſo a rotting in his bowels, and a grievous flux in his fundament: a moiſt and running humour about his feet, and the like maladie vexed him about his bladder: his privie members putrified, engendring abundance of worms which continually ſwarmed out: He had a ſhort and ſtinking breath, with a great pain in breathing: and through all the parts of his body ſuch a violent cramp, as humane ſtrength was not able to endure. Yet longing after life, he ſent for Phyſicians from all parts, by whoſe advice he went to the hot bathes of *Calliroe*; but finding no eaſe thereby, his torments ſtill encreaſing, he ſought to lay violent hands upon himſelf, if he had not been prevented by his friends, and ſo in extream miſery, he ended his wretched life.

Gods judgements on perſecutors.

Herods miſerable death.

Then *Herod* the leſſe having married the daughter of *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, put her away, and took *Herodias*, who had forſaken her husband *Philip*, brother to *Herod*; for which inceſtuous and adulterous marriage, *John Baptiſt* plainly reproved him; whereupon at the inſtigation of *Herodias*, *Herod* firſt impriſoned him, and afterwards cut off his head: but the Lord left not this murther long unpuniſhed, for *Aretas* raiſing an Army againſt *Herod*, for that ignominious dealing with his daughter, in a pitched battel wholly overthrew him, and cut off all his hoaſt; and not long after *Herod* falling into diſgrace with the Romane Emperour, he, with his inceſtuous *Herodias* were baniſhed to *Vienna* in *France*, where they ended their wretched lives with much ſhame and miſery.

John Baptiſt beheaded. Mat. 14. 10.

Gods judgements on *Herod* for it.

Caius Caligula.

After the aſcenſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Peter* and *John*, having cured

cured a man that was born lame, and preaching Jeſus to the people, upon that occaſion they were apprehended, and caſt into priſon by the Prieſts and Captain of the Temple, who the next day, having examined them, threatned to puniſh them, if they ſpake any more in that Name, and ſo diſmiſſed them. Yet afterwards the High-prieſts and the Sadduces again laid hands on the Apoſtles, and caſt them into the common priſon: But in the night time the Angel of the Lord opened the priſon doors, and releaſed them, *Act.*5.18,19. The next day, as they were preaching to the people, they were again apprehended, and carried before the Councel, *ver.*26,27. at whoſe command they were beaten, and ſo diſmiſſed, *ver.*40.

Act.4.1,17.

The Apoſtles beaten.

Then were falſe witneſſes ſuborned againſt *Steven*, who accuſed him for ſpeaking blaſphemous words againſt *Moſes*, and againſt God, *Act.* 6.11. for which being apprehended and brought before the Councel, he was there condemned, led out of the City, and ſtoned to death, *chap.*7.58.

Steven ſtoned.

After this there was a generall perſecution raiſed up againſt the Church of Chriſt in *Jeruſalem*, whereby all the faithfull were ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of *Judea* and *Samaria*, except the Apoſtles, *ch.* 8.1. *Saul alſo made great havock of the Church, entring into every houſe, haling both men and women, and committing them to priſon*, ver.3.

Then *Saul*, after his converſion, preaching Chriſt boldly, the enraged *Jews* took counſell, and lay in wait to kill him, watching the Gates of *Damaſcus*, where he then was, both day and night; but the diſciples took him by night, and let him down over the wall in a baſket, whereby he eſcaped, *Act.*9.23,*&c.*

Paul perſecuted.

Then roſe up a third *Herod*, called alſo *Agrippa*, who, not taking warning by his predeceſſors calamities, fell to perſecuting the Church of Chriſt, and ſending for *James*, the brother of *John*, before him, condemned him to be beheaded: Concerning whom *Clemens* reports, that he which drew *James* before the tribunall ſeat, when he ſaw him ſo chearfully embracing the ſentence of death, was exceedingly moved therewith, and voluntarily confeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and ſo was condemned to be beheaded with him: As they went in the way to execution, he requeſted the Apoſtle *James* to pardon him, who after a little pauſe, turning to him, ſaid, *Peace be unto thee*, and kiſſed him, and ſo they were both beheaded together. *Herod* ſeeing that the death of *James* pleaſed the *Jews*, he took *Peter* alſo, and delivered him to four quaternions of ſouldiers to keep him in priſon, intending after the Paſſeover to put him to death: But the night before he ſhould ſuffer, as he was ſleeping, bound with two chains to two ſouldiers, and the keepers watching before the priſon doors, an Angel came and awaked him, cauſing his chains to fall off, and ſo going before him, he led him out of priſon, cauſing the iron gate to open to them, and having brought him out of danger, left him. But this cruel perſecuting *Herod* ſcaped no better then his predeceſſors had done, for being ar-

Acts 12.1,2.

A Perſecutor converted.

James beheaded.

Peter eſcapeth death.

raied in gliſtering and royall apparell, and ſitting upon his Throne, he made an Oration to his people, who like flattering Court Paraſites, gave a ſhout, ſaying, *It is the voice of a God and not of a man:* Whereupon the Angel of the Lord immediatly ſmote him, and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghoſt, *verſ.*21, *&c.* in the fifty fourth year of his age, and the ſeventh of his reign, and under *Claudius Caſar.*

Gods judgement on *Herod.*

Paul and *Barnabas* perſecuted.

Then the wicked *Jews* ſtirred up the *Gentiles* againſt *Paul* and *Barnabas* at *Iconium*, ſo that being in danger to be ſtoned to death, they fled into *Lycaonia*, Act.14.2,5,6.

Paul ſtoned.

Again at *Lyſtra* they ſtirred up the *Gentiles* againſt them, whereupon *Paul* was ſtoned and drawn out of the City, and left for dead, but it pleaſed God that he revived, and ſo eſcaped to *Derbe*, ver.19,20.

Paul and *Silas* whipt.

Afterward *Paul* and *Silas*, for caſting a ſpirit of divination out of a Damoſell at *Philippi*, were dragged before the Rulers, who cauſed them to be whipt, and caſt into priſon. But the Magiſtrates afterwards hearing that they were *Romans*, were much afraid, as having done more then they could anſwer, and therefore they came to them, releaſed them out of priſon, and beſought them to depart out of their City, *Act.*16.23.39.

Paul and *Silas* again perſecuted.

Act.17.5,13, 14.

Preſently after at *Theſſalonica*, the *Jews* again ſtirred up the people againſt *Paul* and *Silas*, and raiſing an uproar, they ſought for them in the houſe of *Jaſon*, and not meeting with them there, they drew forth *Jaſon* himſelf, and ſome brethren, before the Rulers, who giving ſecurity for their forth-coming, were diſmiſſed. Yet theſe wretched *Jews* followed *Paul* to *Berea* alſo, and there ſtirred up a Perſecution againſt him, whereby he was forced to depart. At *Corinth* alſo they made an inſurrection, caught *Paul*, and brought him before *Gallio*, Deputy of *Achaia*, and when he would be a Judge of no ſuch matters, they took *Softhenes* the chief Ruler of the Synagogue, and beat him before the Judgement ſeat, *Act.*18.12.17.

Softhenes beaten.

Afterwards at *Epheſus*, *Demetrius* that made ſilver *ſhrines* for *Diana*, raiſed an uproar, and having caught *Gaius* and *Ariſtarchus*, *Pauls* companions, they with them ruſhed into the Theatre: but this tumult being allayed by the wiſdom of the Town-Clark, *Paul* haſted away into *Macedonia*, chap.19.29,&c. *Paul* at laſt returning to *Jeruſalem*, the *Aſian Jews* finding him in the Temple, ſtirred up all the people, and laid hands on him; but as they were about to kill him, he was reſcued by the chief Captain of the *Romanes*, chap.21.31,32. Then being brought forth before the Councel of the *Jews*, he was firſt ſmitten by the command of the High-Prieſt, *chap.*23.2. And afterwards being in danger of being pulled to pieces, he was again reſcued by the Captain, *ver.*10. Then above forty of thoſe deſperate *Jews*, bound themſelves under a curſe, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him, *ver.*12,13. Hereupon he is ſent to *Felix* to *Cæſarea*, who kept him in priſon till his accuſers came, *ver.*24,35. Then being accuſed by *Tertullus*, he cleers himſelf: yet becauſe he would not bribe *Felix*, he

Paul in danger.

Act.24.27.

is

is kept prisoner still. *Festus* succeeding *Felix*, the *Jews* importune him also for sentence against *Paul*, or that he might be sent for to *Jerusalem*, laying wait in the way to kill him, *chap.*25.3. but when that was denied them, they went to *Cesarea* to accuse him there; whereupon he is forced to appeal to *Cæsar*, ver.11. Then he was sent to *Rome*, and there committed prisoner to the Captain of the guard, *chap.*28.16. where he continued prisoner at large for two years, and then being released, he visited the Churches of *Greece* and *Asia*. Afterwards he preached in *Spain* and *France*, and at last returning into *Italy*, he was again apprended, and imprisoned at *Rome*, where also he suffered Martyrdom, as afterwards you shall hear.

Pauls Martyrdom.

The *Jews* being much displeased that they could not reak their teen upon *Paul*, turn themselves against *James* the brother of Christ: him therefore they bring, and set him in the middest of them, requiring him publikely to renounce the faith of Christ: but he on the contrary made a bold and open confession of Jesus to be the Sonne of God, and the saviour of the world. Then did they set him upon the pinacle of the Temple, again requiring him in the audience of all the people, to tell them which is the way of *Jesus* Crucified: to whom he answered; *Why ask you me of Jesus the Sonne of man, whenas he sits at the right hand of God in Heaven, and shall again come in the clouds of the ayr?* this so enraged the Scribes and Pharisees, that they threw him down headlong: but he not being dead with the fall, gat upon his knees, and said; *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe*: Then of e taking a Fullers club, strook him on the head, and brained him.

The Martyrdom of *James*.

This *James* was sirnamed *Justus*, of whom *Ægesippus* writes, that his knees were as hard as Camels knees, by reason of his continuall kneeling in prayer. But shortly after his death, *Vespasian* came into *Judea*, and subdued the *Jews*; and his sonne *Titus* destroyed *Jerusalem*, and the Temple.

His constancy in prayer.

Andrew the brother of *Peter*, preached the Gospel to the *Scythians*, *Sogdians*, and *Æthiopians*, and was at last crucified by *Ægeas* King of *Edessa*.

Andrew's Martyrdom.

Philip preached the Gospel in *Phrygia*, and at last was crucified at *Hierapolis*.

Philip's Martyrdom.

Bartholemew preached to the *Indians*, and (as some say) was beaten with cudgels to death: or as others, he was flaid alive, and then beheaded.

Bartholemew.

Thomas preached unto the *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, &c. and in *India* he was slain with a dart.

Thomas.

Matthew preached to the *Æthiopians*, and at last by the command of the King, was ran thorow with a sword.

Matthew.

Simon Zelotes preached in *Mauritania* and *Africk*, and at length was crucified under *Traian*, being above 112 years old.

Simon Zel.

Judas the brother of *James* preached to the *Edesseans*, and at last was slain by the command of the King.

Judas.

Matthias preached first in *Macedonia*, and afterwards coming into

Matthias.

Judea, he was by the *Jews* first stoned, and then beheaded.

Mark. *Mark* the Evangelist preached in *Alexandria*, and the neighbouring regions, and afterwards was burnt by the furious Idolaters.

Nicanor. *Nicanor*, one of the Deacons, was martyred together with two thousand other faithfull Christians.

Collected out of the New Testament, and Dorotheus.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH UNDER THE Heathen Romane Emperors.

CHAP. VII.

The first Primitive Persecution which began Anno Christi 67.

Quinquennium Neronis. THis first Persecution was begun by *Domitius Nero*, the sixth Emperour, *anno* 67. or thereabouts: the occasion whereof was this; *Nero* having passed over the first five years of his reign somewhat plausibly, he then began to fall to all manner of prodigious impieties: and amongst other wicked designes, he had a great desire to consume the stately Imperiall City of *Rome* with fire; pronouncing King *Priamus* an happy man, because he beheld the end of his Kingdom and Country together; *yea*, said he, *let not all be ruined when I am dead, but whilst I am yet alive*: and for the effecting of this villany, he sent divers to kindle the fire in sundry places; yea some of his own bed-chamber were seen to carry Flaxe, Toe, Torches, *&c.* to further it; and when any attempted to quench it, they were threatned for it: others openly hurled firebrands, crying, *They knew what they did, there was one would bear them out.* This fire first began amongst the Oyl-men and Drugsters: The night-watch and *Prætorian* guards did openly cherish it; and when it was throughly kindled, *Nero* went up to the top of *Mæcenas* Tower, which overlooked the whole City, where he fed himself with the sight of infinite burnings, and sang to his harp, the burning of *Troy*.

Nero sets Rome on fire.

The Circus burnt down. Amongst other stately buildings that were burned down, the *Circus*, or race-yard was one, being about half a mile in length, of an oval form,

form, with rowes of seats one above another, capable of at least a hundred and fifty thousand spectators without uncivil shouldrings: but the particulars were innumerable, the dammage inestimable: besides which many thousands of people perished; the flame and smoak smothered some, the weight of ruins crusht others, the fire consumed others; others threw themselves into the fire out of sorrow and despair, and villains slew many.

Nero charged it upon the Christians.

But *Nero* finding that this fire which burned nine daies, brought a great *odium* upon him; to excuse himself, he transferred the fault upon the Christians, as if out of malice they had done it; and thereupon he raised this first Persecution against them. For there was at this present a flourishing Church of Christians in *Rome*, even before St *Pauls* arrival there, and *Nero*'s own Court was secretly garnished and enriched with some of those Diamonds, whose salutations the Apostle remembers in his Epistle to the *Philippians*. But whilst *Nero*, with their bloud, sought to quench and cover his own infamy, he procured to himself new envy; whilst many that abhorred Christians for their religion, commiserated their sufferings as undeserved. Some he caused to be sewed up in the skins of wilde beasts, and then worried them to death with doggs; some he crucified; others he burnt in publike, to furnish the evenings with bonefires. Many he caused to be packed up in paper stiffened in molten wax, with a coat of searcloth about their bodies, bound upright to axletrees, many of which were pitcht in the ground, and so set on fire at the bottom, to maintain light for *Nero*'s night-sports in his gardens. Some of them were gored in length upon stakes, the one end fastened in the earth, the other coming out at their mouthes.

Raiseth the first Persecution.

Several kindes of torments.

Nor did this Persecution rage in *Rome* alone, but it was extended generally over the whole Empire, insomuch that a man might then have seen Cities lye full of mens bodies, the old lying there together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked in the open streets, without all reverence of their sex. Yea his rage and malice was so great, that he endeavoured to have rooted out the very name of Christians in all places: Whereupon *Tertullian* said, *That it could be no ordinary goodnesse which Nero condemned*; *and*, saith he, *we glory on the behalf of our sufferings, that they had such a dedicator as he*: but this great Persecution, like a blast, did spred the religion that it blew, and having continued four years from the first rising, it expired in two most shining blazes, *viz.* in the martyrdome of the two great Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*; *Peter* was crucified with his head downwards, which manner of death himself made choice of: and whilst he thus hung upon the crosse, he saw his wife going to her martyrdome, whereupon he much rejoiced; and calling her by her name, he bad her remember the Lord Jesus Christ. At the same time also *Paul* before *Nero* made a confession of his faith, and of the doctrine which he taught; whereupon he was condemned to be beheaded, and the Emperor sent two of his Esquires *Ferega* and *Parthemius*, to bring him word of his death: they

Beastly cruelty.

Tertullians speech.

Peter and *Paul* martyred.

they coming to *Paul*, heard him inſtruct the people, and thereupon deſired him to pray for them that they might beleeve; who told them, that ſhortly after they ſhould beleeve and be baptized: Then the ſouldiers led him out of the City to the place of execution, where he prayed, and then gave his neck to the ſword, and ſo was beheaded. This was done the fourteenth, which was the laſt year of *Nero*.

Collected out of the Life of Nero Cæſar, Euſebius, *and the* Book of Martyrs.

CHAP. VIII.

The ſecond Primitive Perſecution, which began Anno 96.

AFter the death of *Nero*, there ſucceeded *Veſpaſian* firſt, and then his ſon *Titus* in the Empire, under both whom the Church had reſt. But *Titus* aſſociating to himſelf his brother *Flavius Domitian* in the Government of the Empire: This wicked monſter, firſt ſlew his brother, and then raiſed the ſecond Perſecution againſt the Church of Chriſt. His pride was ſo great, that he commanded himſelf to be worſhipped as God; and that Images of gold and ſilver ſhould be ſet up for his honour in the *Capitoll*. His cruelty was unmeaſurable. The chiefeſt Nobles of the *Roman* Senators, either upon envy, or for their goods, he cauſed to be put to death. Having alſo heard ſome rumors of Chriſts Kingdom, he was afraid, as *Herod* had been before him; and thereupon commanded all of the linage of *David* to be ſought out and ſlain: At laſt two poor Chriſtians that came of *Judas*, the brother of Chriſt according to the fleſh, were brought before *Domitian*, and accuſed to be of the Tribe of *Juda*, and of the line of *David*: Then did the Emperour demand of them what ſtock of money and poſſeſſions they had: To whom they anſwered, that they two had not above thirty nine acres of land, out of which they payed tribute, and relieved themſelves by their labour and induſtry, withall ſhewing him their hard and brawny hands, by reaſon of their labour. Then did he ask them of Chriſt, and of his Kingdom; to whom they anſwered, that Chriſts Kingdom was not of this world, but ſpirituall and cæleſtiall; and that he would come at the laſt day to judge the quick and the dead. Hereupon he deſpiſed them as ſimple and contemptible perſons, and ſo diſmiſſed them. He puniſhed an infinite company of Chriſtians that were famous in the Church, with exile, and loſſe of their ſubſtance. Under this Perſecution it was that St *John* the beloved diſciple was firſt put into a veſſel of boiling oyl, and coming ſafe without hurt, out of the ſame, he was then baniſhed into the Iſle of *Patmos*, *Anno* 97. where he continued till after the death of *Domitian*, but was releaſed

Domitians character.

He deſtroies *Davids* ſeed.

S. *John* put into boiling oyl. Baniſhed into *Patmos*.

releaſed under *Pertinax*: At which time he returned to *Epheſus*, where he lived till he was a hundred and twenty years old. During his abode there, he was requeſted to repair to ſome places not farre off, to order their Eccleſiaſticall affairs; and being in a certain City, he beheld in the Congregation a young man, mighty of body, of a beautifull countenance, and fervent minde; whereupon calling the chief Biſhop unto him, he ſaid, *I commend this man unto thee with great diligence, in the witneſſe here of Chriſt and of the Church.* The Biſhop having received this charge, and promiſed his faithfull diligence therein, *John* ſpake the like words to him the ſecond time alſo, after which he returned unto *Epheſus*. The Biſhop having received this young man thus committed to his charge, brought him home, kept, nouriſhed, inſtructed and Baptized him; and the young man ſo profited under him, that at laſt he was made the Paſtor of a Congregation. But having by this means more liberty then before, ſome of his old companions began to reſort unto him; who firſt drew him forth to ſumptuous and riotous banquets; then enticed him to go abroad with them in the nights to rob and ſteal, and to much other wickedneſſe. And he being of a good wit, and ſtout courage, ran like an unbridled horſe to all manner of diſorders and outrage: And aſſociating to himſelf many looſe and diſſolute companions, he became their Head and Captain, in committing all kindes of murther and felonies. Not long after, upon ſome urgent occaſions, St *John* was again ſent for into thoſe parts, where having decided thoſe controverſies, and diſpatched thoſe buſineſſes for which he came, meeting with the afore-mentioned Biſhop, he required of him the pledge, which before Chriſt and the Congregation he had committed to his cuſtody. The Biſhop herewith amazed, ſuppoſing that he meant it of ſome money committed to him, which yet he had not received, not daring to contradict the Apoſtle, thereupon he ſtood mute: Then *John* perceiving that he was not underſtood, ſaid, *The young man, and the ſoul of our brother committed to your cuſtody, I do require.* Whereupon the Biſhop with many tears ſaid, *He is dead:* To whom *John* replied, *How, and by what death?* The Biſhop anſwered, *He is dead to God, for he is become a wicked and vicious man, and a thief, and now he doth frequent theſe mountains, with a company of theeves and villains like himſelf*, &c. The Apoſtle rending his garments with a great lamentation ſaid, *I left a good keeper of my brothers ſoul; get me an horſe and guide preſently*; which being done, he went ſtrait to the mountains, and was no ſooner come thither, but he was taken by the theeves that watched for their prey, to whom he ſaid, *I came hither for this cauſe, Lead me to your Captain:* and ſo being brought before him, the Captain all armed, looked fiercely upon him, and ſoon coming to the knowledge of him, he was ſtricken with ſuch ſhame and confuſion, that he began to flie, but the old man followed him as faſt as he could, crying, *My ſon why doſt thou flie from thy father? an armed man from one naked? a young man from an old man? Have pity upon me my ſon, and fear not, there is yet hope of ſalvation, I will an-*

An excellent ſtory of a young man.

swer for thee to Christ, I will die for thee if need be, as Christ died for us; I will give my life for thee; Beleeve me Christ hath sent me. He hearing these things, first as in a maze, stood still, lost his courage, cast down his weapons, then trembled, and wept bitterly, and coming to the old man he embraced him with many tears, only his right hand he kept hid and covered. Then the Apostle, after he had promised and assured him that he should obtain pardon of our Saviour, falling upon his knees, he praied for him, kissing his murthering right hand, which for shame he durst not shew before, and then brought him back to the Congregation, where he fasted and praied continually for him, comforted and confirmed him with many Scripture-promises, and left him not, till he had restored him to his former Office, and made him a great example of Gods mercy to repentant sinners.

Simeon crucified.

In this Persecution *Simeon* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, after many torments, was crucified to death: and an innumerable company of Martyrs suffered for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, amongst whom

Flavia banished.

was *Flavia* the daughter of *Flavius Clemens*, a *Roman* Senator and Consul, who amongst many others was banished into the Isle of *Pontia*.

A cruel Law.

This Law also was made by the *Roman* Senate, *Non debere demitti Christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent*, that Christians should not be let go, that were once brought before the Tribunall seat, except they renounced their Religion. Yea that which

Christians slandered.

stirred up the Emperour more to persecute the Christians, were those abominable lies, and malicious slanders raised against them by the Heathen Idolaters, as that they were a people that lived in incest, that in their nightly meetings, putting out the candles, they ran together in all filthy manner: that they killed their own children, and used to

Charged with Sedition and Rebellion; and the causers of all publike calamities. *Christianos ad Leones.*

eat mans flesh: that they were seditious and rebellious, and refused to swear by the fortune of *Cæsar*; and would not adore his Image in the Market place, and in brief, that they were pernicious to the *Roman* Empire: Yea whensoever any thing happened amisse to the City of *Rome*, or to her Provinces, either by famine, pestilence, earthquakes, warres, unseasonable weather, *&c.* it was presently imputed to the Christians. Besides also there were a number of wicked promoters and accusers, that for lucre's sake to have the possessions of the Christians, accused and persecuted them to the death. Also when the

The Oath *ex Officio.*

Christians were brought before the Magistrates, they gave them an oath, requiring them to declare the truth, whether they were Christians or no, and if they confessed, then by the law, sentence of death was passed against them. Yet were not these Tyrants content by death to destroy their bodies, but the kindes of death were divers and horrible;

Variety of torments.

whatsoever the cruelty of mans witty and wicked invention could devise for the punishment of mans body, was practised against the poor Saints of God: Imprisonments, Stripes, Scourgings, Rackings, Tearings, Stoning, plates of Iron burning hot, laid to the tendereſt parts of their bodies, deep Dungeons, Strangling in Prisons, the Teeth of

wilde

wilde Beasts, Gridirons, Gibbits and Gallows, Tossings upon the Horns of Bulls, *&c.* And when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid on heaps, and dogs left to keep them, that none might come to bury them; neither could any prayer or intreaty obtain leave that they might be interred. Notwithstanding all which horrible punishments, the Church of Christ daily increased, deeply rooted in the Doctrine of the Apostles and Apostolicall men, and watered plenteously with the bloud of the Saints.

Buriall denied them.

Also in this Persecution, *Protasius* and *Gervasius* were martyred at *Millaine*. *Timothy* was stoned to death at *Ephesus*, by the worshippers of *Diana*. *Dionysius Areopagita* was slain with the sword at *Paris*, &c.

Protasius, Gervasius. *Timothy* at *Dionysius* martyred.

CHAP. IX.

The third Primitive Persecution which began Anno Christi 108.

Domitian being slain by some of his own servants, *Nerva* succeeded him, who was a good and mercifull man, stayed the persecution against the Christians, called them home from banishment, so that the Church enjoyed peace in his time, but he reigning only thirteen moneths, *Trajan* a *Spaniard* succeeded him, who in the tenth year of his reign, raised the third Persecution against the Church, which was farre more cruel then either of the former; insomuch as *Plinius Secundus*, an heathen Philosopher, seeing the lamentable slaughter of the Christians, moved with pity, he wrote to *Trajan* concerning the same; that whereas there were many thousands of them daily put to death, there were none of them which did any thing contrary to the *Romane* Laws worthy persecution, saving that they used to gather together in the morning before day, and sing Hymns to a certain God that they worshipped, called Christ; in other things they were godly and honest: and for proof hereof, saith he, *I caused two maidens to be laid on the rack, and with torments to be examined about the same; but finding nothing in them but only lewd and immoderate superstition, I resolved to surcease further enquiry, till I received further instructions from you about this matter*, &c. *Trajan* having read this Epistle, returned answer; that it was his minde, that the Christians should not be sought after, but if they were brought and convicted, that then they should suffer execution: whereof *Tertullian* speaking, saith; *O confused sentence! He would not have them sought for as men innocent, and yet would have them punished as men guilty:* Now though upon this act, the rage of the Persecution was somewhat abated, yet many evil disposed men, and cruell Officers there were, which ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers Provinces: especially if any

Trajan's Persecution.

Pliny writes in the Christians behalf.

Christianity accounted superstition.

Tertullians speech.

commotion was raiſed in any of them, then preſently were the Chriſtians blamed for it. *Trajan* ſent a command to *Jeruſalem*, that whoſoever could be found out of the ſtock of *David*, ſhould be enquired for, and put to death; hereupon ſome Sectaries of the *Jewiſh* nation, accuſed *Simeon* the ſonne of *Cleophas*, to come of *Davids* line, and that he was a Chriſtian: of which accuſers it happened, that ſome of them were taken to be of the ſtock of *David*, and ſo moſt righteouſly were executed themſelves who ſought the deſtruction of others. In this Perſecution ſuffered *Phocas* Biſhop of *Pontus*, whom *Trajan*, becauſe he would not ſacrifice to *Neptune*, cauſed to be caſt into a hot lime-kilne, and afterwards to be put into a ſcalding bath, where he ended his life in the cauſe of Chriſt: As alſo *Sulpitius Servilianus*, and *Nereus*, and *Achilleus* ſuffered martyrdom in *Rome*, *Sagaris* in *Aſia*: Then alſo *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch* was apprehended and ſent to *Rome*, where he was devoured of wilde beaſts; and beſides theſe many thouſand others.

The ſtock of *David* ſought for.

A juſt reward.

Phocas Martyr.

Sulpitius, *Nereus* and *Achilleus* Martyrs.

After the death of *Trajan*, ſucceeded *Hadrian*, who continued this third Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians; at which time, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Rome*, with his two Deacons, as alſo *Hermes* and *Quirinus* with their families ſuffered martyrdom. Alſo about this time, *Zenon* a Noble man of *Rome*, with above ten thouſand more were ſlain for Chriſts ſake. Alſo in mount *Ararath* were ten thouſand crucified, crowned with thorns, and thruſt into the ſide with ſharp darts, after the example of the Lords paſſion. *Euſtachius*, a noble Captain, whom *Traian* had ſent out to warre againſt the *Barbarians*; after (through Gods mercy,) he had valiantly ſubdued his enemies, was returning home with victory: *Hadrian* for joy, went to meet him, and to bring him home with triumph: but by the way, he would needs ſacrifice to *Apollo*, for the victory obtained, willing *Euſtachius* to doe the ſame with him: but when by no means he could be perſwaded thereto, coming to *Rome*, he with his wife and children ſuffered martyrdom, by the command of the ingratefull Emperour. Alſo *Fauſtinus* and *Jobita*, Citizens of *Brixia*, were martyred with many torments; which cauſed one *Calocerius*, beholding their admirable patience in the midſt of their cruel torments, cryed out, *verè magnus eſt Deus Chriſtianorum*, Verily great is the God of the Chriſtians; whereupon being apprehended, he was made partaker of their martyrdom. Alſo *Eleutherius* Biſhop in *Apulia*, was beheaded, together with his mother *Anthea*. Alſo *Symphoriſſa*, a godly matron, was often cruelly ſcourged, afterwards hanged up by the hairs of her head; at laſt had an huge ſtone faſtened to her, and ſo was thrown into the river; after which her ſeven children in like manner, with ſundry and divers kinds of torments, were all of them martyred by the Tyrant. Theſe ſeven children of *Symphoriſſa*, were faſtened to ſeven ſtakes, then racked up with a pully, and afterwards thruſt thorow; *Creſcens* in the neck, *Julianus* in the breaſt, *Nemeſius* in the heart, *Primitivus* in the navill, *Juſtinus* was cut in every joint of his body, *Stattens* run thorow with ſpears, and *Eugenius*

Adrian Emp. *Alexander*, *Herenes* and *Quirinus* Martyrs. *Zenon*.

Ten thouſand crucified.

Euſtachius Martyr.

Monſtrous ingratitude. *Fauſtinus* and *Jobita* Martyrs

Note.

Eleutherius, *Anthea* and *Symphoriſſa* Martyrs. With her ſeven ſons.

cut

cut asunder from the breast to the lower parts, and then all of them were cast into a deep pit. *Adrian* being at *Athens*, sacrificed to the Idols after the manner of the *Grecians*, and gave free leave to whomsoever would, to persecute the Christians, which should refuse it: whereupon *Quadratus* bishop of *Athens*, a man of admirable zeal, and famous for learning, exhibited to the Emperour a learned and excellent Apology in defence of the Christian religion: The like also did *Aristides*, an excellent Philosopher in *Athens*: There was also one *Serenus Granius*, a man of great nobility, who writ pithy and grave Letters to *Hadrian*; shewing that it was neither agreeable to right nor reason, that the bloud of innocents should be given up to the rage and fury of the people, and be condemned for no other fault but for their opinions: Hereupon the Emperour became more favourable to them, writing also in their behalf to *Minutius Fundanus* Proconsul of *Asia*, that if they had no other crime objected against them, they should not be put to death. Yet notwithstanding all this, the rage of the heathen multitude did not cease to disquiet and persecute the people of God; imputing to them whatsoever mischief and judgements befell them; yea they invented against them all manner of contumelies, and false crimes to accuse them of, whereby many in sundry places were molested and put to death.

Quadratus his Apology for the Christians, and *Aristides*, and *Serenus*.

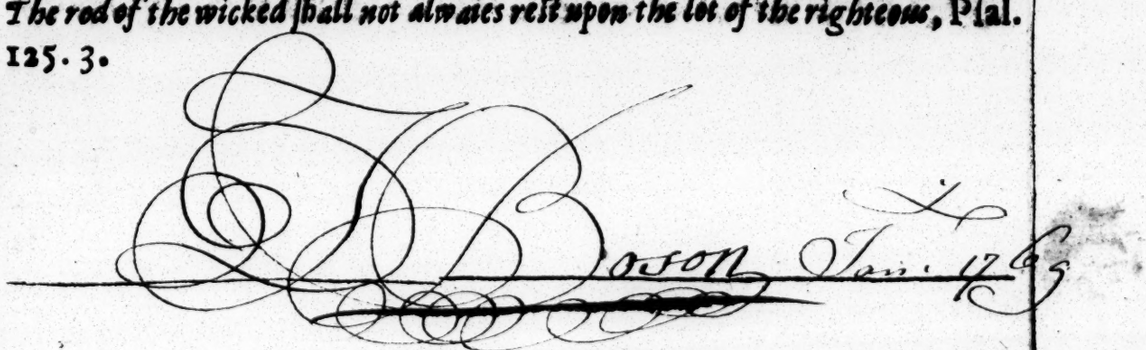
Christians falsly accused.

After *Hadrian*, succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, who being informed of the cruel sufferings of the Christians, wrote his Letter to the Commons of *Asia*, forbidding them to persecute the Christians any further, which Epistle he thus concludes, *If any hereafter shall offer any vexation and trouble to Christians, having no other cause, but because they are such, let him that is appeached, be released and freely discharged, and let his accuser sustain the punishment*, &c.

Ant. Pius Emp. shews them favour.

An excellent Law.

By this means then the tempest of Persecution began in those daies to be appeased, through the mercifull providence of God; who would not have his Church to be utterly overthrown and rooted up thereby: *The rod of the wicked shall not alwaies rest upon the lot of the righteous*, Psal. 125. 3.





Here place the ſecond Figure.



CHAP.

Chap. X.

The fourth Primitive Persecution which began Anno Christi 162.

After the death of that quiet and milde Prince *Antoninus Pius*, his son *M. Antoninus Verus* succeeded in the Empire, a stern and severe man by nature, who raised the fourth Persecution against the Christians; wherein a great number of them, who truly professed Christ, suffered most cruel punishments and torments, especially in *Asia* and *France*, amongst whom was *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, who was burnt at a stake at *Smyrna*, together with twelve others that came from *Philadelphia*. Also *Germanicus* a young man, did most constantly persevere in the Doctrine of Christ, whom when the Proconsul of *Asia* desired to remember his age, and to favour himself, he would by no flatteries be withdrawn from his stedfastnesse, but remaining constant, was thrown to the wilde beast, whom he allured and provoked to come upon him, and to devour him, that he might be the more speedily delivered out of this wretched life. Also in this persecution suffered *Metrodorus* a Minister, who was consumed by fire; and *Pionius*, who after much boldnesse of speech, with his Apologies exhibited, and his Sermons made to the people in defence of the Christian faith, and after much relieving and comforting such as were in prisons and distresse, at last was put to cruel torments, and then burned in the fire. Also at *Pargamopolis* in *Asia*, suffered *Carpus*, *Papilus* and *Agathonica*, a woman, who after their most constant and worthy confessions, were put to death.

Polycarp Martyr.

Germanicus. Constancy.

Metrodorus.

Pionius Apology and Martyrdom.

Carpus, *Papilus* and *Agathonica*.

At *Rome*, *Felicitas* with her seven children were martyred, whereof her eldest son, after he was whipt and grievously scourged with rods, was prest to death with leaden weights; the two next had their brains beaten out with mawls; the fourth was thrown down headlong from an high place, and brake his neck; the three youngest were beheaded, and lastly the mother was slain with the sword.

Felicitas and her seven children.

Also *Justin Martyr*, a man that excelled in learning and Philosophy, and a great defender of the Christian Religion, who had delivered to the Emperor and Senate, an Apology in defence of the Christians, suffered martyrdom in this Persecution.

Justin Martyr's Apology and Martyrdom.

There was in *Egypt* a certain woman married to an husband that was given much unto lasciviousnesse, whereunto she her self also had been formerly addicted; but being instructed in the Christian Religion, she became a chast and godly Matron, and endeavoured to perswade her husband also thereunto: But he continuing in his filthy life, she resolved to be divorced from him: yet, at the request of her friends, she forbore, to try if by any means he would be reclaimed: But he going to *Alexandria*, and living more licentiously then before, she sued

Malice. ſued out a bill of Divorce, and ſo was ſeparated from him; then did this malicious wretch accuſe her to be a Chriſtian, which was no leſſe then death, whereupon ſhe being in great perill, delivered up a ſupplication to the Emperour, craving but ſo much favour, that ſhe might go and ſet her family in order, and then ſhe would be ready to anſwer to all ſuch crimes as ſhould be objected againſt her: This petition the Emperour granted; Her husband perceiving that he was fruſtrated of his expectation, went and accuſed *Ptolemæus* (who was her inſtructer in the faith of Chriſt) that he was a Chriſtian. *Ptolemæus* loving the truth, and not thinking it good to hide his profeſſion, confeſſed it: Therefore being brought before *Urbicius* the Judge, he was by him condemned to die: Whereupon one *Lucius* a Chriſtian, ſtanding by, ſaid to the Judge, *What reaſon, I pray you, or equity is this, that this man, who is neither adulterer, fornicator, murtherer, nor felon, nor guilty of any other crime, ſhould be condemned for his name, and profeſſion of Chriſtianity? Theſe manner of judgements* (O Urbicius) *are neither honourable for the Emperour nor for the eſtate of the Senate of Rome:* Then ſaid *Urbicius*, me thinks thou alſo art a Chriſtian, which *Lucius* confeſſing, the Judge without any further delay, commanded him alſo to be had away to the place of execution; to whom he anſwered, *I thank you with all my heart, that hereby you releaſe me from moſt wicked governours, and ſend me to my good and loving Father, who is God of gods, and King of kings.* Alſo a third man coming to the Judge, and uſing the like liberty of ſpeech, had the like ſentence of death, and was crowned with the ſame crown of Martyrdom.

Ptolemæus.

Lucius.

Note.

Concordus. Alſo one *Concordus*, a Miniſter of the City of *Spoleto*, becauſe he refuſed to ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, and did ſpit in the face of the Idol, after divers cruel torments ſuſtained, was beheaded with the ſword.

Many others alſo ſuffered Martyrdom at the ſame time, becauſe they ſharply reprehended Idolatry, and refuſed, at the Emperours command, to offer ſacrifice to Idols, for which they were beheaded.

Perſecutions in *France*. Many Chriſtians alſo ſuffered in *France*, the Hiſtory of whom was written, and ſet forth by their own Churches, and directed to the brethren of *Aſia* and *Phrygia*; wherein they write, that Satans inſtruments were ſo maliciouſly active againſt them, that they could not be ſafe any where, neither in the Markets, Shops, nor their own Houſes. Yea they were forbidden to come in any publick places: But God in mercy took out of the Tyrants hands, ſuch as were weak amongſt the Chriſtians, and ſet up others, as Pillars, who were able to abide all ſufferings, and valiantly to withſtand the enemy, notwithſtanding all the opprobrious puniſhments they could deviſe; yea by their admirable patience they ſhewed that all the ſufferings of this preſent time were not to be compared with the glory which they expected to be revealed in them. Firſt they ſuffered whatſoever the frantick multitude could inflict upon them, by railings, ſcourgings, drawings and halings, flinging of ſtones, impriſonment, *&c.* Then were they led to the Market-place, where the Captain and other City-Officers, commanded them

Gods providence.

Patience.

Divers torments.

them to priſon, after they had made confeſſions of their faith publikely, till the return of the chief Governour: Who being come back, he uſed all extremity that poſſibly he could againſt them. At which time a noble young man, called *Vetius Epagathus*, being repleniſhed with fervent zeal and love, both to God and the brethren, could not ſuffer the wicked judgement which was given againſt the brethren; Whereupon he deſired the Governour to hear what he had to ſay in their behalf, in whom was no impiety found: But the people cryed out againſt him, and the Juſtice denied his lawfull requeſt, withall asking him whether he himſelf were not a Chriſtian? whereto with a loud and bold voice he anſwered, *I am a Chriſtian:* And thus was he received into the fellowſhip of the Martyrs. By this worthy example the reſt of the brethren were more animated to ſuffer Martyrdom: Yet ſome there were as yet weak, and not ſo well prepared for ſufferings, of whom there were ten that fainted, which filled the reſt with great heavineſſe: Their example alſo cauſed ſuch as were not yet apprehended to be leſſe forward in adventuring themſelves; yet every day were ſome apprehended, which were worthy to fill up the number of them which were fallen.

Vetius Epagathus his zeal.

Humane frailty.

Againſt the Chriſtians were their heathen ſervants examined, and being threatned with extream torments, they were enforced to confeſſe againſt their Maſters, that at their meetings they kept the feaſts of *Thieſtes*, and inceſt of *Oedipus*, and many other ſuch like crimes, not fit to be named, which things being bruted abroad, every one began to exerciſe their cruelty againſt the people of God: Yea their familiar friends diſdained and waxed mad againſt them.

Chriſtians ſlanderd.

Then was all manner of cruelty uſed againſt them, eſpecially againſt *Sanctus*, Deacon of the Church of *Vienna*, and *Maturus*, but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy ſouldier of Chriſt. Alſo againſt *Attalus* and *Blandina*, concerning whom we were all afraid, eſpecially her Miſtreſſe, leaſt through weakneſſe ſhe ſhould not ſtand to her profeſſion; but, through Gods grace, ſhe was ſo admirably repleniſhed with ſtrength and boldneſſe, that they which had the tormenting of her by courſe from morning till night, for very wearineſſe gave over, and fell down, confeſſing that they could do no more againſt her, marvelling that ſhe yet lived, having her body ſo torn and rent as it was: profeſſing that any one of thoſe torments alone had been ſufficient to bereave her of life. But this bleſſed Virgin became ſtronger and ſtronger in her ſufferings, and as often as ſhe ſpake theſe words, *I am a Chriſtian, and have not committed any evil*, ſhe was wonderfully comforted.

Sanctus.
Maturus.
Attalus.
Blandina.

A miracle of mercy.

Tormentors wearied.

Note.

Sanctus alſo, who in his torments had endured more pains then the nature of man was able to ſtand under, when the wicked thought to have heard him utter ſome blaſphemous words, through the intollerableneſſe of his pains, abode notwithſtanding ſo conſtant in minde, that they could neither extort out of him, what countryman he was, where brought up, what his name was, whether a bond-man or a free,

Admirable conſtancy.

but to every queſtion he anſwered, *I am a Chriſtian:* When therefore they had uſed all other kindes of torments, they clapped plates of braſſe red hot to the tendereſt parts of his body, wherewith, though he was grievouſly ſcorched, yet ſhrunk he not for the matter; yea though his body was all drawn together with the ſcorching fire, ſo that he retained not the proper ſhape of a man, yet did he draw comfort from Chriſt, ſo as to rejoice in theſe tribulations. After a while they brought him again to new torments, hoping thereby to enforce him to a recantation; at which time his body was ſo ſore and ſwoln, that he could not ſuffer a man to touch him: but contrary to their expectation, his body in theſe latter torments was ſo ſupplied and reſtored, that he recovered the former ſhape and uſe of his members, ſo that theſe ſecond torments, through the grace of Chriſt, proved a ſoveraign medicine to him.

A miracle of mercy.

Biblides.

Satan alſo now thinking that he was ſure of *Biblides*, who was one of thoſe that had denied Chriſt, and hoping to prevail with her, a weak and feeble woman in the faith, to damn her ſoul by blaſpheming God, brought her to the place of execution: but ſhe in the middeſt of her torments returning to her ſelf, and by thoſe pains remembring the torments of hell, ſaid to her tormentors; *How ſhould we Chriſtians eat our own children (as you report of us,) when we eat not the bloud of any beaſt?* and ſo confeſſing her ſelf to be a Chriſtian, ſhe was martyred with the reſt.

Yet here did not the rage of the enemies ceaſe; for when the Chriſtians were caſt into priſon, they were ſhut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and drawn by the feet in a rack, even unto the fifth hole: Some of them were ſtrangled and killed in the priſons; others remaining in priſon, deſtitute of all humane help, were ſo ſtrengthened by the Lord, both in body and minde, that they were a great comfort to the reſt: The younger ſort, whoſe bodies had not yet felt the laſh of the whip, were not able to endure the ſharpneſſe of their impriſonment, but died under the ſame.

Photinus.

Photinus, Deacon to the Biſhop of *Lyons*, about eighty nine years old, weak and feeble, by reaſon of age and ſickneſſe, yet of a lively ſpirit and courage, by reaſon of the great deſire which he had of martyrdom, being brought to the judgement ſeat, and being there demanded of the chief Ruler, What was the Chriſtian-mans God? he anſwered, *If thou beeſt worthy to know, thou ſhalt know:* the Ruler being enraged herewith, cauſed him to be extreamly beaten: alſo ſuch as ſtood next him, did him all the deſpight they could, beating and kicking of him without any regard to his reverend gray hayres; others that were further off, threw at him whatſoever came next hand; and thus whilſt he was gaſping after life, they threw him into priſon, where after two daies he died.

They alſo which in the firſt Perſecution had denied Chriſt, were apprehended, caſt into priſon, and made partakers of the others afflictions, yea they had twice ſo much puniſhment as the other had: and

whereas

whereas they which had been conſtant, were refreſhed with the joy of martyrdom, with the hope of Gods promiſes, and with the love of Chriſt, and his holy Spirit: the other Apoſtates being full of guilt, went out to death, with dejected and ill-favoured countenances, and filled with ſhame, the very Gentiles reviling them as degenerous perſons, and worthy to ſuffer as evil doers: whereas in the mean time, they which had remained conſtant, went to their martyrdom with cheerfull countenances, adorned with glory and grace: yea their very bonds wherewith they were tyed, ſet them out as Brides when they are decked in gorgeous aray; and withall they had ſuch a redolent ſmell, as if they had been anointed with ſome ſweet balm: by which ſights the reſt were confirmed, and being apprehended, confeſſed Chriſt without any ſtaggering. Danger of Apoſtacy.

The martyrdom of the Saints was of divers kinds, as the offering to God a garland decked with ſundry kinds of colours and flowers.

Maturus, *Attalus*, and *Blandina*, were again brought forth to the publike ſcaffold, where *Maturus* and *Sanctus* ſuffered again all manner of torments, as if they had ſuffered nothing before: They were ſcourged, torn of wilde beaſts, ſet in red hot iron chairs, in which their bodies were fried as on a gridiron, their tormentors raged more and more againſt them, labouring to overcome the patience of the Saints: yet could they get nothing out of *Sanctus* mouth, but that he was a Chriſtian: Theſe holy men having been thus made a ſpectacle all the day to the people, were at laſt ſlain. Then *Blandina* being faſtened to a ſtake, was caſt to the wilde beaſts, but they, as being more mercifull then men, would not come near her: then they caſt her again into priſon, where ſhe, though a weak woman, yet armed with invincible courage by Chriſt, mightily encouraged her brethren. Then was *Attalus* brought forth with this inſcription, *This is Attalus the Chriſtian*, againſt whom the people were much enraged, but the Governour underſtanding that he was a Roman, remanded him to priſon till he underſtood the Emperours pleaſure: Many that had before denied Chriſt, through Gods grace recovered themſelves again, and taſted the ſweetneſſe of him that deſireth not the death of a ſinner, *&c.* and of their own accord came to the Judgement ſeat to be examined: then did the Judge, when a great concourſe of people was met together, ſend for all the Chriſtian priſoners, and as many as were freemen of *Rome* he beheaded, the reſidue he gave to be devoured of wilde beaſts, amongſt whom alſo they which had before denied Chriſt, joyfully ſuffered martyrdom. Whileſt the Chriſtians were examining at the bar, one *Alexander* a Phyſician, by ſigns, and becks, perſwaded thoſe which were examined, boldly to confeſſe Chriſt, which the people taking notice of, accuſed him to the Judge: who asking him what religion he was of, he anſwered, *I am a Chriſtian*: whereupon he was immediatly adjudged to be devoured of the beaſts. Recovery after fals. *Alexander.*

The next day was *Attalus* and this *Alexander* brought forth to the Scaffold, where they had all manner of torments inflicted upon them,

and having endured the greateſt agony that poſſibly they could be put to, they were at the laſt ſlain: *Alexander* never ſo much as ſighed, but prayed to, and praiſed God all the while he was tormented: *Attalus*, when he was ſet in the iron chair, and the frying favour of his burning body began to ſmell, ſaid to the people: *Behold! this which you do is to eat mans fleſh: for we neither eat men, nor commit any other wickedneſſe:* And being demanded what was the name of their God, he ſaid, *Our God hath no ſuch name as men have:* then ſaid they, Let us ſee whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands: Then was *Blandina* again brought forth, and with her *Ponticus* a youth of 15 years old, who defying their Idols, and conſtantly cleaving to Chriſt, were put to all the torments their enraged enemies could deviſe: the youth having ſuffered all kindes of torments, at laſt gave up the ghoſt: *Blandina* was firſt pitifully whipped, then thrown to the wilde beaſts, then tormented upon the gridiron, then put into a net, and thrown to the wilde Bull, and when ſhe was toſſed, gored, and wounded with his horns, ſhe was at laſt ſlain, but was ſo filled with raviſhing joys of the holy ghoſt, that ſhe felt no pain during all her torments. Such as were ſtrangled in Priſons, were afterwards thrown to dogs, and had keepers both day and night ſet to watch them, leſt their bones and members ſhould be buried. In the mean time the Gentiles extolled their Idols, mocking and flouting the Chriſtians, ſaying, *Where is your God that you ſo much boaſt of? and what helpeth this your religion for which you give your lives?* The bodies of the Martyrs were thus made a gazing-ſtock for ſix daies in the open ſtreets, and then were burned, and their aſhes thrown into the River.

Note.

Blaſphemy.

Ponticus a boy of 15 years old.

Joy unſpeakable.

Blaſphemy.

Alſo in this Perſecution *Juſtin Martyr*, through the malice of *Creſcens* the Philoſopher, ſuffered Martyrdom. Alſo one *Alcibiades*, a man of a ſtrict life, eating only bread and water, was caſt into the priſon where *Attalus*, and other Chriſtians lay: and *Alcibiades* continued the ſame ſtrict diet in priſon; but it was from God revealed to *Attalus*, that he did not well in refuſing the other good creatures of God, and that it was ſcandalous to his brethren; whereupon he reformed and ate of all things boldly with thankſgiving.

Juſtin Martyr.
Alcibiades.

About this time *Claudius Apolinaris* Biſhop of *Hieropolis*, and *Melito* Biſhop of *Sardis*, eloquent and learned men, delivered to the Emperour excellent Apologies written by them in defence of the Chriſtian Religion, whereby they moved him ſomewhat to ſtay the rage of his Perſecution; which alſo was furthered upon this occaſion: *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Marcus Antonius* Emperours, going to warre againſt the *Quades*, *Vandals*, *Sarmates* and *Germans*; their Army, by the multitude of their enemies, was coopt up in ſome ſtrait, dry and hot places, where the ſouldiers having been deſtitute of water for five daies together, were all like to periſh. Hereupon a Legion of Chriſtian ſouldiers being in the Army, withdrew apart from the reſt, and falling proſtrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer, obtained of God a double relief; for the Lord ſent the *Romans* ſuch ſhowers, as ſatisfied their neceſſities,

Clau. Apolinaris & *Melito* Apologize for the Chriſtians.

The thundring Legion.

neceſſities, and flaſhed ſuch lightnings againſt their enemies, that thereby they were diſcomfited and put to flight. This miracle ſo pleaſed the Emperour, that ever after he uſed the Chriſtians gentler, writing alſo to divers Rulers, commanding them to give thanks to the Chriſtians, as for his victory, ſo for the preſervation of himſelf, and his Army. His Letter was to this purpoſe, That whereas Himſelf and Army, were invironed with nine hundred ſeventy five thouſand fighting men, and were like to periſh for want of water, the Chriſtians praying to a God, that he knew not, obtained relief for him, and by hail and lightning, deſtruction to his enemies; whereby he perceived their God to be a mighty God. Hereupon he decreed that none ſhould be puniſhed for the Chriſtian profeſſion, being guilty of no other crime, and that the accuſers of the Chriſtians ſhould be burned alive: Which decree he commanded to be recorded in the Senate-houſe, proclaimed publikely in the Court of *Trajan*, and ſent diligently into all his Provinces, that all might take notice of the ſame. A good Edict.

Yet not long after, *Apollonius* a noble Senator of *Rome*, was accuſed by his own ſervant before the Judge, for being a Chriſtian: The accuſer, according to the Decree, had his legs broken, and was put to death. But *Apollonius* having rendred an account of his faith before the Senate, was condemned to be beheaded, notwithſtanding the Decree, becauſe there was an old Law, that any that was arraigned for profeſſing Chriſt, without a recantation could not be releaſed. *Apollonius*. A juſt reward of trechery.

Commodus upon his birth-day, calling the people of *Rome* together, in a great royalty, clothed in his Lions skin, ſacrificed to *Hercules*, cauſing it to be proclaimed, that *Hercules* was the Patron of the City: Whereupon *Vincentius*, *Euſebius*, *Peregrinus* and *Potentianus*, learned men, and Paſtors of the Congregations, being ſtirred up with zeal, went about from place to place, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Chriſt, and hearing of the madneſſe of the Emperour and people, they reproved that Idolatrous blindneſſe, exhorting men to believe in the true and living God, and that forſaking the worſhipping of devils, they ſhould honour God alone. The Emperour hearing hereof, cauſed them to be apprehended, and required them to ſacrifice to *Hercules*, which they refuſing to do, he cauſed them to be grievouſly tormented, and at laſt to be preſſed to death with weights of lead. *Vincentius*, *Euſebius*, *Peregrinus*, & *Potentianus*. Zeal.

Julius a *Roman* Senator, having been converted by the preaching of theſe men, afterwards ſent for *Ruffinus* a Miniſter, by whom himſelf and all his family were baptized: and burning with holy zeal, he made an open profeſſion of the faith of Chriſt, praying that he might not only believe, but that he might have the honour to ſuffer for his Name. The Emperour hearing that he was become a Chriſtian, ſent for him, to whom he ſaid, *O* Julius, *what madneſſe poſſeſſeth thee thus to forſake the religion of thy forefathers, to embrace a new and fond kinde of Religion of the Chriſtians?* Hereupon *Julius* made before him a free and open profeſſion of his faith, affirming that the *Roman* Gods were falſe Gods, and that they that worſhipped them, ſhould be puniſhed *Julius*. Zeal.

with everlaſting damnation. The Emperour hearing that he deſpiſed his gods, was much enraged, and committed him to *Vitellius* a cruel and fierce man, to compell him either to ſacrifice to *Hercules*, or to ſlay him: But *Julius* nothing diſcouraged, and perſwading *Vitellius* to acknowledge, and ſerve the true God, was at his command with cudgels beaten to death.

Chap. XI.

The fifth Primitive Perſecution, which began Anno Chriſti 205.

Commodus being dead, *Pertinax* ſucceeded in the Empire, under whom the Church enjoyed peace, and flouriſhed exceedingly, ſo that many of the nobles of *Rome* embraced the true faith, together with their whole houſholds.

Severus Emperour.

Pertinax being dead, *Severus* ſucceeded, and in the firſt ten years of his reign he was very milde and gentle to the Chriſtians: But afterwards, through ſiniſter ſuggeſtions, and malicious accuſations, he was ſo incenſed, that by his Proclamations he commanded that no Chriſtians ſhould any more be ſuffered to live. Hereby great Perſecution was ſtirred up on every ſide, and an infinite number of Martyrs were ſlain. The crimes objected againſt the Chriſtians were ſedition, rebellion againſt the Emperour, ſacriledge, murthering of infants, inceſtuos pollutions, eating raw fleſh, worſhipping the head of an Aſſe, *&c.* but eſpecially that they would not worſhip their Idols. The places where this Perſecution moſt raged, were *Africa, Capadocia, Alexandria* and *Carthage.* The number of them that ſuffered, was innumerable, amongſt whom was *Leonides* the father of *Origen*; with whom *Origen* his ſon, being but ſeventeen years old, would have ſuffered (ſuch a fervent deſire he had of Martyrdom) had not his mother privily in the night conveyed away his ſhirt and clothes, whereupon more for ſhame to be ſeen, then for fear to die, he was conſtrained to remain at home.

Chriſtians charged with ſedition and rebellion, *&c.*

Leonides father of *Origen.*

Zeal.

Origen was afterwards a Profeſſor of Divinity at *Alexandria,* and out of his School, one *Plutarch* ſuffered Martyrdom, as alſo *Serenus* his brother, who was burned, and another *Serenus* who was beheaded. *Potamiena* alſo, who was tormented with boiling pitch poured upon her, and afterwards with her mother *Marcella,* and *Rhais* burned in the fire. This *Potamiena* being a beautifull Virgin, was committed to Captain *Baſilides* to ſee execution done upon her, and as he led her to the place of execution, he repreſſed the rage of the multitude, who followed her with many railings and revilings, whereupon, to requite his kindneſſe, ſhe prayed to the Lord for his converſion to the true faith, and ſo with admirable patience ſhe ſuffered Martyrdom.

Plutarch.
Serenus.
Potamiena.
Marcella and *Rhais.*

Shortly

Shortly after *Baſilides* being required to give an oath in the behalf of his fellow-ſouldiers, he denied the ſame, plainly affirming that he was a Chriſtian, and therefore he could not ſwear by the Idols, *&c.* They which heard him, thought that he jeſted at firſt, but when he had conſtantly affirmed it, they had him before the Judge, who committed him to ward: the Chriſtians wondring at it, went to him, and enquiring the cauſe of his converſion, he told them that *Potamiena* had praied for him, and ſo he ſaw a Crown put upon his head, adding that it ſhould not be long before he received it, and accordingly the next day he was beheaded.

Baſilides his ſtrange converſion.

As many ſuffered death in this perſecution, ſo others there were, who through Gods providence, ſuffered great torments, and yet eſcaped with life, of whom there was one *Alexander*, who for his conſtant confeſſion, and torments ſuffered, was afterwards made Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Alſo *Narciſſus*, againſt whom three wicked perſons conſpired to accuſe him, binding their accuſations with oaths and curſes, one wiſhing to be deſtroied with fire, if it were not true, another to be conſumed with a grievous diſeaſe, the other to loſe both his eyes: *Narciſſus* being unable to withſtand ſo wicked an accuſation, retired himſelf into a deſert: In the mean time Gods vengeance followed theſe perjured wretches: for the firſt by a ſmall ſpark of fire, was himſelf with all his family and goods burned: the ſecond was taken with a grievous ſicknes which tormented him from the top to the toe, whereof he died: the third being warned by theſe judgements confeſſed his fault, but by reaſon of his abundant ſorrow and weeping, he loſt both his eyes: *Narciſſus* hereby being cleared from the falſe accuſation, returned home, and was received into his Congregation again. Alſo one *Andoclus* was ſent by *Polycarp* into *France*, who becauſe he ſpread there the doctrine of Chriſt, was apprehended by the command of *Severus*, and firſt beaten with ſtaves and bats, and afterwards beheaded. *Aſclepiades* alſo, afterwards Biſhop of *Antioch*, ſuffered much in this Perſecution. Then did *Irenæus*, and many others with him ſuffer martyrdom: and ſhortly after *Tertullian* alſo. *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*, two godly women, with *Revocatus* their brother, and *Satyrus*, were thrown to the wilde beaſts, and devoured by them. *Saturninus* was beheaded: *Secundulus* caſt into priſon, where he died: all theſe ſuffered martyrdom at *Carthage*.

Narciſſus. Falſe Witneſſes plagued by God.

Andoclus.

Aſclepiades.

Irenæus.
Tertullian.
Perpetua.
Felicitas.
Revocatus.
Satyrus.
Secundulus.

Alſo *Zepherinus*, and after him *Urbanus*, both Biſhops of *Rome*, were martyred in this Perſecution: This *Urbanus* by preaching and holineſſe of life, converted many heathens unto Chriſt; amongſt whom were *Tiburtius* and *Valerianus*, two Noble men of *Rome*, who both ſuffered martyrdom: Alſo *Cecilia* a virgin, who was eſpouſed to *Valerian*, was apprehended and carried to the Idols to offer ſacrifice, which ſhe refuſing to doe, ſhould have been carried to the Judge to receive the ſentence of condemnation: but the Sergeants and Officers beholding her excellent beauty and prudent behaviour, began with many perſwaſions to ſolicit her to favour her ſelf, *&c.* but ſhe ſo replied with wiſedom

Zephcrinus.
Urbanus.

Tiburtius.
Valerianus.
Cecilia.

A great conversion.

wisedom and godly exhortations, that by the grace of almighty God, their hearts began to relent, and at length to yield to that religion which before they persecuted: which she perceiving, desired leave to goe home; and sending for *Urbanus* the Bishop to her house, he so grounded and established them in the faith of Christ, that about four hundred persons beleeved and were baptized; amongst whom was *Gordianus* a Noble man. Afterwards this blessed martyr was brought before the Judge, by whom she was condemned; then she was enclosed in an hot bath for twenty four hours, yet remaining alive, she was there beheaded.

Agapetus a boy of fifteen years old.

At *Preneste* in *Italy* was one *Agapetus* of fifteen years old apprehended, and because he refused to sacrifice to Idols, he was first scourged with whips, then hanged up by the feet, and had scalding water poured on him, then he was cast to the wilde beasts, but because they would not hurt him, he was lastly beheaded. *Antiochus* that executed these torments on him, suddenly fell down from his judiciall seat, crying out that all his bowels burned within him, and so he died miserably.

Gods judgement on a Persecutor.

Calepodius.

Calepodius a Minister of Christ in *Rome*, was first dragged through the streets, and after cast into *Tyber*.

Pamachius.

Pamachius, a Senator of *Rome*, with his wife and children, and other men and women, to the number of fourty two, were all beheaded in one day, together with another noble man, all whose heads were hung up over the gates of the City, to deterre others from the profession of Christianity.

Martina.

Also *Martina* a Christian Virgin having suffered many other bitter torments, was at last slain with the sword.

Chap. XII.

The sixth Primitive Persecution which began Anno Christi 237.

Maximinus Emp.

THe Emperour *Maximinus* raised the sixth Persecution against the Christians, especially against the Teachers and Leaders of the Church, thinking that if these Captains were removed out of the way, he should the easilier prevail against the rest. In the time of this Persecution, *Origen* wrote his book *De Martyrio*, which being lost, the names of most that suffered Martyrdom in those times, are buried in oblivion, yet were they very many: Amongst whom *Urbanus* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Philippus* one of his Ministers were banished into *Sardinia*, where they both died.

Urbanus and *Philip.*

About this time one *Natalius* that had formerly suffered great persecution for the cause of Christ, was seduced by *Asclepiodotus* and *Theodorus*, two Sectaries, to be the Bishop of their Sect, promising to

Sectaries dangerous.

pay

pay him a hundred and fifty crowns of silver every moneth, and so he joined himself to them; but the Lord in mercy not intending to lose him that had suffered so much for his sake, admonished him by a vision to adjoin himself to the true Church again, which the good man for the present, blinded with lucre and honour, did not regard as he ought to have done: The night after he was scourged by Angels, whereupon in the morning, putting on sack-cloth, with much weeping and lamentation, he went to the Christian Congregation, praying them for the tender mercies of Christ, that he might be received into their communion again; which request was accordingly granted unto him.

Note.

Probably it was by the terrours of his own conscience.

Hippolitus was drawn thorow the fields with wilde horses till he died: Many others were martyred and buried by sixty in a pit.

CHAP. XIII.

The seventh Primitive Persecution, which began Anno Christi 250.

Decius the Emperour raised this seventh terrible Persecution against the Christians, which was first occasioned by reason of the treasures of the Emperour, which were committed to *Fabian* the Bishop of *Rome*, who thereupon, by the command of *Decius*, was put to death, and moreover his Proclamations were sent into all quarters, that all which professed the name of Christ, should be slain. In the time of this Persecution *Origen* suffered many and great torments for the cause of Christ, by rackings, dungeons, *&c.*

Decius Emp.

Fabian Martyr.

A cruel Edict.

Nicephorus, who writeth of this Persecution under *Decius*, declareth the horriblenes of it to be so great, and so many Martyrs to suffer, *That*, saith he, *it is as easie to number the sands of the sea, as to set down the names of all those whom this persecution did devour.*

Alexander Bishop of *Hierusalem*, who was very aged, having governed the Church fourty years, was from thence carried to *Cæsarea*, where after a bold and constant confession of his faith, made before the Judge, he was cast into prison, and there died. *Babilas* Bishop of *Antioch* also died in prison, and fourty virgins were martyred there about that time. And one *Peter* in the country of *Phrygia*, being apprehended by the Proconsul, suffered most bitter torments for the name of Christ, the like did divers others in *Troada*. From *Babylon* divers Christians were led away by *Decius* into *Spain*, and there executed; the like sufferings had many in *Cæsarea*.

Alexander Martyr.

Babilas.

Peter.

Dionysius Alexandrinus, writing of the Martyrs that suffered in *Alexandria*, saith thus, *This Persecution began about a year before the Emperours Proclamation came forth, by reason of a wicked South-sayer, who coming to the City, stirred up the multitude of heathens against the Christians,*

A Southsayer stirs up a persecution.

perſwading them to uphold their Idolatrous ſervices; wherewith the people being inflamed, obtained full power to proſecute their wicked purpoſes, conceiving all religion to conſiſt in the deſtruction of the Chriſtians. And firſt of all they fell upon a Miniſter called *Metra*, whom they would have enforced to blaſpheme Chriſt; which when he refuſed, they laid upon him with ſtaves and clubs, and with ſharp reeds they pricked his face and eyes; and then, bringing him to the ſuburbs, they ſtoned him to death. Then they took an holy woman called *Quinta*, and bringing her to the Idol-Temple, would compell her to worſhip there; which ſhe conſtantly refuſing, they bound her feet, and drew her thorow all the ſtreets upon the hard ſtones, whipt her with whips, daſhed her againſt mil-ſtones, and laſtly ſtoned her to death. Then the enraged multitude breaking into the Chriſtians houſes, plundered them of all they had, the reſt of the lumber they carried into the market-place, and burned it: the Saints in the mean time *taking patiently and joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, knowing that they had a more enduring ſubſtance in heaven.*

Metra Martyr.

Quinta.

The Chriſtians houſes plundered.

Then they took an ancient virgin called *Apollinia*, whom they brought forth, and daſhing all the teeth out of her head, they made a great fire, threatning to caſt her into it, unleſſe ſhe would blaſpheme and deny Chriſt; whereupon ſhe, after a little pauſe, leaped into the fire, and ſo was burned. Then they took *Serapion* out of his houſe, whom they aſſailed with all kinde of torments, broke almoſt all the joints of his body; and laſtly throwing him down from an high loft, killed him. The poor Chriſtians could no where ſhelter themſelves, nor reſt day nor night, the multitude crying out, that unleſſe they would blaſpheme Chriſt, they ſhould all be burned. But through Gods mercy the miſerable wretches at laſt fell out amongſt themſelves, turning their cruelty, formerly exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians, upon their own heads, whereby the Church had a little breathing time.

Apollinia leaps into the fire.

Serapion.

Perſecutors divided amongſt themſelves.

Shortly after came forth the cruel Edict of the Emperour, which ſo terrified the Chriſtians, that ſome, eſpecially the rich, partly through fear, and partly by the perſwaſion of their neighbours, came to thoſe impure and idolatrous ſacrifices: Others came boldly to the Altars, declaring publikely, that they were not of that religion: Of the reſt, ſome ran away, others were taken, enduring bands and torments conſtantly: Others again, after long impriſonment, and ſundry torments, renounced their faith, whileſt others more ſtrong in the faith, valiantly endured Martyrdom: Amongſt whom was *Julianus*, a man diſeaſed with the gout, and not able to go, and *Cronion*, who were laid upon Camels, and there ſcourged, and at laſt thrown into the fire, where, with much conſtancie, they were conſumed. As *Julianus* went to Martyrdom, a certain ſouldier took his part againſt thoſe which railed upon him; Whereupon the people crying out againſt him, he was apprehended, and being conſtant in his profeſſion, was preſently beheaded.

The danger of riches.

Zeal.

Apoſtacy.

Julianus Martyr, and *Cronion.*

Alſo *Macar* a Chriſtian *Lybian* was burned alive. *Epimachus* and *Alexander*,

Macer.
Epimachus.

Alexander, having been long impriſoned, after innumerable pains and torments, with raſors and ſcourges, were with four women, conſumed with fire: *Ammonarion* a virgin, *Mercuria* an aged Matron, and *Dionyſia* a mother of many children, whom yet ſhe loved not above the Lord; theſe, when they could not be overcome by any torments inflicted on them by the cruel Judge, but rather were unſenſible of them all, were at laſt ſlain with the ſword.

Alexander. *Ammonarion.* *Dionyſia.* *Mercuria.*

Alſo three *Egyptians*, and a youth of fifteen years old, were brought before the Judge, who firſt began with the childe, by fair words, ſeeking to entice him, then by torments to conſtrain him, which not prevailing, when he had tormented the other alſo, he condemned them all to the fire: But the Judge wondering at the wiſe anſwers, and grave conſtancy of the childe, diſmiſſed him.

A boy of fifteen years old.

Nemeſion alſo an *Egyptian*, was firſt accuſed to be a companion of theeves, but being purged from that, he was accuſed of Chriſtianity, tormented and ſcourged extreamly, and then amongſt other theeves, burnt to death.

Nemeſion.

A certain Chriſtian being examined before the Judge, and through fear being ready to ſhrink back, there were by, certain ſouldiers of the degree of Knights, and an aged man named *Theophilus*, who were ready to burſt for grief, making ſigns to him, by their hands and geſtures, to be conſtant: which being obſerved by the by-ſtanders, they were ready to lay hold of them, but they of their own accord, preſſing up to the Judge, profeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, which much imboldened the weak Chriſtian that was before the tribunall, and terrified the Judge. This being done, they departed away, rejoycing for the teſtimony that they had given of their faith.

Humane frailty.

Zeal.

Courage.

In other Cities many Chriſtians were torn in pieces by the heathen.

Iſchirion, a ſervant to a noble man, was commanded by his Maſter to ſacrifice to the Idols, which when he refuſed, and would by no means be perſwaded to, his Maſter took a pike and ran him thorow.

Iſchirion.

Multitudes of Chriſtians wandring in deſerts and mountains, were devoured by hunger, thirſt, cold, ſickneſſe, theeves and wilde beaſts, amongſt whom was *Cheremon* Biſhop of the City of *Nilus*, and his wife, who flying into the mountains of *Arabia*, were never heard of more. *Dionyſius* alſo ſaith of himſelf, I ſpeak the truth before God, and lie not, I having no regard of my own life, and not without the motion of Gods Spirit, did flie, and avoid the danger of this Perſecution: Yea, and before that, when one was ſent from the Governour to ſeek me, I remained three daies at home to tarry for him; The meſſenger in the mean time narrowly ſought for me by all waies, fields, flouds and corners, where he thought I might hide my ſelf, God ſtriking him with ſuch blindneſſe, that he could not finde my houſe. After theſe three daies, the Lord God willing and commanding me to flie, and marvellouſly opening to me the way, I with my children, and many other brethren, went out together and ſo eſcaped.

The miſeries of Chriſtians. *Cheremon.*

Dionyſius.

A miracle of mercy.

Flight in perſecution.

Alſo *Agatha* a godly Virgin of *Sicilie*, ſuffered divers and bitter

torments of impriſonment, with beatings, famine, racking, as alſo rolling naked upon ſharp ſhels, and hot coles, and having her breaſts cut off her body. Alſo fourty other virgins, by ſundry kindes of torments, were put to death about the ſame time.

Courage of ſeven ſouldiers.

Decius erecting a Temple at *Epheſus*, compelled all in the City to offer ſacrifice to Idols, but there were ſeven Chriſtian ſouldiers of his own retinue, who refuſed, neither could the Emperour, by perſwaſions or threats, induce them to it, yet he gave them reſpite till his return from warre; in the mean time they hid themſelves in a cave in the mountain *Celius*. At the Emperours return he made great inquiſition for them, and at laſt hearing where they were, he cauſed the mouth of the cave ſo to be cloſed up that they could not get out, and ſo they were famiſhed there.

Nicetas his rare chaſtity.

There was alſo one *Nicetas* a Chriſtian ſouldier, whom when the Prætor could not by any torments remove from his ſtedfaſtneſſe, he took another courſe with him, for he brought him into a moſt fragrant garden, flowing with all manner of pleaſures and delights, where he laid him upon a bed of down, ſoftly enwrapped in a net of ſilk, among the Lillies and Roſes; the delicious murmure of the ſtreams, and the ſweet whiſtling of the leaves moved with a gentle winde, and ſo departed: preſently in comes a beautifull ſtrumpet, and uſeth all the abominable tricks of her impure Art, and whoriſh villanies, to draw him to commit wickedneſſe with her: whereupon the young man fearing that he ſhould now be conquered by folly, who was conquerour over fury, bites off a peece of his tongue with his own teeth, and ſpits it into the face of the whore, and ſo prevented the hurt of ſin by the ſmart of his wound.

Theodora condemned to the Stews. Her ſtrange deliverance.

At *Antioch*, *Theodora* a godly Virgin, refuſing to ſacrifice to the Idols, was condemned by the Judge to the Stews, which ſentence being executed, there were many wanton young men ready at the door to preſſe into the houſe where ſhe was, but one of the brethren, called *Didymus*, putting on a ſouldiers habit, would have the firſt admittance, and coming in, he perſwaded her to change garments with him, and ſo ſhe, in the ſouldiers habit, eſcaped away, and *Didymus* was left to the rage, and wondring of the people, being found a man: hereupon he was preſented to the Preſident, to whom he preſently confeſſed the whole matter, profeſſing himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and ſo was condemned; which *Theodora* hearing of, thinking to excuſe him, ſhe came and preſented her ſelf to the Judge, as the guilty party, deſiring that ſhe might be condemned, and the other excuſed: but the cruell Judge, neither conſidering the vertue of the perſons, nor the innocency of the cauſe, moſt inhumanely condemned them both, firſt to be beheaded, and then burnt, which was accordingly executed.

Cruelty.

Agathon.

Agathon a man at arms in *Alexandria*, rebuking ſome lewd perſons who ſcornfully uſed the dead bodies of the Chriſtians, was accuſed to the Judge, and loſt his head.

In *Troada* two Chriſtians being given by the Procouſul to the people,

ple, were firſt ſcourged, then drawn out of the City, and there troden to death. Two Miniſters with a Deacon were martyred in *Rome*, and two noble men were brought to *Decius* for burying the dead bodies of the Chriſtians, and being by him commanded to ſacrifice to the Idols, they refuſing, he cauſed them to be caſt to the wilde beaſts, but when they would not touch them, they were beheaded with the ſword.

Two Miniſters.

Alſo *Secundianus* was accuſed to be a Chriſtian, which he affirming, was commanded to priſon: by the way two Chriſtians cryed to the ſouldiers, asking them whither they carried the innocent man, whereupon being apprehended and examined, they confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, and were condemned: firſt they were beaten with cudgels, then hung up, and tormented with the gibbet, having fire ſet to their ſides, and laſtly were beheaded: Some of their tormentors were taken with evill ſpirits, others of them fell down ſuddenly, and died.

Secundianus. Zeal.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

But the number of Martyrs of all ranks that ſuffered in this perſecution was ſo great, that it is impoſſible to ſet them down all: Biſhops, Miniſters, Deacons, *&c.* young, old, men, women, *&c.*

Yet amongſt this great number, ſome there were that fell away, as *Serapion* an old man, that for a long time had lived a ſincere and godly life, who afterwards repenting of his Apoſtacy, deſired to be readmitted into the Church, but that was not granted: Shortly after he fell ſick, and in it having remained dumb, and bereaved of his ſenſes for twenty four hours, the day after, he began a little to recover, and calling his nephew to him, he ſaid, *How long, how long do you detain me here? make haſte that I may be abſolved: Call me hither ſome of the Miniſters*, &c. and ſo being abſolved, he preſently after died.

Serapions Apoſtacy, and recovery.

In *Troada*, *Nicomachus* being grievouſly tormented, cried out, I am no Chriſtian: and ſo being let down from the Engine, he had no ſooner ſacrificed to the Idols, but being poſſeſſed by the devil, he was thrown on the ground, where he bit off his own tongue, and immediatly after died: Many others which ſhewed the like cowardiſe, were taken and tormented with wicked ſpirits: One was ſtruck dumb: A maid taken with a wicked ſpirit tore out her own tongue, and died with grievous torments in her belly and inward parts: But though ſome did thus fall away, yet others there were whom neither fear nor pain could remove from their ſtedfaſtneſſe, but they continued glorious Martyrs to the end.

Danger of Apoſtacy.

Conſtancy.

Cyprian relates a ſtory of one of his fellow-Miniſters, who in the midſt of his torments began to faint, being greatly afraid of death, and defired to be releaſed: at which time there appeared to him a young man of admirable beauty, and ſo bright, that mans mortall eye could ſcarce endure to behold him, who angerly ſaid to him: *Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?* To ſuffer you dare not, to go out you will not, what would you have me do unto you?

A viſion.

In this Perſecution there ſprung up the *Novatian* Schiſme, which made a great diſturbance in the Church. *Novatus* being a Miniſter under *Cyprian* in *Carthage*, by ſtirring up diſcord and factions, bred much

The beginning of the *Novatian* ſchiſme.

much trouble to the Church, ſeeking to withdraw certain of the brethren from the Biſhop: And afterwards this *Novatus* going to *Rome*, ſet up himſelf as a Biſhop, againſt *Cornelius* the then Biſhop of *Rome*: And to further his deſign, he by ſubtilty allured to him three or four holy men that had been Confeſſors: Then he entiſed three weak Biſhops that lived in *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, and there perſwaded them by impoſing hands upon him, to make him Biſhop; for which, two of them afterwards were ſuſpended, and the third upon his repentance was readmitted. *Novatus* being thus made a Biſhop, grew proud, and ſought by all means to withdraw the people from *Cornelius* to himſelf; yea he made many of them to ſwear that they would not leave him to go to *Cornelius*. But the holy Confeſſors before mentioned, when they perceived the crafty ſubtilty of *Novatus*, left him, and much grieving for their ſin, were reconciled to *Cornelius* again. *Novatus* held this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for fear of torments had offered incenſe to the Idols, although they repented, yet could never be readmitted into the Church of Chriſt again. To ſuppreſſe this errour, there was a Synod called at *Rome* of ſixty Biſhops, *Anno* 255. who condemned it.

Pride the cauſe of ſchiſme.

A Synod againſt *Novatus*.

Cyprian alſo relates of *Aurelius*, a godly and valiant young man, who for his conſtancy in the cauſe of Chriſt, ſuffered great and many torments, and afterwards was baniſhed. And of *Mappalicus*, who the day before he ſuffered, in the midſt of his torments told the Proconſul, *Videbis cras agonem*, to morrow you ſhall ſee the running for a wager, and accordingly being brought forth the next day to his Martyrdom, he with no leſſe conſtancy then patience, endured faithfull unto the death.

Aurelius.

Mappalicus.

But *Decius* the author of this Perſecution, eſcaped not the revenging hand of God, for warring againſt the *Goths*, and being overcome by them, leaſt he ſhould fall into their hands, he leaped with his horſe into a whirlpit, where he was drowned, and his body was never found after. Yea God avenged the bloud of his Saints upon the whole *Roman* Empire, by ſending a generall plague of peſtilence upon it, which continued ten years together; and *Dionyſius* ſaith, that in *Alexandria*, where he was Biſhop, there was ſcarce any houſe clear; and though ſome Chriſtians died in this plague, yet it fell moſt heavy upon the Gentiles. The Chriſtians alſo in this plague ſhewed much brotherly love each to other, by viſiting, comforting and relieving one another. Whereas the Idolaters, being ſtricken with extream fear of the plague, none conſidered his neighbour, but every man ſhifted for himſelf, and of thoſe that were infected, ſome they caſt out of doors half dead, to be devoured of dogs and wilde beaſts; ſome they let die in their houſes without all ſuccour; others they ſuffered to lie unburied, and durſt not come neer them, notwithſtanding which, the peſtilence followed them whitherſoever they went, and miſerably conſumed them; ſo that the moſt part of the inhabitants were conſumed by it in every country, eſpecially in thoſe Provinces, where had been the greateſt

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

A terrible plague.

The brotherly love of Chriſtians.

A ſpeciall providence.

Perſecu-

Persecutions raised against the Christians.

After the death of *Decius*, there succeeded *Gallus* and *Volusianus* in the Empire, *Anno Christi* 255. who continued this Persecution against the Christians; which fell most heavy upon the Pastors and Ministers of the Congregations; for about this time *Cyprian* and many other Ministers were banished: others were put into the mettall-Mines, to whom *Cyprian* wrote an Epistle consolatory, wherein he writes thus; *Wounds and scarres are an ornament to a Christians brest, such as bring not shame, but honoureth them before the Lord; and though in the Mines there be no beds for their bodies to rest on, yet they have rest in Christ; and though their weary bones lie on the cold ground, yet it's no pain to lie with Christ. Their feet are fettered with chains, but he is bound of man, whom the Lord Christ doth loose; he lies tied in the stocks, whose feet thereby are made swifter to run to heaven; neither can any man tie a Christian so fast, but he runs so much the faster for his garland of life. They have no garments to save them from cold, but he that puts on Christ is sufficiently clothed. Doth bread fail to their hungry bodies? Man lives not by bread only, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God. Your deformity shall be turned to honour, your mourning to joy, your pain to pleasure and felicity infinite. And if this grieve you, that you cannot serve God in your places as formerly, yet your daily sacrifice ceaseth not, which is a contrite and humble heart; and though your travel be great, yet shall your reward be greater; for God beholding them which confesse his name, approveth their willing mindes, in their strivings helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them, rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in us perfected.* Again he tels them that they are now in a joyfull journey, hasting apace to the mansions of the Martyrs, there to enjoy, after darknesse, durable light, and comfort above all their sufferings, *&c.* About the same time also, *Lucius* Bishop of *Rome* was banished.

Cyprians consolatory letter.

After the death of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, there succeeded *Valerianus*, who ceased the Persecution, and carried himself exceeding friendly to the Christians; so that his whole Court was repleniished with holy Saints and servants of Christ, whereby his house seemed a Church of God. But the devil envying the peace of the Church, by the means of an *Egyptian* Enchanter (who was hindered from doing his feats, by the presence of the Christians) stirred up the Emperour against them, who grew to such impiety himself, that he sacrificed young infants to his Idols, quartered their bodies, divided the intrails of young children new born, *&c.* as hereafter follows.

Persecution stirred up by a Sorcerer.

CHAP.

Chap. XIV.

The eighth Primitive Perſecution, which began Anno Chriſti 259.

Sin the forerunner of Perſecution.

Valerianus being ſeduced by the *Egyptian* Inchanter, as is before related, ſtirred up the eighth Perſecution againſt the Church of Chriſt; concerning which *Cyprian* writeth thus: We muſt confeſſe that this great calamity which hath waſted for the moſt part all our Churches, and ſtill daily conſumes us, ariſeth chiefly from our own wickedneſſe, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor obſerve his precepts as we ought, whilſt we are full of lucre, pride, emulation, diſſention, void of ſimplicity and faithfull dealing, renouncing the world in word, but not in deed, every man pleaſing himſelf, and diſpleaſing others; and therefore we are thus worthily ſcourged: For what ſtripes do we not deſerve, when the confeſſors themſelves do keep no diſcipline? *&c.* Concluding, *Non veniſſent fratribus hæc mala, ſi in unum fraternitas fuiſſet animata:* Theſe evils had not happened to the brethren, if they had joined together in brotherly unanimity. A little before this Perſecution began, God by a viſion revealed it to *Cyprian*, ſaying to him, Be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come; albeit a little ſtay there is for a while, for that ſome remain yet to be proved and tried, *&c.*

A viſion.

Chriſtians charged as the cauſes of all plagues.

Confuted by *Cyprian* and *Tertullian.*

The crimes and accuſations that were laid to the charge of the Chriſtians, by the perſecutors, were, that they refuſed to worſhip Idols, and the Emperours; and that they profeſſed the name of Chriſt: Yet beſides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars, famine, peſtilence, *&c.* were imputed only to the Chriſtians: But *Cyprian* and *Tertullian* confuting thoſe ſlanders, proved that the ſpeciall cauſe of all thoſe miſeries which befell the Empire, proceeded from the cruel ſhedding of the innocent bloud of the Chriſtians. In this Perſecution, *Cyprian* was at laſt condemned to have his head cut off, who patiently and willingly ſubmitted his neck to the ſtroak of the ſword.

Cyprian Martyr.

Sixtus and his ſix Deacons.

Alſo about this time *Sixtus* Biſhop of *Rome*, with his ſix Deacons, were accuſed for being Chriſtians, whereupon being brought to the place of execution, they were all beheaded.

Laurence alſo another of his Deacons, following *Sixtus* as he went to his execution, complained that he might not ſuffer with him, but that he was ſecluded, as the ſon from the father: To whom the Biſhop anſwered, that within three daies he ſhould follow him, bidding him in the mean time to go home, and if he had any treaſures, to diſtribute them amongſt the poor: The Judge hearing mention of treaſures, ſuppoſing that *Laurence* had great ſtore in his cuſtody, commanded him to bring the ſame to him; *Laurence* craved three daies reſpite, promiſing

then

then to declare where the treaſure might be had: In the mean time he cauſed a good number of poor Chriſtians to be gathered together, and when the day of his anſwer was come, the perſecutor ſtrictly charged him to make good his promiſe; then valiant *Laurence* ſtretching out his arms over the poor, ſaid, *Theſe are the precious treaſure of the Church, theſe are the treaſure indeed in whom Chriſt hath his manſion,* &c. But oh! what tongue is able to expreſſe the fury and madneſſe of the Tyrants heart! How he ſtamped, ſtared, ramped, and fared like one out of his wits; his eyes glowed like fire, his mouth foamed like a boar, like a hell-hound he grinded his teeth: Then he cried, kindle the fire, make no ſpare of wood: hath this villain deluded the Emperour? away with him, whip him with ſcourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fiſts, brain him with clubs: Jeſteth the traitor with the Emperour? pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the ſtrongeſt chains and fireforks, and the grate of iron, ſet it on the fire, binde the rebell hand and foot, and when the grate is red hot, on with him, roſt him, broil him, toſſe him, turn him, upon pain of our high diſpleaſure do every man his office, O ye tormentors. Immediatly his command was obeyed, and after many cruell handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not ſay upon a bed of fiery iron, but on a ſoft down-bed: ſo mightily God wrought for his ſervant, ſo miraculouſly did he temper this element of fire, that it was not a bed of conſuming pain, but of nouriſhing reſt unto *Laurence*. Not *Laurence* but the Emperour ſeemed to be tormented, the one broiling in the fleſh, the other burning in his heart: when this triumphant Martyr had been preſſed down with fire-forks for a great ſpace, in the mighty ſpirit of God he ſpake to the Tyrant thus.

The courage and conſtancy of *Laurence*.

The rage of Tyrants.

In all theſe things we are more then conquerors.

This ſide is now roſted enough, turn up O Tyrant great,
Aſſay whether roſted or raw thou think'ſt the better meat.

By the conſtant confeſſion of this worthy and valiant Deacon, a Roman ſouldier was converted to the ſame faith, and deſired to be baptized, whereupon he was called before the Judge, ſcourged, and afterwards beheaded.

About the ſame time *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* with his three Deacons were brought before *Emilianus*, who told them of the clemency of the Emperour, and therefore required them to ſacrifice to his gods, *&c.* to whom *Dionyſius* anſwered, Diverſe men worſhip diverſe Gods, but we, only that one God who is the creator of all things, making our prayers to him unceſſantly for the health of the Emperour, *&c.* Then ſaid the Preſident, Why can you not worſhip your own God and ours alſo? *Dionyſius* replied, we worſhip only one God, as we have ſaid: the Preſident ſaid, I ſee you are ingratefull perſons, and regard not the Emperours clemency, therefore I baniſh you to *Cephro* in *Lybia*, and charge you that you convent no more your aſſemblies, nor be found out of that place at your perill: and though *Dionyſius* was ſick, yet would he not grant him one daies reſpite before his departure.

Dionyſius baniſhed.

In *Cephro* he had a great Congregation, as well of thoſe that followed him in his baniſhment, as of others that reſorted to him out of *Egypt*: yea, though at firſt he was perſecuted there, and ſtoned, yet afterwards a great number of the inhabitants forſook their Idols, and were converted unto God by his miniſtry: and having accompliſhed his Miniſtry there, the Lord removed him to another place. For (ſaith *Dionyſius*) *Emilianus* tranſlated us from thence to a ſharper place of *Lybia*, commanding us to meet all together at the City *Mareota*; intending to ſeparate us into ſeverall villages, or rather to take us by the way; when we came thither, I was commanded to *Colluthion*, a place which I had never heard of: yet was it ſome ſolace to me that the brethren told me it was near to the City *Paretonium*: for as my being at *Cephro* gat me the acquaintance of many brethren of *Egypt*, ſo I hoped that the vicinity of that place to the City, might procure me the concourſe of certain loving brethren from it, as it came alſo to paſſe, *&c.*

The power of the word of God.

Gods providence.

He writeth moreover that the number of thoſe which ſuffered Martyrdom about that time was great, men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, ſouldiers, and men of all ſorts and ages: of whom ſome with ſcourgings, and fire, and ſome with the ſword, obtained victory, and gat the Crown. Neither to this day doth the Preſident ceaſe cruelly murthering ſuch as be brought before him, tearing ſome with torments, impriſoning others, and commanding that no man ſhould come to them: yet God with the daily reſort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted.

The cruel torments of the Chriſtians.

In *Paleſtine*, *Priſcus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*, three godly men, ſeeing the valiant courage of the Chriſtians ſo boldly to venture, conſtantly to ſtand and patiently to ſuffer in this perſecution, as grieved with themſelves, began to accuſe their own ſluggiſhneſſe and cowardiſe, to ſee others ſo zealous and valiant, and themſelves ſo cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the crown of Martyrdom: whereupon agreeing amongſt themſelves they came to *Cæſarea*, and ſtepping to the Judge, they declared themſelves to be Chriſtians, and ſo they were ſentenced and given to the wilde beaſts.

Priſcus, Malchus, Alexander.

Zeal.

A certain woman alſo in the ſame place, formerly a Marcioniſt, being brought before the Preſident, obtained the ſame Martyrdom.

In *Carthage* three hundred Chriſtians being brought before the Preſident, were put to their choice either to offer ſacrifice, or to go into a lime-kiln: whereupon by mutuall conſent they all choſe the lime-kiln, in which, with the ſmoak of the lime, they were ſmothered.

Three hundred Chriſtians put into a lime-kiln.

In another part of *Africk*, three godly Virgins had firſt vinegar and gall given them to drink, then were they ſcourged, then tormented upon the gibbet, and rubbed with lime, then were they ſcorched upon the fiery gridiron, then caſt to the wilde beaſts, which would not touch them, therefore laſtly they were beheaded.

Three virgins cruelly tormented.

In *Italy* a godly man was firſt tormented with the rack, then caſt

to

to the wilde beaſts, which not hurting of him, he was burned in the fire. *Fructuoſus* a Biſhop in *Spain*, with his two Deacons, having witneſſed a good confeſſion, were all of them burned in the fire. But this cruell Emperor *Valerian*, who thus perſecuted the Saints of God, ſhortly after felt the revenging hand of God: for in an expedition that he made againſt the *Perſians*, he was taken priſoner by *Sapores* the King, who made a footſtool of him, every time that he gat upon his horſe; and at laſt by the command of the King he was flaied alive, powdered with ſalt, and ſo ended his wretched life. Alſo *Claudius* a Preſident and Miniſter of his perſecutions, was poſſeſſed by the devil, and biting of his tongue in ſmall peeces, he ended his wretched life. Alſo there were great and terrible earthquakes, and many commotions and rebellions in ſundry parts of the Empire, inſomuch as *Galienus*, the ſon of *Valerian*, and his fellow-Emperour, began to relent towards the Chriſtians, and ſet forth ſome Edicts in their favour: notwithſtanding which, ſome there were that ſuffered in ſundry places; amongſt whom was one *Marinus*, a noble man and valiant Captain in *Ceſarea*, who ſtood for an honourable office which of right fell to him, but his competitor to prevent him, accuſed him to the Judge for a Chriſtian. Hereupon the Judge examined him of his faith, and finding that indeed he was a Chriſtian, he gave him three hours to adviſe and deliberate with himſelf: then the Biſhop of the place finding that he ſtood doubtfull in himſelf what to do, he took him by the hand, and led him into the Church, and laid before him a ſword and a New Teſtament, bidding him take his free choice which of them he would have. *Marinus* immediatly ran to the New Teſtament, and choſe that, and ſo being animated by the Biſhop, he preſented himſelf boldly before the Judge, by whoſe ſentence he was beheaded.

Fructuoſus.

Valerian Emp.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Marinus.

About the ſame time there was in *Cæſarea*, *Aſyrius* a noble Senator of *Rome*, and a Chriſtian, and whereas the Gentiles in that place uſed to offer ſacrifice by a fountain ſide, which ſacrifice by the working of the devil uſed ſuddenly to vaniſh out of their ſight, to the great admiration of the deluded multitude; *Aſyrius* pitying their miſerable ignorance, came amongſt them, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, praied to God in the name of Chriſt, that the people might no longer be thus ſeduced by the devil, whereupon the ſacrifice was ſeen to ſwim upon the fountain, and ever after that falſe miracle ceaſed.

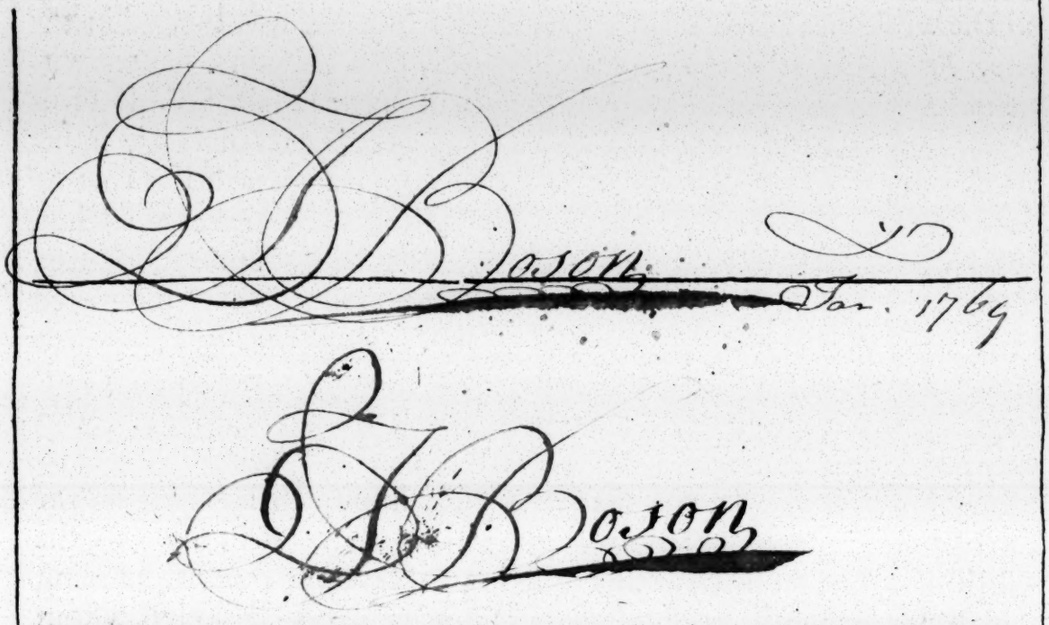
Aſyrius.

Satans ſubtilty

Power of praier.

After the death of *Galienus* there ſucceeded *Claudius* a quiet Emperour, and after him *Quintilianus* his brother, both which reigning nineteen years, the Church enjoied peace in their times.

Peace in the Church.



Here place the third Figure.



CHAP.

Chap. XV.

The ninth Primitive Persecution which began Anno Christi 278.

After the death of *Quintilian*, succeeded *Aurelian* in the Empire, who was by nature severe and rigorous, and a strict punisher of dissolute manners, so that it grew into a Proverb, *That he was a good Physitian, saving that he gave too bitter medicines.* In the beginning of his reign, he was a moderate and discreet Prince, and no great disturber of the Christians, whom he neither molested in their religion, nor in their Counsels. But afterwards, through siniſter suggestions of those which were about him, his nature being before inclinable to severity, was altered to plain tyranny, which he first shewed in the death of his own sisters son, and afterwards he raised the ninth Persecution against the Church of Christ: but when he was about to sign a Proclamation or Edict for that Persecution, it pleased God that a thunderbolt fell so near him, that all men thought he had been slain, and the Emperour was so terrified thereby, that he gave over his tyrannicall purpose, so that he rather intended then moved Persecution. Having reigned about six years, he was slain.

A speciall providence.

After whose death divers other Emperours succeeded, in whose time the Church had peace for about the space of fourty four years. During which time it did mightily increase and flourish: Yea, the more the Christians had suffered, the more they were honoured; Insomuch as some of the Emperors did singularly favour them, preferred, and made them Governours of Provinces.

Peace causeth the Church to flourish.

Dorotheus with his Wife, Children and whole family, were accepted, and highly advanced in the Emperours Court. Yea *Gorgonius* and divers others, for their Doctrine and Learning, were with their Princes in great estimation. The Bishops were also in great favour with the Rulers and Presidents where they lived; so that innumerable multitudes and Congregations assembled together in every City, and there were great concourses of such as daily flocked to the publick places of prayer.

But through this great prosperity, the Christians, by reason of the corruption of their natures, and the temptations of Satan, began to degenerate, and to grow idle and delicate, striving and contending amongst themselves, upon every occasion, with railing words bespattering one another in a despitefull manner; Bishops against Bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition each against other: Besides, cursed hypocrisie and dissimulation increased more and more; by reason whereof Gods judgements brake forth against them, which began first to fall upon those Christians which were souldiers; but that touched the other very little, neither did they deck

Sin the forerunner of Persecution.

Contention amongſt Chriſtians.

to appeaſe Gods wrath, nor to call for mercy, but thinking that they ſhould eſcape well enough, they heaped iniquities daily more and more, one upon another. The Paſtors being inflamed with mutuall contention each againſt other. Then did the Lord raiſe up adverſaries againſt his people, that raſed their Churches to the ground, burnt the ſacred Scriptures in the open Market places, made the Paſtors of the Church to hide themſelves, and ſome with great ſhame were taken priſoners, and were mocked of their enemies, and put to open reproach.

CHAP. XVI.

The tenth Primitive Perſecution which began Anno Chriſti 308.

Diocleſian and *Maximian* having many warres, aſſociated to themſelves two *Cæſars*, *Galerius*, who was ſent into the Eaſt againſt the *Perſians*, and *Conſtantius*, who was ſent into *Britain*, where he married *Helena* the daughter of King *Coel*; a maiden excelling in beauty, and no leſſe famous for her Studies and Learning, by whom he had *Conſtantine* the Great.

Theſe two Emperours having obtained many victories, were ſo puffed up with pride, that they ordained a ſolemn triumph at *Rome*. After which *Diocleſian* would needs be worſhipped as god, ſaying that he was brother to the Sun and Moon, and adorning his ſhoes with gold and pretious ſtones, he commanded the people to kiſſe his feet. Then alſo did he raiſe a great and grievous Perſecution againſt the Church of God; and the Feaſt of *Eaſter* drawing nigh, he commanded all the Churches of the Chriſtians to be ſpoiled and caſt down, and the books of the holy Scriptures to be burnt, which was executed with all rigour and contempt that might be.

Pride.

Bibles burnt.

Cruell Edicts.

Then he ſent forth his Edicts for the diſplacing of all Chriſtian Magiſtrates, and put all others out of their Offices, impriſoning ſuch of the common people as would not abjure Chriſtianity, and ſubſcribe to the heathen Idolatries.

Then were cruel Edicts ſent abroad for the impriſoning of the Elders and Biſhops, and conſtraining them by ſundry kindes of torments to ſacrifice to the Idols; whereupon enſued a great Perſecution againſt the Governours of the Church, amongſt whom many manfully paſſed through exceeding bitter torments; Some were ſcourged all over their bodies with whips: ſome with racks and tearings of their fleſh, were exceedingly cruciated; ſome one way, others another way were put to death.

Horrible torments.

Some were violently drawn to the impure ſacrifices, and as though they

they had ſacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Others neither coming to their Altars, nor touching any piece of their ſacrifice, yet were born in hand by thoſe which ſtood by, that they had ſacrificed; and ſo being defamed by their adverſaries, were let goe. Others as dead men were carried out, and caſt away, being but half dead.

False accuſations of Chriſtians.

Some were caſt down on the pavement, and trailed a great ſpace by the legs, and the people made to believe that they had ſacrificed: Others withſtood them, ſtoutly affirming with a loud voice, that they had not ſacrificed; withall ſaying, that they were Chriſtians, and glorying in the profeſſion of that name.

Courage.

Some cryed that they neither had, nor ever would be partakers of that Idolatry, who were buffeted on the face and mouth by the ſouldiers, that they might hold their peace. But if the Saints ſeemed never ſo little to do what their enemies would have them, they were made much of; yet none of theſe devices prevailed againſt the conſtant ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt: But of the weaker ſort, through frailty, many fell at the firſt brunt.

Humane infirmity.

When theſe Edicts were firſt ſet up at *Nicomedia*, a Chriſtian, a noble man born, moved with an holy zeal, ran, and took them down, and tare them in pieces, though the Emperours were preſent in the City; for which he was put to a moſt bitter death, which with great conſtancy and patience, he endured to the laſt.

Zeal.

Theſe furious Tyrants, *Diocleſian* in the Weſt, and *Maximian* in the Eaſt, raged exceedingly againſt the poor Saints of Chriſt. But *Diocleſian* proceeded more ſubtilly, firſt beginning with the ſouldiers in his Camp; to whom the Marſhall of the field propoſed that they ſhould either offer ſacrifice, or leave their places and offices, and lay down their Arms: Whereunto the Chriſtians reſolutely anſwered, that they were not only ready to lay down their weapons, but to ſuffer death, if it was impoſed upon them, rather then ſo to ſin againſt God.

Subtilty.

Conſtancy.

In the beginning of this Perſecution, few were tormented, but afterwards the Emperour grew to greater cruelty. It cannot be expreſſed what number of Martyrs ſuffered; what bloud was ſhed through all Cities and regions for the Name of Chriſt.

In *Tyre* certain Chriſtians were given to moſt cruel wilde beaſts, which would not hurt them; and the Lions, Bears and Leopards, which were kept hungry for the purpoſe, would not touch them: Yet did they vehemently rage againſt thoſe that brought the Chriſtians into the ſtage, who though they ſtood, as they thought, without their reach, yet were they caught and devoured by them. Afterwards theſe Martyrs were ſlain with the ſword, and caſt into the ſea.

A miracle of mercy.

Silvanus Biſhop of *Gazenſis*, with thirty nine more, were ſlain in the Mettall-mines. *Pamphilus* of *Cæſarea*, died a glorious Martyr.

Silvanus. *Pamphilus.*

In *Syria*, all the chief Paſtors were firſt caſt into priſon, together with the Biſhops, Elders and Deacons: *Tiranion* was thrown into the

Tiranion.

Zenobius. the ſea. *Zenobius* a Phyſitian was ſlain with brickbats.

At *Antioch* two young maidens were thrown into the ſea. Alſo an aged Matron, and her two beautifull daughters, being ſought after, and at laſt found, rather then they would be drawn to the ſacrifice, *Sylvanus.* threw themſelves headlong into a river. *Sylvanus* Biſhop of *Emiſſa*, with ſome others were thrown to the wilde beaſts.

The Chriſtians in *Meſopotamia* were tormented divers waies: Some of them were hanged up by the feet, and with the ſmoak of a ſmall fire ſtrangled. So outragious was the Emperour in the beginning of this Perſecution, that in *Nicomedia* he ſlew the chiefeſt Princes of his Court, whom a little before he prized as his own children.

Peter. Alſo one *Peter* was hoiſted up naked, and ſo beaten, and torn with whips, that his bones might be ſeen: then they poured upon him ſalt and vinegar, and laſtly roſted him with a ſoft fire. *Dorotheus* and *Gor-* *Dorotheus.* *Gorgonius.* *gonius*, men of great authority under the Emperour, after divers tor- *Anthimus.* ments were ſtrangled with an halter. *Anthimus* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, with divers others, having made a good confeſſion, were beheaded. *Serena, Diocle-* Yea *Serena* the wife of *Diocleſian* the Emperour, was martyred for her *ſian's* wife. Religion. Some others were bound hand and foot to a poſt, and ſo burnt.

Alſo many Chriſtians of all ages and ſorts, being met together in a Church, to celebrate the memoriall of Chriſts nativity, *Maximian* the Emperour ſent ſome to fire the Church, and burn them all: But firſt they commanded a cryer to proclaim, that whoſoever would have life, ſhould come out and ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, otherwiſe they ſhould be all burnt: Then one ſtepping up boldly, in the name of all the reſt, ſaid, We are all Chriſtians, and believe that Chriſt is our only God and King, and we will ſacrifice to none but him: Hereupon the fire was kindled, and ſome thouſands of men, women and children were burnt in that place.

Chriſtians burnt in a Church.

In *Arabia* many Martyrs were ſlain with axes. In *Phrygia* the Emperour ſent his Edicts to a City, commanding them to ſacrifice to the Idols: but the Major, and all the Citizens profeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, whereupon the Emperour made his Army environ the City, and ſet it on fire, whereby all the inhabitants were burnt together in it.

A Chriſtian City burnt.

Euſtratius a perſecutor converted and martyred.

Euſtratius an *Armenian*, and skilfull in the *Greek* tongue, highly honoured and advanced by the Emperour, who alſo had executed many Chriſtians; beholding the marvellous conſtancy of the Martyrs, privately learned the Chriſtian Religion, burned exceedingly with a deſire of Martyrdom, and not ſtaying for accuſers, profeſſed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, openly execrating the vanity and madneſſe of the heathens; Being therefore apprehended, he was tied up, and bitterly beaten; afterwards he was parched with fire put to his bowels, then baſted with ſalt and vinegar, then ſcraped and bemangled with ſharp cutting ſhels, that his whole body ſeemed to be but one wound, yet afterwards, through Gods goodneſſe, it was reſtored again whole. And laſtly was he burned.

In

In *Alexandria*, *Peter* the Biſhop, and his Deacons, conſtantly ſuffered Martyrdom: as alſo many other Biſhops in *Egypt*, together with many famous and excellent men, ſuffered about the ſame time. *Peter.*

A whole legion of Chriſtian ſouldiers, that lay at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, under their Chriſtian Col. *Mauritius*, becauſe they refuſed to ſacrifice to Idols, were firſt tithed over by the Emperours command, once, and again and afterwards, by the exhortation of *Mauritius*, they died all together conſtant Martyrs. A legion of Chriſtians martyred.

The perſecution raged not only in *Aſia* and *Africa*, but alſo in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, &c. in all which countries an innumerable company of Chriſtians were martyred by ſundry kindes of death. In *Trevers* were ſo many Chriſtians ſlain, that their bloud ran like ſmall brooks, and diſcoloured great rivers: yet this ſufficed not the Tyrant, but he ſent abroad his horſemen to command all thoſe which had apprehended any Chriſtians, immediatly to put them to death. Inhumane cruelty.

At *Collen* alſo, and in *Rhetia* many were martyred: yea, this perſecution extended into our *Britan*, where all the Chriſtians were put to death.

Beſides the kindes of death, the puniſhments were ſo great and horrible, as no tongue is able to expreſſe: as whippings, ſcourgings, rackings, horrible ſcrapings, ſword, fire, ſhipboats, whereinto many were put and ſunk into the ſea: Alſo hanging upon croſſes, binding ſome to the bodies of trees with their heads hanging downward, hanging others by the middle upon gallowſes till they died of hunger: throwing others alive to Lions, Bears, Leopards, wilde Buls, *&c.* Pricking others with bodkins and talons of beaſts till they were almoſt dead. Cruel torments.

In *Thebaide*, they hanged up women naked by one of their feet, the reſt of their body hanging downwards, with many other ſorts of puniſhments moſt cruell to be thought of: Some were bound to the boughs of trees, and had their members torn aſunder, others were mangled with axes, ſome choaked with ſmoak over a ſlow fire, ſome had their hands, ears, and feet cut off, others were ſcorched and broiled upon coals, yet not to death, but had the torment renued every day.

In *Pontus* the Martyrs had other horrible torments inflicted on them, Some had their fingers-ends under the nails thruſt in with bodkins: Some were ſprinkled all over with boiling lead, having their neceſſary members cut from them, others ſuffered moſt filthy and intollerable torments in their bowels, and privy members: what the outrage of this perſecution was in *Alexandria*, *Phileas* a Biſhop thus writeth,

Becauſe ſaith he every man might torment the holy Martyrs as he liſted, ſome beat them with cudgels, ſome with rods, ſome with whips, ſome with thongs, ſome with cords, ſome having their hands bound behinde them, were lifted up on timber-logs, and with certain inſtruments had their members and joints ſtretched out, where their bodies hanging, were ſubjected to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments: on their ſides, Helliſh cruelty

bellies, thighs, legges, they ſcratched them with the claws of wilde beaſts: ſome were hanged but by one hand on the engine, that they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the reſt of their members: Some were bound to pillars, having no ſtay under their feet, that with the weight of their bodies being drawn out, they might feel the greater torment: and theſe torments endured all day long; the Judge commanding that they ſhould not be let down, till either by the extremity of torment, or by the cold, they were near death; and then they were let down, and haled upon the gronnd.

They deviſed alſo another greater torment, for when the Chriſtians were lamentably beaten, they had a new kinde of rack, wherein they lying upright, were ſtretched by both the feet above the fourth hole, with ſharp ſhels ſtrawed under them. Others were caſt down upon the pavement, where they had ſo many torments inflicted upon them, that their ſufferings cannot be imagined what they were: In the midſt of which torments ſome died, their enemies being confounded with their ſingular patience.

Admirable patience.

Some half dead were thruſt into priſons, where, with their wounds and pain they ended their lives: Others being cured of their wounds, were again put to their choice, whether they would ſacrifice to the Idols, and have their liberty, or have the ſentence of death paſſe upon them, who did willingly chuſe death for Chriſts ſake, rather then to ſin againſt him.

In *Nicomedia*, a Chriſtian pulling down, and tearing the Emperors Edict, was ſtript and beaten till the bones appeared, and then waſhed in ſalt and vineger, under which torments he died. Yet notwithſtanding the horribleneſſe of theſe tortures, the Chriſtian Martyrs were ſo farre from being diſmaied, that they were confirmed and ſtrengthened thereby, merrily and joyfully undergoing whatſoever was inflicted upon them.

Courage and conſtancy.

Euſebius ſaith, that himſelf ſaw the cruel Perſecution in *Thebaide*, where the ſwords of the Perſecutors were blunted with the great ſlaughter of the Chriſtians, and they ſat down with wearineſſe to reſt them, whilſt others took their places. Yet ſtill the Chriſtians ſhewed their willingneſſe, and with courage, joy and ſmiling, received their ſentence of death from the Judge, and to the laſt gaſp, ſang *Pſalms* and *Hymns* of praiſe to God.

Tormentors wearied.

In *Alexandria* the holy Martyrs led with the love of better rewards, did not only bear the menaces of the cruel ſouldiers, wherewith they threatned them, but alſo whatſoever torments they could deviſe for their deſtruction: Yea, ſaith *Sulpitius*, then the Chriſtians with more greedy deſire preſſed and ſought for Martyrdom, then now they do for Biſhopricks. Yet ſome through infirmity in this Perſecution fell back, for which they were excommunicated by the Church.

Humane infirmity.

Damaſus and others witneſſe, that there were ſlain in thirty daies, ſeventeen thouſand perſons, beſides a great number that were condemned to the Metall-mines and quarries, with the like cruelty.

In

In *Alexandria* were ſlain with axes three hundred: At *Collen* three hundred. *Mauricius* with his Chriſtian legion, ſix thouſand ſix hundred ſixty ſix, whoſe ſtory, deſerving perpetually to be remembred, is this:

The ſtory of *Mauritius* and his legion.

Maximian ſent for this *Mauritius* with his legion of *Thebane* ſouldiers, under a pretence of imploying them againſt his enemies: When they came to *Rome*, *Marcellus* the bleſſed Biſhop laboured to confirm them in the truth, to whom they promiſed perſeverance in the faith unto the death. Then they followed the Imperiall army into *France*, and when they were come thither, *Maximian* offered ſacrifice to the devils, and called all his ſouldiers to the ſame, ſtrictly charging them to fight againſt his enemies, and againſt the Chriſtians which were enemies to his gods. Theſe Chriſtian *Thebans* reſolved rather to die, then to ſacrifice, or to bear arms againſt the Chriſtians, wherewith the Tyrant being enraged, commanded every tenth man of the legion to be put to the ſword; hereupon they ſtrove who ſhould ſubmit their necks to the ſtroke. *Mauricius* encouraged them greatly hereunto, and being called before the Emperour, he ſaid; *We O Emperour, your ſouldiers, and yet the ſervants of God, owe thee ſervice of warre, but to him innocency; of thee we receive wages, but of him life; therefore we cannot obey thee to deny God our Lord and yours alſo, will ye, nil ye: We are ready to obey you, if you enforce us not to diſobey him: Otherwiſe we will rather obey him then you: We offer here our hands againſt any other enemies, but to defile our hands with the bloud of innocents, we may not: Theſe hands of ours have skil to fight againſt wicked enemies, but not to murther godly friends*, &c. *We have engaged our faith to God, we cannot be true to you if we break covenant with him*, &c. *We ſee our brethren and fellows in arms, cruelly put to the ſword, which we rejoice in, that they have been counted worthy to ſuffer for Chriſts ſake*, &c. *Behold here we caſt down our weapons, and had rather to be killed, then to kill, and to die guiltleſſe then to live guilty: We are ready to ſuffer what more you ſhall appoint, yea both fire, ſword, or any other torments. We confeſſe our ſelves to be Chriſtians, we cannot perſecute Chriſtians, nor ſacrifice to your devilliſh Idols.* The Emperour being highly incenſed with this anſwer, commanded the ſecond time the tenth man to be ſlain, which being accompliſhed, when the Chriſtian ſouldiers would not yet condeſcend to his minde, he ſet upon them with his whole hoſt, both of foot and horſe, charging them to kill them all; the Chriſtians made no reſiſtance, but throwing down their arms, offered their naked necks to the perſecutors, and ſo were all ſlain.

A moſt Chriſtian ſpeech.

At that time, one *Victor*, an old ſouldier, that for his age was diſmiſſed, coming to the Army, as they were banquetting and making merry with the ſpoils of the Martyrs, was bidden to ſit down with them, but he asked them what was the cauſe of their mirth, and underſtanding the truth, he deteſted them, and refuſed to eat with them; and being thereupon demanded whether he were a Chriſtian? he anſwered that he was, and ever would be. Then they ruſhed upon him, and made him partaker of the like Martyrdom and honour.

Chriſtian courage.

When *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, notwithſtanding all the ſlaughter which they made, ſaw the number of Chriſtians rather increaſed then diminiſhed, ſo that they were out of all hope of utter rooting them out, and having now even their fill of bloud, they ceaſed at laſt of their own accord from putting any more Chriſtians to death: Yet of a great multitude, they thruſt out their right eies, and maimed their right legs at the ham, with a ſearing iron, condemning them to the Metall-mines, not ſo much for their labour, as deſirous to afflict them thereby: and ſo having reigned together about one and twenty years, *Diocleſian* diveſted himſelf of the Imperiall dignity, and lived a private life, and the like did *Maximian* alſo, reſigning the Empire to *Galerius Maximinus*, and *Conſtantius*.

The mercies of the wicked are cruelty.

Maximinus was of a cruel nature, a great enchanter, vicious in his life, and a great enemy to the Chriſtians, and therefore continued the Perſecution of them, yet at length was revoked from his cruelty by the juſt judgement of God upon him; For he was ſuddenly taken with an horrible and filthy diſeaſe, which firſt began outwardly in his fleſh, and then proceeded more inwardly: his privy members putrified with a botchy corrupt boil, and a fiſtula conſuming, and eating up his entrails, whence ſwarmed forth an innumerable company of lice, with ſuch a peſtiferous ſtink, that no man could abide him: he being alſo very groſſe, his fat putrified, and ſtank intollerably; and becauſe his Phyſitians could not abide the ſtink, he commanded them to be ſlain: others of them, becauſe they could not cure his incurable diſeaſe, he put to cruel deaths.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

At laſt being told that his diſeaſe came from God, he began to bethink himſelf of all the cruelty which he had ſhewed to the Saints, confeſſed his offences to God, and gave command that the Perſecution againſt the Chriſtians ſhould ceaſe; requiring his Officers likewiſe to re-edifie their Temples, and requeſting them to pray to their God for him.

Hypocriſie.

This Edict much comforted and refreſhed the Chriſtians, who thereupon gathered together in every City, called their Synods and Councels; yea the Infidels themſelves extolled and magnified the true God of the Chriſtians.

But this Tyrant *Maximinus* ſcarce ſuffered this peace to continue ſix moneths together, but he forbad the Chriſtians to meet, and privately ſtirred up the *Athenians* to petition him that none of them might be ſuffered to live in their City: Alſo a conjurer in *Athens* made an Image of *Jupiter*, which uttered theſe words, *Jupiter commandeth the Chriſtians to be baniſhed out of this City and ſuburbs, becauſe they are enemies to him.* Alſo certain harlots were ſuborned to ſay, that they formerly were Chriſtians, and privy to the wicked and laſcivious acts which they exerciſed amongſt themſelves, upon Sabbath daies, *&c.* And thereupon the Emperour commanded that they ſhould put them to death by all means poſſible. Then did the Perſecution grow as great as ever it was, and the Governours of every Province fell upon the

the Chriſtians, baniſhing ſome, and putting others to death.

Silvanus Biſhop of *Emiſſa*, a very old man, and three others with him, were condemned to death. So was *Lucianus*, an Elder at *Antioch*. At *Alexandria*, *Peter* the Biſhop was beheaded. *Quirinus* Biſhop of *Sceſcanus* had an handmill tied about his neck, and was thrown headlong into a river, where yet he floted a great while, exhorting the lookers on not to be diſmaied with his puniſhment, and ſo with much adoe, was at laſt drowned. *Silvanus. Lucianus. Peter. Quirinus.*

At *Rome*, many Biſhops, Miniſters and Elders were put to death. In ſundry other places very many others ſuffered Martyrdom with fire, wilde beaſts, drowning in the Sea, *&c.* Some were crucified, ſome were ſlain with the ſword, ſome endured the cutting and burning of their members: ſome had their eies thruſt out; ſome were ſtarved in priſons, and whatſoever other cruelty the Magiſtrates could deviſe: All which the people of God endured, rather then they would offer ſacrifice to the Idols. The like miſeries did the women alſo endure, for being enticed to the filthy uſe of their bodies, ſome rather choſe baniſhment, and others to prevent it, killed themſelves. Cruell torments.

Neither could Chriſtians live ſafely in the wilderneſſe, but even from thence they were drawn to torments and death.

And whereas the Tyrant in his Edict had boaſted of the plenty and proſperity of all things in the time of his perſecuting of the Saints, God to confute him, preſently ſent great drought, famine and peſtilence, beſides the warres with the *Armenians*: by which calamities, the people were miſerably waſted: Corn was ſold at an unreaſonable rate, ſo that exceeding great multitudes died of hunger in the Cities, but far more in the villages; moſt part of the husbandmen dying of famine and the peſtilence. Divers brought out their beſt treaſure, and gave it for any kinde of ſuſtenance, though never ſo little. Others by ſelling their poſſeſſions for food, fell into extream miſery: Some did eat graſſe, others fell upon unwholſom hearbs, whereby they hurt and poiſoned their bodies: Many women were driven to leave the Cities, and beg up and down through the countrey: Some through faintneſſe fell down in the ſtreets, and holding up their hands, cryed miſerably for ſome ſcraps or fragments of bread, being ready to give up the ghoſt; and being able to ſay no more, they cryed *Hungry, hungry*. Gods judgements on perſecutors. A terrible famine.

Some of the richer ſort being tired with ſerving ſuch multitudes of beggers, began to grow hard-hearted, fearing leſt themſelves ſhould fall into the like miſery: By reaſon whereof the market-places, ſtreets, and lanes, lay full of dead corpſes, and naked bodies caſt out unburied, many of which were devoured by dogs, whereupon they which lived fell to killing of the dogs, leſt running mad, they ſhould fall upon them, and kill them.

The peſtilence alſo ſcattering through all houſes, killed very many, eſpecially thoſe of the richer ſort, which ſcaped the famine, whereby innumerable Magiſtrates, Princes and Preſidents were quickly diſpatched, ſo that all places were filled with mourning, and nothing Peſtilence.

was ſeen or heard but weeping and wailing every where. Death ſo reigned in every family, that two or three dead bodies were carried out of one houſe together. But notwithſtanding that theſe miſcreants had been ſo cruel to them, yet the Chriſtians were very diligent and charitable to them in all their extremities, travelling every day, ſome in curing the ſick, ſome in burying of their dead; others called the multitude together, which were ready to famiſh, and diſtributed bread unto them, whereby they occaſioned them to glorifie the God of the Chriſtians, and confeſſed them to be the true worſhippers of God, as appeared by their works: and hereby the Lord wrought wonderfully for the peace of his Church, for after he had corrected them, he again ſhewed them mercy.

Charity of Chriſtians.

Conſtantine ſucceeding his father, overcame *Maxentius* the Tyrant in *Rome*, and he together with *Licinius* ſet forth Edicts in favour of the Chriſtians: *See* Conſtantines *life in my ſecond part*. Yet *Maximinus* continued his perſecution in the Eaſt, whereupon *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* wrote to him to favour the Chriſtians, and he finding that he was too weak to encounter with them, ſent forth his Edicts to ſtop the perſecution: yet afterwards he picked new quarrels with them, and began to perſecute them again: whereupon *Licinius* went againſt him, and overthrew him in a battell: Then did *Maximius* kill many of his enchanters and conjurers that had encouraged him, and promiſed him victory.

Gods judgements on perſecutors.

Shortly after the Lord ſtriking of him with a grievous diſeaſe, he glorified the God of the Chriſtians, and made a Law for the ſafety and preſervation of them: yet not long after by the vehemency of his diſeaſe, he ended his life.

Hypocriſie.

Licinius, that for a long time had pretended to the Chriſtian religion, and lived in great familiarity with *Conſtantine*, who had given him his ſiſter *Conſtantia* to be his wife, began afterwards to diſcover his hypocriſie, and the wickedneſſe of his nature, ſecretly conſpiring the death of *Conſtantine*: but the Lord diſcovering and preventing his conſpiracies, he then fell out with him, and manifeſted his hatred of the Chriſtian religion, being puffed up with the victory that he had got againſt *Maximinus*.

Wicked Laws.

He quarelled with the Chriſtians, becauſe as he ſaid they praied not for him, but for *Conſtantine*: and thereupon he firſt baniſhed them all from his Court: then he deprived all the Knights of their honourable order, except they would ſacrifice to devils: then he commanded that the Biſhops ſhould have no meetings to conſult about their Eccleſiaſtical affairs: nor that any Chriſtians ſhould come to the Churches, or hold any aſſemblies: then that men and women ſhould not meet together to pray, that women ſhould not hear the Biſhops, but chuſe out women to inſtruct them: then that none ſhould help or ſuccour thoſe that were in priſon, nor ſhould beſtow any alms upon them, though they ſhould die for hunger, and that they which ſhewed any compaſſion to thoſe which were condemned to death, ſhould ſuffer the

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like puniſhment themſelves, then he perſecuted the Biſhops, and ſlew thoſe which were the moſt eminent of them: the flattering officers alſo which were about him, thinking to pleaſe him thereby, ſlew many Biſhops without any cauſe: yea, many of their bodies they cut into gobbets, and threw them into the ſea to feed fiſhes: Some were baniſhed, others had their goods confiſcated: many noblemen and gentlemen were privily made away: and *Licinius* gave their unmarried daughters to wicked varlets to be defloured, himſelf alſo violated many women, both wives and maidens. Cruelty.

This cruelty made many godly perſons voluntarily to forſake their houſes, and to live in woods, mountains, and deſarts: He cauſed *Theodorus* to be hanged upon a croſſe, to have nails thruſt into his armpits, and afterwards to be beheaded: Divers other Biſhops had their hands cut off with a ſearing iron. In *Sebaſtia* fourty Chriſtian ſouldiers in the vehement cold winter were caſt into an horſe-pond, where they ended their lives: the wives of theſe fourty men were carried to *Heraclea*, where together with a Deacon of that place, after they had ſuffered innumerable torments, they were ſlain with the ſword. *Theodorus.*

Conſtantine being informed of all this wickedneſſe, raiſed an Army, went againſt him, overcame him twice, and at laſt cauſed him to be put to death, as you may ſee in *Conſtantines* life in my ſecond part: whereby the Church obtained a generall peace.

Yet in this tenth Perſecution many other eminent Chriſtians ſuffered Martyrdome, beſides thoſe before-named.

Galerius in his time invaded *Antioch*, intending to force all Chriſtians to renounce Chriſt, at what time they were aſſembled together, whereupon one *Romanus* ran to them, declaring that the wolves were at hand, which would devour them, yet he exhorted them not to fear by reaſon of the perill; and through Gods grace the Chriſtians were greatly encouraged by him, ſo that old men and matrons, fathers, mothers, young men and maidens were all of one minde, being willing to ſhed their bloud in defence of their profeſſion: A band of armed men were ſent againſt them, which were not able to wreſt the ſtaff of faith out of their hands: hereupon they ſent word to their Captain, that they could not enforce the Chriſtians to deny their faith, by reaſon of *Romanus* who did ſo mightily encourage them: then did the Captain command that he ſhould be brought before him, which was done accordingly: *What* (ſaith the Captain) *art thou the authour of this ſedition? art thou the cauſe that ſo many loſe their lives? By the Gods I ſwear thou ſhalt anſwer for them all, and ſhalt ſuffer thoſe torments that thou encourageſt them to undergo: Romanus* anſwered, *Thy ſentence O Emperour I willingly embrace, I refuſe not to be ſacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruell torments as thou canſt invent*, &c. The Captain being much enraged with this his ſtout anſwer, commanded him to be truſſed up, and his bowels drawn out, whereupon the executioners ſaid, Not ſo Sir, this man is of noble parentage, and therefore he may not be put to ſo ignoble a death: Scourge him then (quoth the Captain) *Romanus*'s noble courage.

tain) with whips with knobs of lead at the ends: but *Romanus* ſang Pſalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobilities ſake; *Not the bloud of my progenitors* (ſaith he) *but the Chriſtian profeſſion makes me noble:* then did he earneſtly inveigh againſt the Captain, and deride their Idoll gods, *&c.* but this further enraged the Tyrant, ſo that he commanded his ſides to be lanced with knives, till the bones were laid open: yet ſtill did the holy Martyr preach the living God and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt to him: then did the Tyrant command them to ſtrike out his teeth, that his ſpeech might be hindered; alſo his face was buffeted, his eye-lids torn with their nails, his cheeks gaſhed with knives, the skin of his beard pulled off by little and little, *&c.* yet the meek Martyr ſaid, *I thank thee O Captain, that thou haſt opened to me many mouths, whereby I may preach my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt: look how many wounds I have, ſo many mouths I have, lauding and praiſing God:* the Captain aſtoniſhed at his conſtancy, bad them give over tormenting him: yet he threatned to burn him, he reviled him, and blaſphemed God, ſaying, thy crucified Chriſt is but a yeſterdaies God, the gods of the Gentiles are of greateſt antiquity: But *Romanus* taking occaſion from hence, declared to him the eternity of Chriſt, *&c.* withall ſaying, *Give me a childe of ſeven years old, and thou ſhalt hear what he will ſay*; hereupon a pretty boy was called out of the multitude, to whom *Romanus* ſaid, Tell me my pretty babe, whether thou think it reaſon that we worſhip Chriſt, and in Chriſt one father, or elſe that we worſhip infinite gods? the childe anſwered, that *certainly what we affirm to be God muſt needs be one, which with one, is one and the ſame; and inaſmuch as this one is Chriſt, of neceſſity Chriſt muſt be the true God: for that there be many gods, we children cannot beleeve:* the Captain amazed at this, ſaid, thou young villain and traitor, where, and of whom learnedſt thou this leſſon? of my mother, ſaid he, with whoſe milk I ſucked in this leſſon, that I muſt believe in Chriſt: The mother was called, and ſhe gladly appeared: the Tyrant commanded the childe to be horſed up, and ſcourged: the ſtanders by beholding this mercileſſe act could not refrain from tears; the joyfull and glad mother alone ſtood by with dry cheeks, yea, ſhe rebuked her ſweet babe, for deſiring a cup of cold water, charging him to thirſt after the cup that the babes of *Bethlem* once drunk of: She willed him to remember little *Iſaac* who willingly profered his neck to the dint of his fathers ſword, *&c.* Then did the cruell tormentor pull off the skin, hair and all from the crown of the childes head: the mother crying, Suffer my childe, anon thou ſhalt paſſe to him that will adorn thy head with a crown of eternall glory: thus the mother counſelleth and encourageth, the childe is encouraged, and receiveth the ſtripes with a ſmiling countenance: The Captain ſeeing the childe invincible, and himſelf vanquiſhed, commands him to be caſt into the ſtinking priſon, whileſt the torments of *Romanus* were renewed and encreaſed: Then was *Romanus* brought forth again, to receive new ſtripes upon his old ſores, the fleſh being torn, and the bare

True nobility.

Note.

Blaſphemy.

A childe tormented.

bare bones appearing: yet the cruell Tyrant raging like a mad man, quarelled with the tormentors for dealing ſo mildely with him, commanding them to cut, prick, and pounce him: and then he paſſed ſentence upon him, together with the childe to be burned to death: to whom *Romanus* ſaid, *I appeal from this unjuſt ſentence of thine to the righteous throne of Chriſt, that upright Judge, not becauſe I fear thy cruell torments, and mercileſſe handling, but that thy Judgements may be known to be cruell and bloudy.* An apppeal to Chriſt.

When they came to the place of execution, the tormentors required the childe of his mother, for ſhe had carried it in her arms from the priſon: She kiſſing of it, delivered it to them, and as the executioner was ſtriking off his head, ſhe ſaid, farewell my ſweet childe: The childes Martyrdom.

All laud and praiſe, with heart and voice,
O Lord we yeeld to thee:
To whom the death of all thy Saints,
We know moſt dear to be.

The childes head being cut off, the mother wrapt it in her garment, laid it to her breaſt, and ſo departed. Then was *Romanus* caſt into a mighty fire, which being quenched with a great ſtorm, the Tyrant commanded his tongue to be cut out, and afterwards cauſed him to be ſtrangled in the priſon.

Gordius a Centurion in *Cæſarea*, in the heat of this perſecution, left his charge, living a ſolitary life in a wilderneſſe for a long time: at laſt when a ſolemn feaſt was celebrated to *Mars* in that city, and multitudes of people were aſſembled in the Theater, to ſee the games, he came, and gat up into a conſpicuous place, and with a loud voice ſaid, *Behold, I am found of thoſe which ſought me not*, &c. the multitude hereupon looked about to ſee who it was that ſpake this; and *Gordius* being known, he was immediatly brought before the Sheriff, and being asked who, and what he was, and why he came thither? he told him the whole truth, profeſſing that he believed in Chriſt, valued not their threatnings, and choſe this as a fit time to manifeſt his profeſſion in: then did the Sheriff call for ſcourges, gibbets, and all manner of torments: to whom *Gordius* anſwered, that it would be a loſſe and damage to him, if he did not ſuffer divers torments and puniſhments for Chriſt and his cauſe: the Sheriff more incenſed hereby, commanded all thoſe torments to be inflicted on him: with which *Gordius* could not be overcome, but ſang, *The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do unto me: and I will fear no evill, becauſe thou Lord art with me*, &c. then did he blame the tormentors for favouring of him; provoking them to do their uttermoſt: then the Sheriff not prevailing that way, ſought by flattery to ſeduce him, promiſing him preferment, riches, treaſures, honour, *&c.* if he would deny Chriſt: but *Gordius* derided his fooliſh madneſſe, ſaying, *that he looked for greater preferment in heaven, then he could give him here upon earth:* then was he condemned, and had out of the city to be burnt: Multitudes followed him, and ſome kiſſing him, with tears entreated him to pity himſelf, to whom *Gordius.* Courage. Flattery. Conſtancy.

he anſwered, *Weep not I pray you for me, but for the enemies of God, which fight againſt the Chriſtians; weep I ſay for them which prepare a fire for us, purchaſing hell-fire thereby for themſelves in the day of vengeance: and ceaſe I pray you thus to moleſt my quiet and ſetled minde: for truly for the name of Chriſt I am ready to ſuffer a thouſand deaths*, &c. Others perſwaded him to deny Chriſt with his mouth, and to keep his conſcience to himſelf: *My tongue* (ſaith he) *which by Gods goodneſſe I have, cannot be brought to deny the authour and giver of the ſame; for with the heart we beleeve unto righteouſneſſe, and with the tongue we confeſſe unto ſalvation:* and thus perſwading and encouraging the people to be willing to die in the like cauſe, with an unappalled countenance, he willingly gave himſelf to be burnt.

Menas. Alſo *Menas* an Egyptian, and ſouldier by profeſſion, in this perſecution, forſook all, and went into a deſart, where he gave himſelf to faſting, prayer, meditation, and reading of the Scriptures: at laſt returning into the city of *Cotis*, when the people were at their paſtimes, he with a loud voice proclaimed himſelf to be a Chriſtian, and thereupon was carried before the Preſident, and being demanded of his faith, he ſaid, *Convenient it is that I confeſſe God in whom is light, and no darkneſſe; for with the heart we beleeve to righteouſneſſe, and with the mouth confeſſion is made to ſalvation:* Then was he pinched and excruciated with ſundry torments: *But* (ſaid he) *there is nothing in my minde that can be compared to the Kingdom of heaven, neither is all the world if it were weighed in a balance comparable to the price of one ſoul:* and further ſaid, *Who can ſeparate us from the love of Chriſt? can tribulation, or anguiſh?* &c. And again, *I have learned of my Lord Chriſt not to fear them that can kill the body, and have no power to kill the ſoul*, &c. Having endured manifold torments, he received the ſentence of death, and at the place of execution, he ſaid, *I give thee thanks, my Lord God, which haſt accepted me to be a partaker of thy precious death, and haſt not ſuffered me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but haſt made me conſtant in thy true faith unto the end:* and ſo he loſt his head, but found a crown.

Note.

Baſil relates a ſtory, that the Emperours officer brought the Edict againſt the Chriſtians to a place to be publiſhed, and then privily ſuborned ſome to detect and accuſe the Chriſtians: then he cauſed the ſword, gibbet, wheel, and whips to be brought forth, at the ſight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did ſhake and tremble: Some for fear fled, others ſtood in doubt what to do: Some again for fear denied their faith, others ſuffered cruell torments, but at laſt vanquiſhed by the intollerable pain, they made ſhipwrack of their conſciences, and loſt the glory of their confeſſion.

Humane infirmity.

Fourty young gentlemen.

Amongſt others, fourty young gentlemen that were ſouldiers, freely and boldly confeſſed themſelves to be Chriſtians, declaring to the Marſhall their names, who amazed at this their boldneſſe, ſtood in doubt what to do: then he aſſaied with fair words and flatteries to win them, perſwading them to conſider their youth, and not to change a pleaſant life for a painfull and untimely death, promiſing them honour,

Tentation of flattery.

nour, money, *&c.* But they boldly anſwered, *that they neither deſired money, honour, nor life, but only the celeſtiall Kingdom of Chriſt*; for the love of them they were ready to endure the wheel, croſſe, fire, *&c.* the Marſhall being much offended herewith, deviſed a new torment; for ſpying a pond in the ſtreet that did lie open to the Northen winde, it being in the cold winter time, he cauſed them to be put into it all night; but they being many, comforted one another as they put off their clothes, ſaying, *We put not off now our clothes, but our old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiſcence, for which we bleſſe and praiſe God: for by means of the ſerpent we once put on the old man, but by the means of Jeſus Chriſt we now put him off:* and being brought naked to the place, where they felt the vehement cold, they were put into the pond, ſo that all their members were ſtark and ſtiffe with it: and as ſoon as it was day, they having breath yet remaining in them, were brought to the fire, wherein they were conſumed into aſhes, which aſhes were thrown into the floud.

It happened that one of the company being more lively, and not ſo near death as the reſt, the executioners pitied him, and delivered him to his mother who ſtood by, to ſave his life: but ſhe led him to the piles of wood, where the other ſtarved creatures lay ready to be burnt, admoniſhing him to accompliſh the bleſſed journey he had taken in hand, which accordingly he did, and was burnt with his companions.

Syrus a Phyſician of *Alexandria*, in this perſecution fled into *Syria*, where he lived a private life, unto whom one *John* a ſouldier adjoined himſelf: but not long after one *Athanaſia* with her three daughters, virgins, were caſt into priſon at *Canope* in *Egypt* for the profeſſion of their faith: *Cyrus* being of their acquaintance, fearing leſt through infirmity they ſhould fall, he together with his partner *John* went thither to the priſon to comfort and confirm them, for which he was accuſed to the Preſident, who thereupon condemned them all, and ſo they were beheaded. *Cyrus. John. Athanaſia.*

Sebaſtian alſo born in *France*, and Captain of the avaunt-guard of the Emperour, encouraged many Martyrs by his exhortations unto conſtancy, and kept them in the faith, for which being accuſed to the Emperour, he cauſed him to be brought forth into the open field, where by his own ſouldiers he was thruſt through with arrows. *Sebaſtian.*

Baſil alſo maketh mention of one *Barlaam*, who having endured all ſorts of tortures to the point of death, was then by the tormentors laid upon the altar, and they put fire and frankincenſe into his right hand, hoping that the burning of the fire would have forced him to ſcatter the incenſe upon the altar, and ſo have ſacrificed: but his hand, enduring the fire, remained ſteady, the Martyr in the mean time ſinging, *Bleſſed be the Lord my God which teacheth my hands to fight*, &c. *Barlaam.*

Ambroſe mentioneth one *Agricola* and *Vitalis* his ſervant, who agreed betwixt themſelves, to give their lives, with other Martyrs, for the name of Chriſt: *Vitalis* firſt offering himſelf to Martyrdom, *Vitalis.*

Conſtancy.

the perſecutors laboured by all means to draw him to deny Chriſt, but not prevailing, they exerciſed upon him all ſorts of torments, ſo that he had no whole skin left on all his body: *Vitalis* in the midſt of his ſufferings, having by prayer commended himſelf to God, gave up the ghoſt.

Agricola.

Then was *Agricola* ſet upon by the tormentors, whoſe vertuous life and gentle conditions, had won him ſuch reſpect, that they delaied tormenting of him, but he provoking them to make quicker ſpeed, they faſtened him to the croſſe, where he finiſhed his Martyrdom.

Vincentius.

Auguſtine writes of one *Vincentius* a *Spaniard,* who by *Dacianus* the Preſident was firſt laid upon the rack, till all the joints of his body crackt, then were all his members ſlaſht, and indented with deadly wounds; then they miſerably ſcratched all his body with iron combs, filed very ſharp; then they laid his body, being all out of joint, upon an iron grate, opened it with iron hooks, ſeared it with fiery plates, and then beſprinkled it with hot burning ſalt: laſtly they drew him, and caſt him into a vile dungeon, the flour whereof was thick-ſpread with the ſharpeſt ſhels, his feet were faſt locked in the ſtocks, and ſo left him without all worldly comfort; but the Lord his God was with him, the holy Spirit of God, whoſe office it is to comfort the afflicted, filled his heart with joy unſpeakable; ſo that he there ended his life with much comfort.

Horrible cruelty.

Joy unſpeakable.

Procopius.

Alſo *Procopius* in *Paleſtine,* after his converſion, brake his Images of gold and ſilver, and diſtributed them amongſt the poor; whereupon he had all ſorts of torments inflicted on him, racking, cording, tearing of his fleſh, firing, goring, ſtabbing, and laſtly had his head cut off.

George.
Zeal.

George, a young man of *Cappadocia,* ſtoutly inveying againſt the impious Idolatry of the Emperor, was apprehended, torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, ſtretched out with cords, after had his hands and feet cut off, and laſtly was beheaded.

Hermogenes.

Hermogenes the Preſident of *Athens,* being converted by beholding the patience and conſtancy of two Martyrs in their torments, ſuffered himſelf for the ſame faith.

Eulalia.

In *Portugall* a noble virgin named *Eulalia,* not much above twelve years old, having profers of great marriages made unto her, ſhe ſeeing the furious rage of this Perſecution, had a great minde to join her ſelf to the number of the Martyrs, for which end ſhe poured out her heart in prayer to God for ſtrength and faith to enable her thereunto: But her godly parents fearing that her ready minde to die for Chriſts cauſe, might make her guilty of her own death, they kept her cloſe at their country-houſe, a great way from the City; there ſhe lived quietly for a while; but at laſt deteſting to make ſuch delay, ſhe ſtole out of her fathers houſe in the night, and travelled all alone through by-waies, with much difficulty and wearineſſe towards the City, whither ſhe came in the morning, and going before the Judge, ſhe with a loud voice ſaid, *I pray you, What a ſhame is it for you thus wickedly to kill*

Zeal.

mens

mens ſouls, and to break their bodies in pieces, to compell them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know what I am? I am a Chriſtian, and an enemy to your deviliſh ſacrifices, I ſpurn your Idols under my feet, I confeſſe God omnipotent with my heart and mouth, &c. *Go to therefore thou hangman, burn, cut and mangle theſe my earthly members; thou maiſt eaſily break a brittle ſubſtance, but thou canſt not hurt my inward minde by any thing thou canſt doe.* The Judge enraged herewith, ſaid to the hangman, Take her, and pull her out by the hair of her head to torments, let her feel the power of our gods, and know what we can do: But yet, O ſturdy girl, I would fain have thee, before thou die, revoke thy wickedneſſe: Remember the honourable houſe of which thou art come, and thy friends tears; Wilt thou kill thy ſelf in the flower of thy youth, ſo near honourable marriages? Doth not the gliſtering pomp of the bride-bed move thee? *&c.* Behold here the engines prepared for thy death; either thou ſhalt be beheaded with the ſword, or torn with wilde beaſts, or conſumed with fire to aſhes, *&c.* yet this thou maieſt eſcape if thou wilt; What great matter is it for thee, with thy fingers to put a little incenſe into the cenſers? yet thereby thou ſhalt be delivered. Tentation.

To this *Eulalia* anſwered not, being in a great paſſion, but ſpit in the Tyrants face, and ſpurned abroad the heap of incenſe. Whereupon without further delay, the hangmen with both their ſtrengths pulled out her joints, ſcratched her with the talons of wilde beaſts to the hard bones, ſhe ſinging and praiſing God in the mean time; ſaying, *Behold O Lord, I will not forget thee: What a pleaſure is it for them, O Chriſt, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attain to theſe high dignities!* &c. Yea, when as out of a warm fountain, her fair and white skin was diſcoloured with the purple bloud that flowed from her torn members, ſhe wept not, but cheerfully ſang praiſes unto God; then they gored her mangled body with the iron grate, terribly harrowed her fleſh, and burned her breaſts with flaming torches, then ſetting fire to her long hair, which covered her naked body, when it came to her face, he opened her mouth, and ſucked in the flame, and ſo peaceably ſlept in the Lord. Horrible cruelty.

Alſo *Agnes* a young virgin, being accuſed for a Chriſtian, was brought before the Judge, who firſt laboured by flatteries, then by threatning her with cruel torments, to draw her to the deniall of her faith; but ſhe being ſtrengthened by Chriſt, told him that ſhe feared not his torments, which ſhe was willing to undergo, yea and death it ſelf for Chriſts ſake; then ſaid the Judge, if it be ſo eaſie with thee to undergo torments, yet I know that thou prizeſt thy virginity, therefore it is fully determined, that except thou ſacrificeſt to the gods, thou ſhalt be put into the common Stews. Then did many youths flock together, craving that *Agnes* might be expoſed as a prey to their filthy luſts, to whom ſhe ſaid, *Chriſt is not forgetfull of thoſe that are his, neither will he leave me deſtitute of his help, nor ſuffer my unſpotted chaſtity to be defiled by you,* &c. *you ſhall willingly bathe your ſwords in my* *Agnes.* Tentation. Courage. Faith.

bloud, but you ſhall not defile my body with filthy luſt for any thing that you can do. Then the Judge commanded that ſhe ſhould be ſet naked at the corner of a ſtreet; whereupon the multitude ſorrowed, and were aſhamed to ſee ſo ſhameleſſe a ſight, turning away their faces, and ſo departing; but one amongſt the reſt looking upon her in a ſhameleſſe manner, behold a flame of fire, like a flaſh of lightning ſtruck out both his eies, and he falling down, wallowed in the kennell durt, whereupon *Agnes* ſang praiſes unto God. Then the cruel Tyrant enraged hereby, commanded the executioner to draw out his ſword, and diſpatch her: She ſeeing a ſturdy ſouldier coming towards her with a naked ſword, rejoyced ſaying, *This, O this is he that I love, I will make haſt to meet him, and no longer protract my longing deſires; I will willingly receive the length of his ſword into my breaſt: O eternall father, vouchſafe to open the gates of heaven to my ſoul that ſeeketh thee;* and ſo kneeling down, and praying unto Chriſt, the executioner with his bloudy hand, finiſhed her hope.

A remarkable judgement.

Faith.

Fulitta. An excellent ſtory.

Baſil in one of his Orations, relates a ſtory of one *Fulitta*, from whom one of the Emperours officers took all her goods, lands and ſervants, contrary to all equity; whereupon ſhe complained to the Judges, and a day of hearing was appointed, where the ſpoiled woman lamentably declared her cauſe: But the wicked villain that had robbed her, ſaid that her Action was of no force, for ſhe was an outlaw, for not obſerving the Emperours gods, and that ſhe was a Chriſtian: His allegation was allowed, incenſe was prepared for her to offer to the gods, which if ſhe refuſed, ſhe ſhould neither have protection nor benefit of the Emperours Laws, nor continue her life. She hearing this, in the mighty ſtrength of God, ſaid, *Farewell riches, welcome poverty, farewell life, welcome death: All that I have were it a thouſand times more, would I loſe, rather then ſpeak one wicked word againſt God my Creator. I yield thee moſt hearty thanks, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can contemn and deſpiſe this frail and tranſitory world, eſteeming the profeſſion of Chriſt above all treaſures:* And thenceforth when any queſtion was propoſed to her, her anſwer was, *I am the ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt.* Her kindred and friends earneſtly ſollicited her to change her minde, but ſhe conſtantly refuſed, with deteſtation of their Idolatry. Then did the cruel Judge condemn her to be burnt, which ſentence ſhe embraced joyfully, as a thing moſt ſweet and delectable, and ſo ſhe addreſſed her ſelf to the flames, in countenance, geſture and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with ſingular conſtancy, and ſo embracing the fire, ſhe ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

Strength of Faith.

Tentation. Conſtancy.

Barbara.

Barbara a noble woman in *Thuſcia*, after miſerable impriſonment, ſharp cords, and burning flames put to her ſides, was at laſt beheaded, together with many others.

Here place the fourth Figure.

Chap. XVII.

The Persecution of the Christians in Persia, *under* Sapores, *about the same time.*

THE Idolatrous Magicians in *Persia*, taking counsell together against the Christians, accused them to *Sapores* for keeping correspondence with, and favouring the *Roman* Emperour, which was *Constantine* the Great. Magitians stir up persecution.

The King being much moved herewith, took occasion to oppresse them with taxes and tributes, to their utter undoing, and killing their Ministers with the sword. Then he called before him *Simeon* their Bishop, who remaining constant and valiant, he commanded him to be led forth to torment, yet did he neither shrink for fear, nor make any humble suit for pardon, which the King being offended at, required him, either to worship him after the countrey manner, or else he would destroy him and all other Christians in his land: But *Simeon* neither allured with promises, nor terrified with threatnings, could be induced to Idolatrous worship, for which cause he was sent away to prison, and as he was going, there was sitting at the Court-gate an Eunuch, an old Tutor of the Kings, named *Usthazares*, once a Christian, but now fallen from his profession, who seeing *Simeon* led by, rose up and did him reverence; *Simeon* on the contrary, rebuked him, crying out against him for revolting from his profession: Whereupon the Eunuch burst forth into tears, laying aside his costly apparell, and putting on black mourning weeds, and sitting at the Court-gate weeping, he said to himself, *Wo is me, with what face hereafter shall I look upon God, seeing* Simeon *disdaineth with one gentle word to salute me?* This being carried to the Kings ears, he was exceeding angry, and sending for him, he first with gentle words and large promises, spake him fair, and asked him why he mourned? Whether there was any thing in his house that was denied him? *&c.* Whereunto *Usthazares* answered, that there was nothing in that earthly house that was detained from him: Yea said he, O King, would God any other grief or calamity in the world had happened to me, rather then this for which I justly sorrow: For this is my grief, that I am alive this day, who should have died long since, and that I see this sun, which dissemblingly, to pleasure you, I have seemed to worship, for which I have deserved a double death: First for dissembling with you; secondly for that thereby I have denied Christ: vowing that he would never hereafter forsake the Creator to worship the creature, *&c.*

Simeon.

Usthazares.

Zeal.

Recovery after fall.

Tentation.

Repentance.

Sapores was much astonished hereat, and doubted whether to use him gently or with rigour, but at last in his mood, he commanded him to be beheaded: But as he was going to execution, he requested an Eunuch that attended on the King, to desire him for all the old and faith-

faithfull ſervice that he had done to his father and him, that he would cauſe to be proclaimed openly at his death, that he was beheaded, not for any treachery againſt King or Realm, but for that he was a Chriſtian, and would not deny his God; this the King yielded to, and ſo it was performed; and this he deſired, becauſe by his former Apoſtacy he had diſcouraged many Chriſtians, and therefore he ſought by his profeſſion and example to encourage them to the like ſufferings.

His Martyrdom.

Simeon in priſon hearing of his death, much rejoyced and praiſed God for it, and the very next day, he, with above an hundred more Chriſtians were beheaded likewiſe. There was preſent at their Martyrdom one *Puſices* an Officer to the King, who beholding an aged Miniſter to tremble when he ſaw the others beheaded before him, ſaid unto him, *O father ſhut thine eyes for a little moment, and be ſtrong, and ſhortly thou ſhalt ſee God in glory.* Hereupon *Puſices* was apprehended, and carried before the King, in whoſe preſence he made a bold confeſſion of his faith, for which cauſe they made a hole in his neck, and pulled out his tongue backward, and ſo he was put to death, together with one of his daughters that was a virgin.

Simeon beheaded.

Puſices.

His Martyrdom.

The year after, when the Chriſtians were met together to celebrate the memoriall of Chriſts paſſion, *Sapores* ſent forth a cruel Edict, that all they ſhould be put to death that profeſſed the Name of Chriſt; whereby, at the inſtigation of the wicked Magicians, an innumerable company of Chriſtians, both in Cities and Towns were ſlain by the ſword, ſome being ſought for, others offering themſelves willingly, leaſt they ſhould ſeem to deny Chriſt: In this Perſecution many of the Kings own Court and houſhold-ſervants ſuffered Martyrdom; amongſt whom was *Azades*, an Eunuch, whom the King entirely loved, inſomuch as hearing that he was ſlain, he was ſo offended and grieved, that he commanded that thenceforth no more Chriſtians ſhould be ſlain, but only the Doctors and Teachers of the Church.

Magicians authors of perſecution.

About this time the Queen fell very ſick, upon which occaſion the wicked *Jews* and Magicians accuſed two of *Simeons* ſiſters, which were godly virgins, that by charms and enchantments they had procured it to revenge the death of *Simeon:* This accuſation being believed, they were both condemned, and with a Saw cut in ſunder by the middle, whoſe quarters were hung upon ſtakes, the Queen going betwixt them, thinking thereby to be freed of her ſickneſſe.

Simeons ſiſters.

Slanders.

Then enſued a great Perſecution againſt the Biſhops and Miniſters, who were daily dragged forth to the ſlaughter: but firſt they cruelly ſcourged them, and put them to other great torments, becauſe they would not worſhip the Sun.

Biſhops and Miniſters perſecuted.

Miſerable and almoſt innumerable were the ſlaughters under this *Sapores*, of Biſhops, Miniſters, Deacons, and other religious men and holy virgins, ſo that the *Perſians* themſelves reckon up above ſixteen thouſand men and women that ſuffered Martyrdom.

The report of the miſerable condition of the Chriſtians coming to the ears of *Conſtantine* the Great, put the good Emperour into great heavineſſe,

heavineſſe, who ſtudying how to relieve them, it ſo fell out, that about that time there came Ambaſſadors to him to *Rome*, from *Sapores*, whom he entertained courteouſly, and granted all their requeſts, and then by them wrote his Letters to *Sapores* in the behalf of the Chriſtians, whereby he did ſomething mitigate the heat of the *Perſian* Perſecution: Yet afterwards it was renued again; at which time ſuffered *Andas* the Biſhop, and *Hormiſda*, a noble mans ſon of great reputation amongſt the *Perſians*, whom when the King underſtood to be a Chriſtian, and reſolute in his profeſſion, he condemned him to keep his Elephants naked; afterwards the King looking out, and ſeeing him all ſwart, and tanned with the ſun, he commanded that a ſhirt ſhould be put upon him, and that he ſhould be brought before him: Then did the King ask him if he would yet deny Chriſt? *Hormiſda* hearing this, tare off his ſhirt, and caſt it from him, ſaying, if you think that I will deny my faith for a ſhirt, have here your gift again, *&c.* whereupon he was baniſhed the countrey.

Andas.
Hormiſda.

Conſtancy.

Alſo *Suenes* a noble man that had under him one hundred ſervants, becauſe he would not deny his Chriſtian profeſſion, was ſo hated by the King, that he made the worſt of his ſervants Lord over him, and over all that he had, and coupled his wife to him, and made *Suenes* himſelf to ſerve him.

Suenes.

Alſo *Benjamin* a Deacon was thruſt into priſon, where he was kept two years, but at the length, at the requeſt of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, he was releaſed, yet afterwards, when contrary to the Kings commandment, he preached and taught every where the Goſpel of Chriſt, he was again apprehended, and miſerably tormented, having twenty ſharp reeds thruſt under the nails of his fingers and toes, but he laughing at it, had a ſharp reed thruſt into his yard, with horrible pain, and laſtly had a long ragged thorny ſtalk thruſt through his fundament into his bowels, whereof he died.

Benjamin.

Theſe Primitive Perſecutions are collected out of Euſebius, Socrates *Scholaſt.* Evagrius, Nicepho. Theod. *the Imperiall Hiſtorie, and the Magd. Hiſtorie.*

Chap. XVIII.

The Persecution of the Church under Julian the Apostata, Anno Christi 365.

Julian was nephew to *Constantius* the son of *Constantine*, and was by him made *Cæsar*, and sent against the *Germanes*, where after some smaller victories, having overcome his enemies in a great and bloudy battell, he was by his Army made *Augustus*, and after *Constantius* his death, succeeded in the whole Empire, both of the East and West. He was brought up in the Christian Religion, and was endowed with excellent parts; but when he came to the Empire, he Apostatized from his former profession, and turned Heathen, and became a deadly enemy to the Church of Christ, and a great persecutor of it.

His Apostacy.

The first thing that he did was to open the Idol Temples, shut up by his predecessors, and to suffer the Gentiles to commit their superstitious Idolatries, and publickly to adore their Idols: Then his next design was to supplant the true Christian Religion, being induced thereto by the devil and his own wickednesse: And the better to effect the same, he practised a means never before used by any, which was to shew himself pitifull, and not cruel; perceiving that by means of torments inflicted on the Martyrs, the holy Christian faith was greatly increased; and therefore he sought by gifts, favours, flatteries, and by bestowing offices and dignities, to draw them to renounce the Christian faith, and to sacrifice to false gods, and by this means there were not a few, who being covetous and ambitious, desiring to be rich and honoured, fell from their Christian profession.

Deviliſh subtilty.

Then did he make laws and generall decrees, that no Christian should be Master of any Arts or Sciences, neither should study in any Scholes, that so through the desire of Learning they might turn Idolaters, or else they should remain ignorant and illiterate, and so be insufficient to preach the Christian faith.

Christians might not study.

He also ordained that no Christian should have any charge, or hold any office of Justice, neither should be a Captain in the warres, nor enjoy any other dignity. Thus he used all the inventions that possibly he could devise, to make warre against Jesus Christ, without shedding any Christian bloud, that so he might take the Crown from the holy Martyrs, which they formerly obtained by the Persecution of the sword; and indeed this was the greatest and most dangerous Persecution that ever the Church endured.

They may be in no offices.

The most dangerous persecution.

Amongst other of his subtill devices to bring Christianity into contempt, this was one; He entertained about him many witty, but wicked persons, who made it their businesse to scoff at, and deride the Chri-

Christians made the object of scorn.

stians

ſtians with all manner of baſe jears; and thoſe which excelled moſt in this wicked practice, he moſt loved and honoured, advancing them to offices, both in his Court and Army.

During his ſhort reign, though himſelf put none to death, as is before ſpecified, yet the heathen Idolaters, in ſundry places, proceeded far otherwiſe; eſpecially in *Paleſtine*, where they burnt many Chriſtians alive, others they ſtripped naked, and tying cords to their feet, dragged them up and down the paved ſtreets, till their fleſh was torn from their bones: Upon others they poured ſcalding water: Some they ſtoned, or beat out their brains with clubs; and having thus murthered them, they burnt their bodies, and then took their bones, and mingled them with the bones of Camels and Aſſes, that they might not be known for Mens bones. Barbarous cruelty.

The Chriſtians in *Alexandria* were moſt cruelly uſed by the *Ethnicks*: Some were ſlain with the ſword, ſome were faſtened to the croſſe, ſome brained, ſome ſtoned; and ſuch was their rage againſt Chriſtianity, that one brother ſpared not another, nor parents their children, nor children their parents.

Emilianus was burned in *Thracia*. *Domitius* was ſlain in his cave. *Theodorus* for ſinging a Pſalm at the removing of the body of *Babilas*, being apprehended, was examined with exquiſite torments, and ſo cruelly excrutiated from morning till almoſt noon, that hardly he eſcaped with life, and being afterwards asked by his friends how he could endure ſuch extream torments, ſaid, that at firſt he felt ſome pain, but afterwards there ſtood by him a young man, who as he was ſweating with the pain, wiped away his ſweat, and oft times ſo refreſhed him with cold water, wherewith he was ſo delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved him more then before. *Emilianus.* *Domitius.* *Theodorus.* A miracle of mercy.

Artemius alſo, a Captain of the *Egyptian* ſouldiers, was beheaded for his Religion, though other cauſes were pretended. Two Chriſtian brethren were dragged through the ſtreets, and murthered by the Idolatrous people of *Gaza*. *Artemius.* Two brethren Martyrs.

But the cruelty of the wicked *Arethuſians* exceeded againſt the Chriſtian Miniſters and virgins, whom they ſet forth naked before the multitude to be ſcorned by them. Then did they cover them with hogges-meat, and ripping up their bellies, put barly into them, and ſo cauſed their bowels and fleſh to be devoured by their hungry ſwine. Barbarous cruelty.

Their cruelty moſt raged againſt *Marcus Arethuſius*, the Chriſtian Biſhop of that City, who formerly, by the command of *Conſtantine*, had pulled down their Idol-temple, and ſet up a Church for the Chriſtians in the room thereof: The *Arethuſians* knowing how *Julian* hated him, accuſed him as a traitor and enemy to the Emperour: Whereupon at firſt he prepared himſelf to fly, but when he perceived that ſome of his friends were apprehended in his ſtead, he returned, and of his own accord offered himſelf to thoſe that thirſted for his bloud: *Marcus Arethuſius.* Courage.

Whom when they had gotten, neither pittying his old age, nor reverencing his holy and blameleſſe converſation, they ſtript him naked, and pittifully beat him: then they caſt him into a foul, filthy ſink: then they cauſed boies to thruſt him in with ſharp ſticks to augment his pain: Laſtly they put him into a basket, anointed him with hony and broth, and ſo hung him abroad in the heat of the ſun, to be meat for waſps and flies to feed upon; and this they did to enforce him either to build up their Idol-temple again, or to give them money to pay for the doing of it, but he ſtoutly refuſing both, they profered to forgive one half, if he would pay the other, which he ſtill refuſing, and contemning all their torments, they at laſt demanded of him but a ſmall ſumme of money, but he anſwered, *It is as great wickedneſſe to conferre one half-penny in caſe of impiety, as if a man ſhould give the whole*. Whereupon, deſpairing to prevail, they left him and went their waies.

Barbarous cruelty.

Cyrillus.

Alſo *Cyrillus* a Deacon in *Hierapolis*, who in *Conſtantines* time had broken in pieces the Images of the Gentiles, they took him, ript up his belly, drew the liver out of his body, which with barbarous inhumanity they chawed with their teeth: But the Lord ſuffered not this brutiſhneſſe to go unpuniſhed, for their teeth ſhortly after fell out of their jaw-bones, and their tongues rotted in their mouths, and they fell ſtark blinde.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Julian when he came to *Conſtantinople*, offered ſacrifice in the Cathedrall Church to the goddeſſe *Fortune*; about which time *Maris* Biſhop of *Chalceden* in *Bithynia*, being blinde, cauſed himſelf to be led to the Emperour, whom he rebuked ſharply, calling him an impious perſon, an Apoſtate, and an Atheiſt; he on the contrary called the Biſhop blinde fool, ſaying further, *Thy God of Galilee will not reſtore thee thy ſight again: Maris* replied, *I thank God which made me blinde, leaſt that ever I ſhould ſet mine eies upon ſo ungracious a face as thine is.*

Maris boldly reproveth *Julian.*

Blaſphemy.

In the Market-places of the Cities *Julian* ſet up his own Image amongſt the Images of the heathen gods, to the end that whoſoever ſhould do civil reverence to his Image, might alſo ſeem to worſhip the gods of the Gentiles, and that they who would not bow to the Idols, might ſeem to refuſe due reverence to the Emperour. When he diſtributed gold to his Captains and ſouldiers, he erected an Altar near to his throne, with coles burning upon it, and incenſe on a table by, and none might receive gold before he had caſt incenſe on the coles upon the Altar, by which ſubtilty he circumvented many, who diſcerned not his purpoſe to intangle them with the rites of Idolatrous ſervice.

Deviliſh ſubtilty.

All about *Antioch* he dedicated all the fountains to the goddeſſes of the Gentiles, and cauſed all the victuals that were ſold in the Market to be ſprinkled with heatheniſh holy water: yet did the Chriſtians without ſcruple drink of the water, and eat of the meat according to that rule; *Whatſoever is ſold in the ſhambles, that eat, and ask no queſtion for conſcience ſake*, &c.

Chriſtian wiſdome.

Juventius and *Maxentius.*

Juventius and *Maxentius*, two brave Captains, uſed much boldneſſe

neſſe and liberty in reproving him for his heatheniſh ſuperſtition, which ſo enraged him, that he cauſed them to be put to death.

In *Cæſarea*, the inhabitants being moſt Chriſtians, had formerly overthrown the Temples of *Jupiter* and *Apollo*, and now in *Julians* time, they overthrew the Temple of *Fortune*, which ſo enraged him, that he diſfranchiſed them, exacted of them three hundred pounds weight of gold, and compelled their Clergy to ſerve in warfare, threatning further to put to death all the inhabitants thereof at his return, but it pleaſed God that his own death prevented it. Chriſtian courage.

About this time, *Julian* going to enquire of the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, there came down fire from heaven, and deſtroyed the Temple, and beat the Image of *Apollo* in pieces, like to the ſmaleſt powder or duſt. *Apollo*'s Image broken with lightning.

When he came to *Antioch*, there was a noble woman called *Publia*, who had the education and government of divers young virgins, theſe ſhe cauſed, as *Julian* paſſed by her houſe, to ſing with a loud voice, *The Idols of the heathen are ſilver and gold, the work of mens hands*, &c. This ſo angred the Emperour, that he ſent them a command to ſing no more as he went that way; but *Publia* was ſo farre from fearing of him, that the next time he came, ſhe made them ſing the ſame verſe, and to adde to it, *Let God ariſe, and his enemies ſhall be ſcattered*, &c. This ſo incenſed *Julian*, that he ſent for her to him, ſcoffed at her, and cauſed her to be clapt on the cheeks in a diſgracefull manner; but ſhe looked upon it as a great honour thus to ſuffer reproach for Chriſts ſake; and coming home, ſhe cauſed her maids ſtill to ſing Pſalms of the Emperours fury and madneſſe.

Afterwards the Emperour intending to warre againſt the *Perſians*, ſet a great fine upon every ones head that would not ſacrifice to the Idols, whereby he much inriched himſelf by the ſpoil of the Chriſtians. Chriſtians fined.

Then were falſe accuſations forged againſt *Athanaſius*, ſo that he was forced to fly, yet he thus comforted himſelf and friends, *Nubecula eſt, citò pertranſibit*; This Perſecution is but a little cloud, and will ſoon paſſe away. *Athanaſius* driven away.

In his flight, he took a ſhip upon the river *Nilus* to fly to *Thebais*, but *Julian* ſent an Earl after him, to bring him back again, who purſuing of him with ſails and ores, had almoſt overtaken his ſhip, whereupon the Marriners would have run her aſhore, and fled into a wilderneſſe that was hard by, to whom *Athanaſius* ſaid, *Quid turbamini filii? quin in occurſum eamus perſecutori noſtro, ut intelligat, quia longè major eſt qui nos defendit, quam qui perſequitur*; My ſons, why are you thus affrighted? Let us rather turn and meet our purſuer, that he may know, that he is greater which defends us, then he that follows to apprehend us. Hereupon the Marriners turned back again, and the Earl ſuppoſing nothing leſſe then that *Athanaſius* was in the ſhip that came towards him, only called to them, enquiring whether they had not heard of *Athanaſius*? they anſwered that they had ſeen *Athanaſius* a Courage.

A ſpeciall providence.

little before: whereupon he haſtened forward to overtake him, and *Athanaſius* in his ſhip returned back privately into *Alexandria*, where he lay hid till that Perſecution was over.

Julians officers in exacting the fines of the Chriſtians, demanded more then they were aſſeſſed at, and ſometimes tormented their bodies alſo, of which wrongs when they complained to the Emperour, he ſcoffingly anſwered them, *It's your part, when you are injured to take it patiently, for ſo your God commandeth you.*

Blaſphemy.

At *Meris* in *Phrygia*, the Governour commanded the Idol-temple to be ſet open and cleanſed, and began himſelf to worſhip the Idols: Whereupon ſome Chriſtians, inflamed with zeal, in the night time, brake into the Temple, threw down the Idols, and ſtamped them to powder. The Governour being wonderfully incenſed herewith, purpoſed to execute ſome Chriſtian citizens which were innocent and guiltleſſe; whereupon the Authors of their own accord, preſented themſelves before him, chuſing rather to die for the truth, then that others ſhould ſuffer for their ſakes; Thereupon the Governour commanded them to ſacrifice to the Idols, or elſe he would ſeverely puniſh them; but they, ſetting at nought his threats, prepared themſelves to ſuffer what he could inflict: Then did he aſſay them with all kindes of torments, and at laſt laid them on the gridiron, and broiled them to death, to whom they ſaid, *If thou long, O Tyrant, for broiled meat, turn up the other ſide, leaſt in eating, the bloud run about thy teeth.*

Zeal.

Courage.

When *Julian* went againſt the *Perſians*, of very malice and hatred againſt the Chriſtians, whom ſcornfully he called *Galilæans*, he made a vow, that if he obtained the victory, he would ſacrifice to his Gods the bloud of thoſe Chriſtians which would not ſacrifice to the Idols: But what the iſſue of that expedition was, *See in my ſecond part, in the Life of* Jovianus.

Collected out of the Imperial Hiſtory, and Socrates Scholaſticus, Theodor. *and the Magd. Hiſt.* Cent. 4.

Chap. XIX.

The Perſecution of the Church under the Arrian *Hereticks, which began* Anno Chriſti 339.

Conſtantine the Great, dying, divided his Empire amongſt his three ſons, *Conſtantius*, *Conſtans* and *Conſtantine*. *Conſtantius* that governed the Eaſt, was ſeduced by an *Arrian* Presbyter, who had been in his fathers Court, with his aunt *Conſtantia*: So pernicious a thing it is to have deceitfull hereticks lurking in Princes Courts, and Ladies chambers.

Note.

This

This Presbyter complained to *Constantius* that the return of *Athanasius* from baniſhment was very dangerous to the peace of the Commonwealth: Yea he ſo farre incenſed the Emperour againſt him, that he ſent a Captain with five thouſand armed men to ſlay him; but the Lord delivered him miraculouſly out of their hands, for the armed ſouldiers being placed round about the Church where he was, he went ſafely through the midſt of them undiſcerned, though many *Arrians* were preſent on purpoſe to point him out to the ſouldiers, as a ſheep ordained for the ſlaughter.

Athanaſius accuſed of ſedition.

His miraculous deliverance.

But neither in baniſhment could he enjoy peace and ſafety, for this *Arrian* Emperour ſent to all the officers in his Army to ſearch him out, whereſoever he was, propoſing a great reward to thoſe that could bring *Athanaſius* to him, either alive or dead: Whereupon he was forced to hide himſelf in a deep pit, where he lay ſix years never ſo much as ſeeing the light of the ſun, till at laſt a maid that uſed to carry him his food, was corrupted by thoſe which ſought for him, to betray him to them; but it pleaſed God by his Spirit to reveal to him his danger, whereby he eſcaped a little before they came to apprehend him.

His baniſhment and danger.

His miraculous deliverance.

Afterwards *Conſtans* forced his brother *Conſtantius*, though much againſt his will, to reſtore *Athanaſius* to his Church at *Alexandria*: But after the death of that good Emperour *Conſtans*, *Conſtantius* drave him into baniſhment again; yet the Lord ſtirred up a godly woman to hide him in her houſe till the death of *Conſtantius*.

He is reſtored for a time, and again baniſhed

In *Alexandria* in the room of *Athanaſius*, was *George* an *Arrian* Biſhop placed, who alſo was furniſhed with armed ſouldiers to aſſiſt him in his deviliſh devices. Thereupon he cauſed a great fire to be made, took many Chriſtian virgins, cauſed them to be ſtripped naked, requiring them to renounce their faith, or elſe they ſhould be burned: but when the ſight of the fire could not terrifie them, he cauſed their faces to be ſo daſhed with ſtrokes, that their countenances were disfigured; yet like patient ſouldiers of Chriſt they endured all kinde of rebuke for his names ſake.

Chriſtian virgins ſhamefully abuſed.

Thirty Biſhops of *Egypt* and *Lybia*, were ſlain in the fury of this *Arrian* Perſecution. Fourteen Biſhops were baniſhed, whereof ſome of them died in the way, the reſt in exile. Fourty Orthodox Chriſtians in *Alexandria* were ſcourged with rods, becauſe they would not communicate with the *Arrian* Biſhop *George*, and ſo piteouſly handled, that ſome pieces of the rods were ſo deeply fixed in their fleſh, that they could not be drawn out, and many through exceſſive pain of their wounded bodies, died.

The *Arrian* cruelty.

The like cruelty did the *Arrians* exerciſe in *Conſtantinople*. *Paul* the good Biſhop was baniſhed to *Cucuſus*, where he was ſtrangled by the *Arrians*. *Macedonius* a notable heretick was placed in his room, who uſed no leſſe cruelty in forcing men to communicate with him, then was uſed formerly to force them to ſacrifice to Idols.

B. *Paul* baniſhed.

Theſe hereticks alſo uſed great diligence in procuring Councels to eſtabliſh

Subtilty.

eſtabliſh their errors. But not long after the Emperour died, ſorrowing much that he had changed the form of the *Nicene* faith.

An. Chriſti 364

After the death of *Jovian*, *Valentinian* ſucceeded in the Empire, who aſſociated to himſelf his brother *Valens*, and made him Emperour of the Eaſt. This *Valens* was an *Arrian*, and raiſed up a cruel Perſecution againſt the Orthodox: Concerning which *Greg. Nazianzen* in his Oration of the praiſe of *Baſil*, thus writeth, *Inſurrexit repentè nebula grandine plena, & perniciosè ſtridens, quæ omnes Eccleſias in quas incidit, contrivit, & proſtravit, Chriſti cultor, pariter & oſor, qui poſt perſecutorem perſecutor fuit, & poſt Apoſtatam, non quidem Apoſtata, ſed nihilo tamen meliorem ſe Chriſtianis præbens: Chriſti nomen præ ſe ferens, Chriſtum mentiebatur.* *Miletius* Biſhop of *Antioch* he baniſhed to *Armenia*. *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Samoſata*, to *Thrace*. *Pelagius* Biſhop of *Laodicea*, to *Arabia*.

Perſecution raiſed by *Valens*

He ſucceeded *Julian*.

Miletius. *Euſebius*. *Pelagius*.

He was exceedingly filled with wrath againſt the Biſhops aſſembled in the Councel of *Lampſacum*, becauſe they adhered to the *Nicene* faith. In *Conſtantinople*, he baniſhed all the Orthodox. In *Edeſſa*, he commanded them all to be ſlain as they were aſſembled together in the Church. The Lieutenant that had received this charge from him, being more mercifull then his maſter, gave private notice to the Chriſtians, that they ſhould not aſſemble at that time, but they, neither regarding his advice, nor fearing his threats, flocked to the Church in great companies: and whilſt the Lieutenant, with many armed ſouldiers, haſted thitherward to fulfill the Emperours command, a woman leading a childe in her hand, all in haſte, brake the ranks, and thruſt into the armed troops: The Lieutenant being moved therewith, called the woman before him, ſaying, *Thou fond and unfortunate woman, whither runneſt thou ſo raſhly? Thither* (ſaid ſhe) *whither others haſten: Haſt thou not heard* (ſaid he) *that the Lieutenant will ſlay as many as he findes there? I heard it* (ſaid ſhe) *and therefore I make the more haſte to the place. But whither* (ſaid he) *leadeſt thou this childe? That he alſo* (ſaid ſhe) *may be accounted in the number of Martyrs.* Hereupon the Lieutenant returned back to the Emperour, and told him that all the Chriſtians from the higheſt to the loweſt, prepared themſelves to die in the defence of their faith; withall telling him what a raſh thing it was to murther ſo great a multitude, *&c.* and ſo with his reaſons perſwaded the Emperour, that he appeaſed his wrath, and prevented the miſchief at that time.

An admirable ſtory.

Courage.

Gods providence.

In *Conſtantinople* the *Arrians*, favoured by the Emperour, crowed inſolently over the Chriſtians, they ſcourged, reviled, impriſoned, merced, and laid upon them all the intollerable burthens they could deviſe. Hereupon eighty godly Miniſters in the name of all the reſt, addreſſed themſelves to the Emperour, complaining of the outrages that were done to them, craving ſome relief: But this cruel Tyrant commanded *Modeſtus* the Generall of his Army, to embark them all in a ſhip, as if he would have ſent them into baniſhment, but ſecretly he gave direction to the Marriners, to ſet the ſhip on fire, and to retire themſelves

Eighty godly Miniſters burned.

themſelves into a boat; and ſo theſe holy Martyrs glorified the Name of Chriſt, by patient ſuffering of a double death, burning and drowning.

In all the Eaſtern parts he tormented many with ſundry ſorts of grievous torments, put many to death, drowned many in the ſea, and in rivers. Cruelty of hereticks.

About this time he conſulted with Necromancers, to know who ſhould ſucceed him in the Empire: The devil anſwered ambiguouſly, that his name ſhould begin with *Th*. Whereupon he put to death as many as were called *Theodorus*, *Theodotus*, *Theodoſius* or *Theodulus*.

Athanaſius being dead at *Alexandria*, there ſucceeded him a godly and holy man, named *Peter*, but the Emperour preſently ſent ſouldiers, which clapt him in priſon, and the reſt of the Miniſters were baniſhed, ſome to one place, ſome to another. *Peter.*

After this he ſent forth an Edict for the perſecuting of all the Orthodox in *Egypt*: Whereupon many were ſtript of their raiment, ſcourged, fettered in priſons, cruſhed in pieces with ſtones, beheaded, driven into deſerts, where they wandred in ſheep-skins and goat-skins, deſtitute of aid and ſuccour: Many hid themſelves in monntains, in dens, caves and hollow rocks. Cruelty.

Terentius and *Trajan*, two worthy Captains, uſed ſome liberty in admoniſhing the Emperour to abſtain from perſecuting of the innocent; but the Lord was minded to deſtroy him, and therefore he could receive no wholſome admonition: For many of the *Goths*, whom he entertained as ſouldiers to aſſiſt him againſt his enemies, turned againſt himſelf, ſo that he fled, and was overtaken in a village, which the *Goths* ſet on fire, whereby he died miſerably, leaving none to ſucceed him, and his name a curſe and execration to all ages. The Emperor refuſed admonition. Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Collected out of Magd. Hiſt. Socrates *and* Theod.

The Perſecution by the Donatiſts,

ABout the year of our Lord 410. there ſprang up in *Africk* the *Donatiſts* and *Circumcellions*, who firſt made a great Schiſm in the Church, and afterwards raiſed up a great Perſecution againſt the Orthodox; concerning which St *Auguſtine* complains in ſundry places: And in his 50 Epiſtle to Earl *Boniface*, he thus writes of it, *In hoc labore multi Catholici, & maximè Epiſcopi, & Clerici horrenda, & dura perpeſſi ſunt, quæ commemorare longum eſt*, &c. In this diſturbance, the Orthodox, eſpecially the Biſhops and Miniſters, ſuffered hard and horrible things, the particulars whereof are long to recite: for ſome of them had their eies put out: Some Biſhops had their hands and tongues cut off, and ſome were ſlain out-right. To ſpeak nothing of the cruel ſlaughter of others that were ſound and ſincere; of the plundering of their houſes, of the outragious burning, not only of their Bloudy ſchiſmaticks.

Profane ſchiſmaticks.

private habitations, but of their Churches alſo; yea ſo vile and violent were they, that they ſticked not to burn the ſacred Scriptures.

Optatus in his ſecond book tels us, that when *Julian* the Apoſtate came to the Empire, the *Donatiſts* preferred a petition to him, wherein they deſired leave to return to their places in *Africk*, from whence formerly they had been baniſhed. *Julian* knowing what furious and turbulent ſpirits they were of, and how prejudiciall their return would be to the Catholick Church, eaſily aſſented to their petition, and ſo they returned full fraught with malice and revenge, and preſently imployed all their abilities, partly by ſubtilty to ſeduce the common people, partly by violence to oppreſſe the Orthodox Biſhops and Miniſters; of whom, ſome they thruſt out of their Churches, others they ſlew.

Turbulent ſchiſmaticks.

Some of their chief Biſhops, taking armed ſouldiers with them, went to the Caſtle of *Lemella*, where finding the Church ſhut againſt them, they commanded their attendance to get upon it, uncover the roof, and ſo having broken into it, they ſet upon ſome Deacons, whom they found there, wounded ſome, and ſlew two of them outright. In all places where they came, they profaned all holy things; The Sacramentall bread they threw to their dogs; but behold the juſt judgement of God againſt theſe profane ſchiſmaticks, thoſe very dogs ſhortly after running mad, fell upon their own maſters, and tore them in pieces.

Profane ſchiſmaticks. Gods judgement on them.

Virgins they defloured, and wives they defiled. So uſuall a thing it is for thoſe which adulterate the holy truths of God, to be given over to corporall uncleanneſſe.

Impure ſchiſmaticks.

Theſe furious perſons diſperſed themſelves all over *Africk*, and would not ſuffer the Orthodox to preach the truth againſt their errors: By their violent aſſaults, theeveries, rapines, burnings and murthers, they deſtroyed many, and afrighted all, *&c.*

Chap. XX.

The Perſecution of the Church in Africk, *by the* Arrian Vandals, *which began* Anno Chriſti 427.

THE cruel *Vandals*, paſſing out of *Spain* into *Africk*, under *Genſerick* their Captain, finding the Province peaceable and quiet, ſet upon the flouriſhingeſt part of the land, waſting and deſtroying all before them, with fire and ſword, not ſparing ſo much as the ſhrubs and buſhes which bare fruit, leaſt they ſhould miniſter relief to thoſe poor Chriſtians which hid themſelves in dens, in mountains, and ſteep cliffs: But eſpecially they raged againſt the Churches and Temples

Profane hereticks.

of

of the Saints, burning them all down to the ground, and where they found any of them ſhut, they brake them open with their Maces. The Biſhops and Miniſters they deſtroyed eſpecially, with many kindes of torments, ſeeking by tortures to force them to deliver up whatſoever gold or ſilver they had of their own, or belonging to the Church; and where they gat any, they ſtill tormented them afreſh, to enforce them to confeſſe more.

Cruelty of hereticks.

The mouths of ſome they wreſted open with iron, thruſting in ſtinking mire and dirt: Some they tormented by wreſting their foreheads and legs with bow-ſtrings, till they crackt again: Into the mouths of others they poured ſea-water, vinegar, with dregs of oyl and greaſe; and neither weakneſſe of ſex, nor reſpect of nobility, nor reverence of their Miniſtry, mitigated their cruel mindes; yea their fury moſt abounded where appeared any dignity or worthineſſe.

Prodigious cruelties.

Many of the Miniſters and Nobles they loaded with mighty burthens, as if they had been Camels or Horſes, and made them carry them after them, and if they went ſlowly, they haſted them with iron pricks and goads, ſo that ſome of them under their burthens, gave up the ghoſt. Reverend gray hairs found no priviledge of mercy; guiltleſſe infants felt their barbarous rage, whom they daſhed againſt the ground, violently pulling little ones from their mothers breaſts to brain them; of others, by wide ſtretching of their tender legs, they tore them in pieces, from the fundament. The ſtately buildings they burnt down and levelled with the earth. The chiefeſt Churches in *Carthage* they imployed to their own hereticall worſhip. Where any ſtrong Caſtles were held againſt them, they brought multitudes of Chriſtians, ſlew them, and left their bodies lying about the Caſtles, that by the ſtench thereof they might force them to ſurrender.

Miniſters loaden with burthens.

Cruelty to infants.

Who can expreſſe the number of Miniſters that were by them tortured! *Pampinian* the Biſhop of *Manſuetus* was tortured with burning plates of iron all over his body. The Biſhop of *Urice* was burnt to death.

Pampinian.

Then did they alſo beſiege the City of *Hippo*, where St *Auguſtine* was, who before that time had compiled two hundred thirty two Books, Epiſtles innumerable, beſides his Expoſitions on the *Pſalms* and *Goſpels*, and his Homilies to the people. *See more of this in my firſt Part.*

Hippo beſieged.

When they had taken the Regall City of *Carthage*, they enſlaved the Citizens and Senators, publiſhing a decree that they ſhould preſently bring forth whatſoever gold, ſilver, pretious ſtones, or rich apparell they poſſeſſed, and thereby diſpoiled them of all in one day: Then did they take the Biſhop and all the Miniſters of that City, and thruſt them naked into weather-broken ſhips, and ſo baniſhed them, whom yet the Lord of his great mercy directed, and brought in ſafety to the City of *Naples*. The Senators and Nobles they firſt baniſhed from the City, and then drave them beyond ſea. The dead bodies of the Chriſtians they would not ſuffer to be buried but in the night, and without any ſolemnity.

A ſpeciall prcvidence.

Pride.

The Biſhops and Miniſters through all the Province, being diſpoiled of all their ſubſtance, and turned out of their Churches, aſſembled together, and preſented a petition to *Genſerick*, that they might at leaſt in private be ſuffered to inſtruct their people, to whom he proudly anſwered, *I have decreed that none of your profeſſion ſhall remain in the countrey, how then dare you preferre ſuch a requeſt?* and withall, he would at that inſtant have drowned them all in the ſea, but that the importunity of ſome about him, ſtopt him.

A noble Earl martyred.

There was alſo a noble Earl, called *Sebaſtian*, a man of great wiſdome and courage, whom *Genſerick* much feared, and therefore ſought occaſion to put him to death; which that he might the better effect, he moved him to be rebaptized by one of his Prieſts, and to turn *Arrian*; the Earl therefore requeſted him to call for a fine manchet, which being done, he ſaid, *This loaf, that it might be fine and white, hath been boulted from the bran, moiſtened with liquor, and baked: but if you now cauſe it to be broken in pieces, ſteeped in water, kneaded and baked again, if it come out better, I will do as you would have me.* *Genſerick* underſtanding his meaning, could not tell what to anſwer for the preſent, yet afterwards he cauſed him to be put to death.

An evil conſcience.

If any Miniſter in his ſermon occaſionally did but mention *Pharaoh*, *Nebuchadrezzar*, *Herod*, &c. preſently it was laid to his charge that he meant it by the King, and thereupon he was baniſhed.

Conſtancy.

Yet notwithſtanding all this cruelty, the people of God ſtood faſt in their holy profeſſion, and rather increaſed then otherwiſe.

Rome ſacked.

Afterwards, at the requeſt of *Valentinian* the Emperour, *Genſerick* ſuffered the Orthodox in *Carthage* to chooſe them a Biſhop, which they did; and not long after *Genſerick* with his *Vandals* took the famous City of *Rome*, carrying away with him, not only all the treaſure that of a long time had been ſtored up there, but many of the people alſo; who, when they were brought into *Africk*, were ſhared between the *Vandals* and the *Moors*, ſo that husbands were ſeparated from their wives, parents from their children; which this godly Biſhop hearing of, he cauſed all the gold and ſilver veſſels belonging to the Church, to be ſold for their redemption, that ſo married perſons, and parents, and children might enjoy the comfort of their relations: Then alſo did he provide food and lodging for them, and night and day went amongſt them himſelf, to ſee how they did, to Miniſter to their wants, and comfort them: But this procured him ſuch hatred amongſt the *Arrians*, that they ſought to ſlay him; but the Lord about this time took him to himſelf, whereby he eſcaped their malice.

Charity.

Gods providence.

One of *Genſericks* Colonels, having ſome Chriſtian ſlaves, and a beautifull and godly virgin amongſt them, he took occaſion to vex them with fetters and torments, thereby to force them to rebaptization, which they conſtantly refuſing, he cauſed them to be ſtripped, and beaten with ragged cudgels till their fleſh was torn in pieces, *&c.* At laſt they were baniſhed to *Capſur*, an heathen Kingdom of the *Moors*, where it pleaſed God ſo to bleſſe their labours, that many of them

A ſpeciall providence.

were

were converted, and ſending for an Orthodox Miniſter, were baptized.

Moors converted.

This coming to *Genſericks* ears, he commanded theſe ſervants of God to be drawn at a chariots tail thorow thickets of thorns, till they were torn in pieces, and theſe newly converted *Moors*, he cauſed their naked bodies to be haled backwards and forwards, thorow buſhes and brambles, and others of them to be tied to wilde beaſts, and ſo to be rent in ſunder; the poor Chriſtians ſaying thus each to other, *O brother pray for me, God hath fulfilled our deſire, O this is the way to the kingdome of heaven.*

Cruelty of hereticks.

Genſerick further raging againſt the Orthodox, ſent one *Proculus* into the *Zeugitan* Province, to diſpoil all the Churches of their ornaments, and the Miniſters of their books, that thereby they might be diſabled to holy ſervices; which command was executed with all rigor: and whereas the Biſhop of *Habenſa* refuſed to deliver them up, he was expelled the City, and all upon a great penalty were forbidden to harbour him, ſo that, being above eighty years old, he lay naked for a long time, under the open skie.

The Biſhop of *Habenſa*.

About Eaſter, when the Chriſtians were met together in a Church, to celebrate the remembrance of Chriſts reſurrection, the *Arrians* with a great power of armed men, ſet upon this innocent company, who with their naked ſwords ſlew many: The Miniſter that was preaching, they ſhot through the throat with an arrow; and ſuch of them as eſcaped death, were by the command of the King, executed by ſundry kindes of torments.

Chriſtians murthered at a Sermon.

In other places, when the Chriſtians were adminiſtring the Sacrament, theſe hereticks ruſhed in amongſt them, taking the bread and wine, and trampling them under their profane feet.

Horrible profaneſſe.

Then did *Genſerich* command, that none but *Arrians* ſhould bear any office, either about himſelf or his children: And a Biſhop called *Armogaſtes*, they took, and firſt nipped his forehead and legs with bowſtrings; then did they hang him up by one foot, with his head downward, yet then did he ſeem to all men, as if he ſlept in a featherbed, which ſo enraged *Theoderick* the Kings ſon, that he commanded him to be beheaded, but ſome about him diſſwaded him from it, becauſe, ſaid they, he will then be accounted a Martyr. Then was he baniſhed to dig in mines; yet afterwards he was ſent for again, and made a cowheard near to *Carthage*, that he might be a continuall object of ſcorn.

Armogaſtes tormented.

A ſpeciall providence.

There was alſo one *Saturus* a noble man, eminent for holineſſe, whom the Tyrant much laboured to draw to the *Arrian* profeſſion, but he refuſing, the King told him that if he preſently conſented not, he ſhould forfeit his houſe and goods, that his children and ſlaves ſhould be ſold, and his wife ſhould be given to the Camel driver: Yet no menaces could ſhake his faith. His wife hearing of her doom, went to her husband as he was praying, with her garments rent, her hair diſheveled, her children at her heels, and a ſucking infant in her

Saturus noble courage.

Tentation. hands, whom caſting at her husbands feet, ſhe took him about the knees, ſaying, *Have compaſſion (O my ſweeteſt) of me thy poor wife, and of theſe thy children; look upon them, let them not be made ſlaves; let not me be yoaked to a baſe marriage,* &c. *that which thou art required to do, thou doeſt it not willingly, but by conſtraint, and therefore it will not be laid to thy charge:* He gave her an anſwer in the words of *Job, Thou ſpeakeſt like a fooliſh woman:* Thou acteſt the devils part: If thou lovedſt thy husband thou wouldſt never ſeek to draw him to ſin, which will procure the ſecond death. I am reſolved therefore as my Lord commands me, to forſake, wife, children, lands, houſe, *&c.* that I may be his diſciple; and accordingly he was diſpoiled of all, and turned out a begging, yet all were forbidden to harbour him.

Reſiſted.

Genſericks death. *Genſerick* having reigned thirty ſeven years and three moneths, died.

Genſerick being dead, his ſon *Hunrick* ſucceeded him, who at firſt was more moderate to the Chriſtians, inſomuch as they began to hold their meetings as before time. The *Manichæan* hereticks he ſought out, and though moſt of them were of his own religion, yet he burnt ſome, and baniſhed others.

Manichæans puniſhed.

At the requeſt of the Emperour *Zeno* and *Placidia* his wife, he ſuffered the Church of *Carthage* to chuſe their own Biſhop, having been deſtitute of one for twenty four years: Then they choſe *Eugenius* an humble, holy and charitable man, whoſe fame increaſing, the *Arrian* Biſhops much envied him, and put into the Kings head to forbid him to preach, and not to ſuffer any to enter into the Church, that were attired after the manner of the *Vandals:* To which command *Eugenius* thus anſwered, *The houſe of God is free for all: Thoſe which enter, no man may drive forth.* The King being incenſed with this anſwer, placed torturers at the Church door, who when they eſpied any man or woman in a *Vandall* habit, about to go into the Church, clapping fleſh-hooks on their heads, and twiſting them in their hair, with a ſtrong twitch they pulled off hair, ſcalp and all, whereby ſome loſt their eies, and ſome their lives.

Eugenius choſen Biſhop.

Envy.

Cruelty of hereticks.

The women, beſides theſe torments, they carried thorow the ſtreets, to be made a publick laughing-ſtock, yet could they not force them to alter their Religion.

Conſtancy.

Then did *Hunrick* ordain, that none of his Courtiers which diſſented from his religion, ſhould receive their ordinary penſions and ſalaries. Then did he ſend many of them who had been delicately brought up, to *Utica*, in the parching heat of the ſun, to dig the land for corn: yet they went cheerfully, and comforted themſelves in the Lord.

Then did he command that no man ſhould be a Knight, or bear any publick office except he turned *Arrian:* Whereupon very many with invincible courage, forſook their honours and offices, rather then their faith.

Conſtancy.

Barbarous cruelty. Many virgins he cauſed to be proved by the Midwives in a moſt ſhamefull manner; hanging them up from the ground with mighty weights

weights at their feet, and putting to their ſides, breaſts, back and bellies, red hot plates of iron, to compell them to confeſſe that their Biſhops and Miniſters lay with them, that ſo he might from thence have an occaſion to perſecute them. Many of theſe died under the pain, and others remained lame and crooked all their lives after, yet would they not confeſſe any ſuch thing.

Multitudes baniſhed.

Then did he baniſh into the wilderneſſe, of Biſhops, Miniſters, Deacons and other members of Chriſt, four thouſand nine hundred ſeventy ſix; ſome of them being lame with the gout, others blinde with age: Amongſt whom alſo was *Fælix* Biſhop of *Abiris*, poſſeſſed with a dead palſie, and therefore unable, either to go or ride; which the cruel King being informed of, and requeſted that he might be ſuffered to ſtay; he anſwered, if he be not able to ride, let wilde bulls be coupled to drag him to the place appointed: So that they were fain to carry him on a Mules back acroſſe, as if he had been a ſack.

Fælix.

Then were all theſe holy confeſſors brought to the City of *Sicca*, where the *Moors* were to receive them, and tranſport them thence to the wilderneſſe. Thither came two Earls, and with great ſubtilty ſought to withdraw them from their ſtedfaſtneſſe, ſaying; *What mean you to be ſo obſtinate, not to obey the Kings laws, whereas by complying with him, you may be preferred to honour?* Then did they all cry out, *We be Chriſtians, we be Catholicks, we believe and confeſſe the Trinity in Unity.* Hereupon were they ſhut up in a grievous priſon.

Tentation.

Many mothers alſo voluntarily followed their little children, much rejoycing that they had born Martyrs: Others ſought to draw them to rebaptization by the hereticks, but, through Gods grace, they could not prevail.

Conſtancy.

As they paſſed on the way travelling more by night then by day, becauſe of the exceſſive heat, a woman haſted after them, leading in her hand a little childe; encouraging him ſaying, *Run ſirra, ſeeſt thou all the Saints how merrily they go forwards, and haſten to their Crown?* One of the company rebuked her, and asked her whither ſhe went? To whom ſhe anſwered, *Pray for me, I go with this little boy my nephew to the place of baniſhment, leaſt the enemies finding him alone, ſhould ſeduce him from the way of truth into the way of error.*

An excellent ſtory.

The enemies being more enraged becauſe of their conſtancy, when they came to their lodgings, penned them up in narrow places. Then was denied to them all the comfort of acceſſe of their friends, for permitting whereof formerly their keepers had been beaten with ſtaves. Theſe bleſſed Saints were tumbled one upon another, as grains of corn, neither could they have means of ſtepping aſide to eaſe nature, ſo that the ſtink of their excrements exceeded their other pain.

Cruelty of hereticks.

Then were they brought forth, their garments, heads and faces beſmeared with dirt in a pitifull manner, and by the clamarous *Moors* they were haſtened forward in their journey; yet they went ſinging with great joy unto the Lord, *Loe, this honour have all his Saints.* Then came to them the bleſſed Biſhop *Cyprian*, who to their ſingular conſola-

Cyprians ſympathy.

conſolation, comforted every one of them with fatherly affection, and with ſtreams of tears was ready to lay down his life for the brethren, and would fain have accompanied them if he might have been ſuffered: He beſtowed all that he had amongſt them, for which he afterwards ſuffered impriſonment and much hardſhip, and at laſt had his hearts deſire in being baniſhed.

Charity.

There came great multitudes from ſundry Countries and Cities, to behold theſe ſervants of God, and many caſting their children at their feet, cried thus, *To whom will you leave us wretches whileſt you go forward to your crown? Who ſhall baptize our infants? inſtruct and adminiſter the Sacrament to us? Our hearts ſerve us well to go with you if we might.* But now none were ſuffered any more to go with them for their comfort, but they were preſſed forwards and made to run.

Barbarous cruelty.

When any of the aged or tender children fainted, they were firſt punched forwards with ſtaves: Then were the *Moors* commanded to tie ropes to the feet of ſuch as were unable to go, and to hale them thorow the rough places, ſo that firſt their garments were rent, then their fleſh and their heads were daſhed againſt the ſharp edges of rocks, whereby very many of them died.

A ſpeciall previdence.

The reſt that were ſtronger came at laſt to the wilderneſſe, where, like beaſts, they had barly given them for their food; there were alſo abundance of venemous ſerpents and ſcorpions in that place, whoſe ſting was deadly, yet thorow Gods great providence, none of theſe ſervants of Chriſt gat any hurt thereby.

Subtilty of hereticks.

Hunrick in the ſeventh year of his reign, directed his mandate to *Eugenius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, and to all other Biſhops in *Africk*, that they ſhould by ſuch a day meet at *Carthage* to defend by diſputation their faith againſt the *Arrian* Biſhops: but withall, by the tenour of the decree, they perceived that he would not ſuffer any of them to live within his dominions, which cauſed great heavineſſe amongſt them. *Eugenius* returned anſwer, that ſince it was the common cauſe of all the Chriſtian Churches, it was but equall that Biſhops out of other Countries ſhould be requeſted to be there preſent alſo; and this he did, not becauſe they ſuſpected their own abilities to defend the truth, but becauſe he knew that ſtrangers might uſe more liberty of ſpeech then they could, and that other Biſhops might be witneſſes of their ſufferings: but this requeſt did but more enrage this unreaſonable Tyrant.

The appointed day approaching, many Biſhops reſorted to *Carthage*, worn out with afflictions and ſorrows, yet for many daies after their coming, there was no mention of diſputing; till in the mean time the King had fingled out the learnedeſt and skilfulleſt of them, that by ſundry calumniations he might make them away: Amongſt whom was *Latus*, a ſtout and learned man, whom he firſt impriſoned, and then burnt him in the fire, that ſo he might ſtrike a fear into the reſt.

At laſt the Diſputation began, and the Orthodox, to avoid tumult, choſe

choſe out ſome to anſwer for all the reſt. The *Arrians* placed themſelves upon lofty thrones, whileſt the Orthodox ſtood below upon their feet: Whereupon they ſaid, *Conference is to be taken in hand, not where proud ſuperiority of power bears ſway, but where, by common conſent, the Diſputants upon equal tearms debate the controverſie, that truth may come to light*, &c. Then were all the Catholicks commanded to have an hundred ſtroaks apiece with a cudgell, given them for this ſpeech: Whereupon *Eugenius* ſaid, *The Lord from heaven behold the violence which we ſuffer, and conſider the tribulation which we ſuſtain from our perſecutors.* Then did the Orthodox Biſhops deſire the *Arrians* to propound what they intended: But the *Arrian* Biſhops ſeeing them ready to diſpute with them, ſought out tergiverſations, and declined the diſpute. Hereupon the Orthodox drew forth a Declaration of their faith, excellently well penned, and exhibited it with this Proteſtation, *If you be deſirous to know our belief, the faith which we hold is herein compriſed.* The *Arrians* ſtormed exceedingly at this, giving them outragious language, and preſently by falſe calumnies they accuſed them to the King, and ſo incenſed him, that by an Edict in one day he cauſed all the Chriſtians Churches through *Africk* to be ſhut up, giving to the *Arrians* all the goods and Churches of the Orthodox.

Pride of hereticks.

Unjuſt cruelty.

A confeſſion of faith.

A wicked Edict.

Then did he command that all thoſe godly Biſhops that were met together at *Carthage*, ſhould be ſpoiled of all that they had in their lodgings, and ſo driven out of the City gates; having neither ſervant, nor beaſt, nor garment to ſhift them in, left unto them; and all men were forbidden either to harbour them, or give them any ſuſtenance, the King threatning to burn him and all his family that ſhould relieve them.

Cruelty of hereticks.

The Biſhops being thus turned out, lay in the open fields round about the wals; and when the Tyrant went forth to the fiſh-ponds, they met him, ſaying, *Why are we ſo afflicted? what evil have we done? If we be called to diſpute, Why are we ſpoiled of all we have? Why are we ſlandered? Why are we forced to remain here amongſt the dunghils, afflicted with hunger and nakedneſſe, far from our Churches and houſes?* Herewith the Tyrant was ſo enraged, that he commanded his horſemen to ride over them, whereby many of them were ſore bruiſed and wounded, eſpecially the aged and weak men: then did he command them to meet him at the Temple of *Memory*: When they came thither, they had this writing delivered to them: Our Lord King *Hunrick*, lamenting your obſtinacy in refuſing to obey his will, and to embrace his religion, yet intends to deal graciouſly with you, and if you will take this Oath, he will ſend you back to your Churches and houſes: Then they all ſaid with one conſent, *We are all Chriſtians, and Biſhops, and hold the Apoſtolicall and only true faith*; and thereupon they made a brief confeſſion of their faith: But the Kings Commiſſioners urged them without any further delay to take the Oath contained in that paper: Whereunto they anſwered, *Do you think us bruit beaſts, that we ſhould ſo eaſily ſwear to a writing, wherein we know not what is contained?*

Deviliſh ſubtilty.

tained? Then was the Oath read unto them, which was this, *You ſhall ſwear that after the death of the Lord our King, his ſon* Hilderick *ſhall ſucceed him in the Kingdom, and that none of you ſhall ſend letters beyond the ſeas.* If you take this Oath, he will reſtore you to your Churches.

They that were plain-meaning men amongſt them, were willing to take it; but others that ſaw further into the ſubtilty of it, refuſed it. Then were thoſe which would take it, commanded to ſeparate themſelves from the other, which being done, a Notary preſently took their names, and of what Cities they were: he did the like alſo by the refuſers; and ſo both parties were committed to ward, and ſhortly after the King ſent them word; firſt to thoſe that would have taken the Oath: Becauſe that you, contrary to the rule of the Goſpel, which ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not ſwear at all,* would have ſworn: The Kings will is, that you ſhall never ſee your Churches more, but ſhall be baniſhed into the wilderneſſe, and never perform any Miniſteriall office again; and there you ſhall Till the ground: But to the refuſers of the Oath, he ſaid, Becauſe you deſire not the reign of our Lords ſon, you ſhall therefore be immediatly ſent away to the Iſle of *Corſe,* there to hew timber for the ſhips.

A wicked ſentence.

He alſo ſent abroad through all *Africk,* his cruell tormentors: So that no place, no houſe remained free from lamentation, ſcreeching and out-cries. They ſpared neither age nor ſex, but only ſuch as yeelded to their will. Some they cudgelled with ſtaves; ſome they hung up, others they burned. Women, and eſpecially gentlewomen, they openly tortured ſtark naked without all ſhame: Amongſt whom was *Dionyſia,* whom when they ſaw bolder and more beautifull then the reſt, they firſt commanded her to be ſtript naked, and made ready for the cudgels; who ſpake boldly to them ſaying, *I am aſſured of the love of my God, vex me how you will, only my womanhood diſcloſe you not:* But they with greater rage ſet her naked upon an high place for a publick ſpectacle: Then did they whip her till the ſtreams of bloud flowed all over her body: Whereupon ſhe boldly ſaid, *Ye miniſters of Satan, that which you do for my reproach, is to me an honour.* And beholding her only ſon, that was young and tender, and ſeemed fearfull of torments, checking him with a motherly authority, ſhe ſo encouraged him, that he became much more conſtant then before: To whom in the midſt of his terrible torments, ſhe ſaid, *Remember, O my childe, that we were baptized in the Name of the holy Trinity: Let us not loſe the garment of our ſalvation, leaſt it be ſaid, Caſt them into outer darkneſſe, where is weeping and gnaſhing of teeth: For that pain indeed is to be dreaded, that never endeth, and that life to be deſired that alwaies laſteth:* The youth was ſo encouraged hereby, that he perſevered patient in all his ſufferings, till, in the midſt of his torments, he gave up the ghoſt. Many by her exhortations and example were gained to God, and animated in their ſufferings.

Dionyſia.

Impudence of hereticks.

Courage.

She encourageth her ſon.

The benefit of good examples.

Not long after, *Cyrillas* the *Arrian* Biſhop at *Carthage,* ſtirred up the Tyrant againſt the Chriſtians, telling him, that he could never

Slanders.

expect

expect to enjoy his Kingdom in peace, so long as he suffered any of them to live. Hereupon he sent for seven eminent Christians from *Capsa* to *Carthage*, whom he first assaulted with flattery and large promises of honour, riches, *&c.* if so be they would embrace his faith: But these servants of Christ rejected all those profers, crying out, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme*; saying also, Do with our bodies what you please, torment them at your will, it's better for us to suffer these momentany pains, then to endure everlasting torments.

Tentation.

Courage and constancy.

Hereupon they were sent to prison, loaded with great iron chains, and thrust into a stinking dungeon: But God stirred up the hearts of many godly persons (by great bribes to the Jayler) to procure daily accesse to them, and by their exhortations, they were so corroborated in the faith, that they much desired to suffer the like things for Christ with these men, and would willingly have laid down their necks to the persecutors swords.

Gods mercy.

The Tyrant hearing of it, was exceedingly enraged, caused them to be kept closer, loaden with more chains, and to be put to great torments. Then did he cause a ship to be filled with combustible matter, commanding that these holy Martyrs should be put into it, and fast bound in the same, and fire to be set to the ship in the sea, that they might be burned to death.

Many burned in a ship.

When they were brought out of the prison, the multitude of Gods people accompanied them to the ship, who as innocent lambs were led to be sacrificed, looking upon their weighty irons, as rare jewels and ornaments. With chearfulnesse and alacrity they went towards the place of execution, as if they had gone to a banket, singing with one voice unto the Lord, as they went along the street, saying, *This is our desired day, more festival then any festivity: Behold, now is the accepted time, behold, now is the day of salvation! when for the faith of our Lord God, we endure death, that we may not lose the garment of obtained faith.* The people also with one voice cried; Fear not, O servants of God, neither dread the threats of your enemies: Die for Christ, who died for us that he might redeem us with the price of his saving bloud.

Admirable courage and comfort.

Amongst these was a pretty boy, to whom a subtil seducer said; Why hastest thou, my pretty boy, unto death? let them go, they are mad: Take my counsell and thou shalt not only have life, but great advancement in the Kings Court. To whom the lad answered, You shall not get me from the fellowship of these holy men, who bred me up, with whom I lived in the fear of God, and with whom I desire to die, and with whom I trust, I shall obtain the glory to come. And so being all put into the ship, they were burned together.

Tentation.

Constancy of a boy.

After the death of *Hunrick*, *Gundabund* succeeded in the Kingdom, who continuing in the steps of his cruel predecessors, afflicted the Christians grievously by sundry kindes of persecution, during the space of twelve years, at the end whereof he died, and *Thrasamund*

ſucceeded him, a man that excelled all his predeceſſors in magnanimity and courage.

His manner was by perſwaſions, flatteries, promiſes and rewards, to ſeek to draw the Chriſtians to his *Arrian* hereſie; but they which would not be prevailed with hereby, he no way puniſhed or moleſted them.

In his time there were great warres between the *Moors* and *Vandals*, the *Moors* had one *Cabaon* for their Generall, who commanded all his ſouldiers to uſe abſtinence in their diet, and to abſtain from women, and from all injury and wrong-doing. The women he incloſed within trenches by themſelves, commanding that under pain of death no man ſhould have acceſſe to them. Then did he ſend forth a certain company of *Moors*, commanding them privately to follow the Camp of the *Vandals*, and that whereſoever the *Vandals* profaned any Church of the Chriſtians, preſently after their departure, they ſhould follow and purge the ſame: *For* (ſaith he) *if the Chriſtians God be a good God, then will he aſſiſt them that are devoted to him, and puniſh the blaſphemers.* Theſe men in counterfeit baſe attire, followed the *Vandals* Camp; and whereas the *Vandals* where ever they came, took up the Chriſtians Churches for their Horſes and beaſts of burthen, carrying themſelves very inſolently againſt God and his Houſe: beating and abuſing the Miniſters and Church Officers, making them to attend upon them as their ſlaves. After their departure, the *Moors* on the contrary, cleanſed the Churches, carried out the dung, kneeled down to and reverenced the Miniſters, and diſtributed money to the poor, and thus they did continually.

An excellent example of an Heathen.

Profaneneſs of hereticks.

Then did *Cabaon* prepare to give his enemies battel; and whereas the *Vandals* were all Horſemen, and very well mounted, their Horſes were ſo affrighted at the ſight of the *Moors* Camels, that they were preſently put into diſorder, and the *Moors* with darts and arrows, did ſo pelt them, that they put them to flight, and ſlew many of them, whereupon *Thraſamund* ſhortly after died of grief.

Then did *Ilderick* the ſon of *Hunrick* ſucceed in the Kingdom, who was equally milde and gentle, both to the *Vandals* and Chriſtians, and one that kept very fair correſpondence with the Emperour *Juſtinian*. But *Gilimer*, a cunning and ambitious man, depoſed him, and uſurped the Kingdom to himſelf: Whereupon *Juſtinian* ſent againſt him that brave and gallant Generall *Belliſarius*, who overcame him in ſeverall battels, took him priſoner, freed the Chriſtians from perſecution, and ſubverted the Empire of the *Vandals* in *Africk*, after they had reigned there for the ſpace of ninety years, wherein for the moſt part they had been cruel perſecutors of the true Church of God.

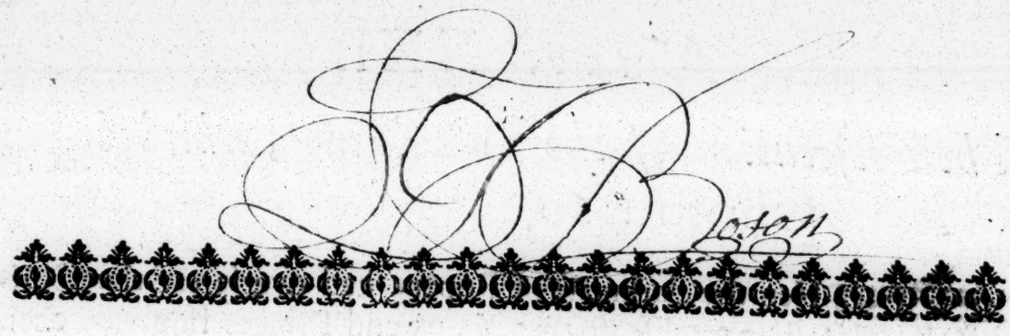
The deſtruction of the perſecuting *Vandals*.

Salvian, who was Biſhop of *Maſilia*, and lived at the ſame ſeaſon, complaineth, that before theſe brutiſh *Vandals* came into *Africk*, the Church of God there was much degenerated from its ancient purity, and the power of godlineſſe was much decaid; inſomuch as they which

Sin the forerunner of perſecution.

which lived exactly according to the rule of Gods word, were hiſſed at as they went in the ſtreets, as if they had been monſters: Whereupon, ſaith he, the paſſage of the *Vandals* into *Africk*, was not to be imputed to Gods rigor, but to the *Africans* wickedneſſe, *&c.*

Collected out of a Book written by Victor *Biſhop of* Utica, *who lived at the ſame time, and was himſelf a ſufferer under this Perſecution.*



Here place the fifth Figure.



THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH UNDER THE PAPACY.

CHAP. XXI.

The Perſecutions of the Waldenſes, *which began* Anno Chriſti 1160.

WHen the darkneſſe of Popery had overſpread the Chriſtian world, ſo that Kings and Princes imploied their authority to eſtabliſh the Romiſh Idolatry, appointing to ſlaughter ſuch as denied Tranſubſtantiation, adoration of the Hoſt, bowing the knees before it, *&c.* this occaſioned many Chriſtians to deteſt this ſuperſtition as unknown to the Apoſtles and Primitive Church: and amongſt them *Peter Valdo* a Citizen of *Lions* in *France,* ſhewed himſelf moſt couragious in oppoſing this invention; withall taxing divers other innovations which were crept into the Church of *Rome,* and he was the more eagerly hearkned unto, becauſe he was in high eſteem for his learning and piety, and his liberality to the poor: for beſides the nouriſhing of their bodies, he did alſo feed their ſouls, by exhorting them to ſeek Jeſus Chriſt and ſalvation by him. The Arch-Biſhop of *Lions* being informed that *Valdo* uſed thus to inſtruct the people, boldly taxing the vice, luxury, and pride of the Pope, and his Clergy, forbad him the ſame upon pain of excommunication, and proceeding againſt him as an heretick: *Valdo* replied, that he could not be ſilent in a caſe of ſo great importance, as the ſalvation of mens ſouls, wherein he muſt obey God rather then man: then did the Arch-Biſhop ſeek to have him apprehended, but could not effect it, *Valdo* having many great friends, and being generally beloved, whereby he continued (though cloſely) in *Lions* three years.

Peter Valdo.

Charity.

Popiſh malice.

Chriſtian courage.

Pope *Alexander* the third being informed that divers perſons in *Lions* queſtioned his ſoveraign authority over the whole Church, curſed *Valdo,* and his adherents, commanding the Arch-Biſhop to proceed againſt them by Eccleſiaſticall cenſures to their utter extirpation: whereupon they were wholly chaſed out of *Lions.* *Valdo* and his followers were called *Waldenſes,* which afterwards ſpread themſelves into divers countries and companies.

Pope *Alexander* raiſeth perſecution.

Valdo

Valdo himſelf went into *Dauphiney*, converſing in the mountains of the ſame Province with certain rude perſons, yet capable of receiving his belief: his diſciples alſo ſpread into *Picardy*, whence they were called *Picards*: againſt whom afterwards K. *Philip* (enforced by the Eccleſiaſticall perſons) took arms, and overthrew three hundred gentlemens houſes that followed their part, and deſtroied ſome walled Towns, purſuing of them into *Flanders* whither they fled, and cauſing many of them there to be burnt to death.

Gods providence. Perſecution ſpreads the Goſpel. King of *France* perſecutes them.

This Perſecution cauſed many of them to fly into *Germany*, and *Alſatia*, where they ſpread their doctrine: and ſhortly after the Biſhops of *Mayence*, and *Strasburge*, raiſed up a great perſecution againſt them, cauſing five and thirty Burgeſſes of *Mayence* to be burnt in one fire, and eighteen in another, who with great conſtancy ſuffered death.

Many burnt.

At *Strasburge* eighty were burnt, at the inſtance of the Biſhop: yet multitudes of people received ſuch edification by the exhortations, conſtancy, and patience of the Martyrs, that *Anno* 1315. in the County of *Paßau*, and about *Bohemia*, there were above eighty thouſand perſons that made profeſſion of the ſame faith.

The ſpreading of the Goſpel.

They had alſo goodly Churches in *Bulgary*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Hungary*. The Popiſh Monks to make them odious, and to have the better occaſion to perſecute them, raiſed up many foul ſlanders of them, as that they were ſorcerers, buggerers, *&c.* that they aſſembled themſelves in the night time, and that the Paſtors commanded the lights to be put out, ſaying, *Qui poteſt capere, capiat*, catch who catch can, whereupon they committed abominable inceſt, the ſon with the mother, the brother with the ſiſter, the father with his daughter, *&c.* they charged them alſo with many foul and falſe opinions: from which accuſations they by a publike Apology and vindication cleared themſelves, which they publiſhed both in French and their own language.

Malicious ſlanders.

Vindication.

Rainerus the Monk ſaith of them, that amongſt all thoſe which have riſen up againſt the Church of *Rome*, the *Waldenſes* were moſt dangerous in regard of their long continuance, and becauſe this Sect (ſaith he) is more generall, and there is ſcarce any countrey in which it hath not taken footing: and becauſe it hath a great appearance of pietty, for they carry themſelves uprightly before men, and believe rightly touching God in all things, holding all the Articles of the Creed, only they hate and revile the Church of *Rome*, and therein (ſaith he) they are eaſily believed of the people.

Ceſarius ſaith, that this hereſie ſo encreaſed, that in a ſhort time it infected *uſque ad mille civitates*, a thouſand cities. *Parſons* ſaith, that they had an Army of ſeventy thouſand men to fight for them; yea, they were ſo ſpread in *Germany*, that they could travell from *Colen* to *Milan* in *Italy*, and every night lodge with Hoſts of their own profeſſion.

The great encreaſe of the *Waldenſes*.

Hereupon the Pope hath alwaies uſed all his art for their utter extirpation, by his Thunderbolts, Curſes, Canons, Conſtitutions, Decrees, and whatſoever elſe might make them odious to Kings, Princes, and people, giving them over to Satan, interdicting them all communion and

Popiſh rage and malice.

and society with others, making them incapable of any charges, honours, profits, to inherit lands, to make wils, to be buried in Churchyards, yea, confiscating their goods, disinheriting their heirs, and where they could apprehend any of them, they condemned them to be delivered to the secular power, their houses to be razed, their lands and goods to be confiscated, commanding Kings, Princes, Magistrates, Consuls, and people, to make an exact inquisition, to shut the City gates, to ring the Toll-bell, to arm themselves, to apprehend, kill, or use any other violence to them, giving to their accusers a third part of their estates, condemning all favourers of them to the same punishment.

Valdo's Zeal and Courage.

Valdo notwithstanding all the curses of the Pope, continued to publish, that the Pope was Antichrist, the Masse an abomination, the Host an Idol, and Purgatory a fable: whereupon Pope *Innocent* the third, *Anno* 1198. seeing that the other remedies were not sufficient to suppresse these Hereticks, as he called them, authorized certain Monks Inquisitors, who by processe should apprehend and deliver them to the secular power, by a far shorter, but much more cruell way then was used formerly: for by this means the people were delivered by thousands into the Magistrates hands, and by them to the Executioners, whereby in a few years all Christendome was moved with compassion to see all those burnt and hanged, that did trust only in Christ for salvation.

Sanguis Martyrum, semen Ecclesiæ.

The Pope seeing that this suppressed not, but rather encreased the number of his enemies, sent certain Bishops and Monks to preach in those places of the *Waldenses*, but their preaching converted not any of them from their former opinions.

Dominicans instituted.

Amongst these Monks was *Dominick*, who was a zealous persecutor of these Saints of God both in word and deed, who seeing himself to be in authority, instituted an order of begging Monks, called after his name *Dominicans*, which order was confirmed by the Pope, for their zealous assisting of him against the *Waldenses*, and this *Dominick* laboured in the Inquisition with such contentment to the Popes, that from that time forward the Monks of his order have alwaies been emploied in the inquisition.

Inquisitors begun.

The Power of these Inquisitors was without limitation, they could assemble the people by the sound of a bell when they pleased, proceed against the Bishops themselves, they could imprison and release without controul: Any accusation was sufficient with them: a sorcerer, a whore was a sufficient witnesse in the case of pretended heresie: It mattered not who accused, or whether by word of mouth or ticket thrown in before the Inquisitor: for processe was thereby framed without party, without witnesse, or without other Law then the pleasure of the Inquisitor.

Injustice.

Prodigious cruelty.

To be rich was a crime near to heresie, and he that had any thing to lose, was in the way to be undone, either as an Heretick, or as a favourer of them: Yea, bare suspition stopped the mouths of parents, kinsfolk,

folk, and friends, that they durſt not intercede each for other. If any did but convey a cup of cold water, or a pad of ſtraw to the poor Saints that lay in ſtinking dungeons, he was condemned as a favourer of the hereticks, and brought to the ſame or worſe extremities.

No Advocate durſt undertaké the defence of his neareſt kinſman or friends; no Notary durſt receive any Act in his favour: yea, death it ſelf made not an end of their puniſhment, for ſometimes they paſſed ſentence againſt the bones of the dead, to diſinterre and burn them, it may be thirty years after the death of the party accuſed.

Such as were heirs had nothing certain, for if their fathers or kindred were accuſed, they durſt not undertake the defence of their own right, or poſſeſſe their own inheritance without the crime or ſuſpition of hereſie. The greateſt and richeſt amongſt the people were conſtrained even to adore theſe Monks Inquiſitors, and to give them great ſums for the building of their convents and houſes, for fear to be accuſed of Hereſie.

And the better to keep the people in awe, theſe Inquiſitors would ſometimes leade in triumph their priſoners in their proceſſions, enjoyning ſome of them to whip themſelves, others to go in their ſhirts bare-foot and bare-headed, having a with about their necks, and a torch in their hands for the greater terrour to the beholders, ſeeing perſons of all eſtates and ſexes in ſo miſerable a condition.

Some of theſe accuſed perſons were ſent into the holy Land, or enrolled for ſome other expedition againſt the Turks and Infidels, where they were to ſerve for a certain time at their own charge: in the mean time theſe Fathers Inquiſitors took poſſeſſion of their houſes and goods, and when they returned home they muſt not ſo much as enquire whether theſe Monks had in their abſence lain with their wives, leſt they ſhould be condemned as backſliders, and unworthy of favour. The wickednes of the Inquiſitors.

Between the years 1206. which was the time when this Inquiſition was firſt erected, to the year 1228. there was ſo great a havock made of poor Chriſtians, that the Arch-Biſhops of *Aix*, *Arles*, and *Narbonne*, being aſſembled at the requeſt of the ſaid Inquiſitors, to conferre with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their offices, had compaſſion of a great number that were accuſed and caſt into priſon, ſaying, *We hear that you have apprehended ſuch a multitude of the* Waldenſes, *that it is not only impoſſible to defray the charge of their food, but to provide lime and ſtone to build priſons for them; we therefore adviſe you to forbear this rigour till the Pope be advertiſed, and direct what he will have done in this caſe*, &c. Horrible cruelty. Yet notwithſtanding all this cruelty, there was in the year 1260. according to the report of *G. Morrel* in his memorials, *p.*54. above eight hundred thouſand perſons that made profeſſion of the faith of the *Waldenſes*. The number of the *Waldenſes*.

Beſides the Churches that they had in *Valentinois*, where their faith was propagated from the father to the ſon, their religion ſpread alſo beyond the *Alps* into the valley of *Pragela*, within the juriſdiction of the Arch-Biſhop of *Turin*, from whence were peopled the *Waldenſian*

valleys of *Piedmont*, *La Perouſe*, S. *Martin*, *Angrogne*, &c. this valley of *Pragela* was one of the ſafeſt retiring places that the *Waldenſes* had, being environed on all ſides with mountains almoſt inacceſſible, into the caves whereof they retired themſelves in the times of perſecution: and though they were weakned on all ſides, environed with enemies, and in danger of being apprehended, if they looked but forth of their doors, yet was there never any wordly reſpect that had power to alter their holy reſolution from the father to the ſonne, to ſerve God, taking his Word for the rule of their faith, and his Law for the rule of their obedience: yea, no ſooner were the infants weaned from their mothers breaſts, but their parents took a ſingular delight to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian faith.

Their godly lives.

Good Paſtors.

Their Paſtors alſo did not only preach to them on the Sabbath daies, but went in the week daies to inſtruct them in the villages and hamlets, not ſparing themſelves for the roughneſſe of the rocks, the coldneſſe of the ayr, and the craggineſſe of the countrey, where they were fain to climbe up high mountains to viſit their flocks.

There was alſo holy diſcipline exerciſed amongſt them: the people praied with fervency at night when they went to their reſt, and in the morning before they went about their labour: They had ſchools wherein their children were taught and nurtured.

Perſecution raiſed.

But whileſt they thus buſily ſought the advancement of Gods glory and their own ſalvation, the devil raiſed up a perſecution againſt them, *Anno* 1380. by a Monk Inquiſitor, called *Francis Borelli*, who had a commiſſion to enquire after the *Waldenſes* in *Aix*, *Arles*, *Ambrun*, *Viene*, *Geneva*, *Aubone*, *Savoy*, the *Venetian* County, the Principality of *Orenge*, the City of *Avignion*, &c. which commiſſion he received from Pope *Clement* the ſeventh.

This Monk cited to appear before him at *Ambrun*, all the Inhabitants of *Fraſſiniere*, *Argentiere*, and of the valley *Pute* upon pain of excommunication: but they appeared not, whereupon they were condemned of contumacy, and excommunicated: and for the ſpace of thirteen years, as he caught any of them, he delivered them up to the ſecular power to be burnt at *Grenoble*, the number whereof were an hundred and fifty men, divers women with many of their ſons and daughters; beſides about eighty perſons of *Argentiere*.

Popiſh cruelty.

The Inquiſitors alſo adjudged to themſelves two parts of all their goods, and the third part to the temporall powers: they forbad all their bordering neighbours alſo to aſſiſt, receive, viſit, or defend them, or to converſe with them in any ſort, upon pain of being attainted, and puniſhed as favourers of hereticks, *&c.*

In *Pragela.*

The *Waldenſes* of the valley of *Pragela*, Anno 1400. were aſſaulted by their enemies on the ſide of *Suſa* in *Piedmont*: but moſt of their aſſaults proved in vain, becauſe theſe *Waldenſes* retired into the high mountains, hiding themſelves in the caves and hollow places thereof, from whence they much endamaged thoſe that came to aſſail them: Their enemies ſeeing this, came upon them in the depth of winter, when

thoſe poor people never ſuſpected it, all the mountains being covered over with ſnow: and thereupon they retired into the higheſt mountain of all the *Alps*, together with their wives and children, the mothers carrying ſome in their cradles, and leading others by the hand: yet the enemy followed them till night, and ſlew many before they could recover the mountain: and they which were ſo ſlain had the better bargain: for night coming on, theſe poor people being in the ſnow, without any means to make a fire for their infants, many of them were benummed, and in the morning above eighty of them were frozen to death in their cradles, and moſt of their mothers died alſo, and diverſe others were giving up the laſt gaſp: The enemies lay all night in theſe peoples houſes, which they ranſacked and pillaged, and ſo returned to *Suſa*, but by the way meeting with a poor *Waldenſian* woman, they hanged her upon a tree, and ſo departed.

Popiſh malice.

Infants ſtarved to death.

The *Waldenſes* of the valley of *Fraſſiniere*, were greatly perſecuted by the Arch-Biſhop of *Ambrun*, Anno 1460. who made a Monk called *John Vayleti* his Commiſſioner againſt them, which Monk proceeded with ſuch diligence and violence, that ſcarce any perſon could eſcape his hands, but that he was either apprehended for a Heretick, or a favourer of them, whereby many Papiſts ſuffered amongſt the reſt, which cauſed them to petition King *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, by his authority to ſtay the courſe of that perſecution: and thereupon the King wrote his Letter to the Governour of *Dauphine*, ſignifying, that whereas the Inquiſitors had daily ſent forth their proceſſe againſt many poor people in thoſe parts without reaſonable cauſe, putting ſome to the rack, and condemning them for matters whereof they were never guilty, and which they could not prove by any witneſſe: and of others they had exacted great ſums of money, and divers waies had unjuſtly vexed, and moleſted them: he therefore decreed that for the time to come all ſuch proceſſe ſhould be void, and of none effect, nor any wrong done to them in body, goods, or good name, except there were any that obſtinately maintained and affirmed any thing againſt the holy Catholike Faith, *&c.*

Fraſſiniere.

Popiſh cruelty.

The King forbids the perſecution.

But the Arch-Biſhop was ſo far from ceaſing the perſecution upon this Edict, that he grew more violent by reaſon of the laſt clauſe, pretending that he did not any thing contrary to the Kings precept, ſeeing they which were cited, appeared not to juſtifie themſelves, *&c.* He alſo ſuborned many Prieſts, which were his own Officers, to depoſe, that all they which had petitioned the King were *Waldenſes*: He alſo hired one *John Pelegrin* to accuſe them for aſſembling themſelves in dark places to commit whoredom, *&c.* and then he ſent to the Court to juſtifie himſelf from the complaint made to the King againſt him, that he had perſecuted the *Waldenſes* rather out of coveteouſneſſe to get their goods, then out of zeal to the Catholike faith: but this ſingle witneſſe prevailed but little, ſeeing there were many other who depoſed, that they had never ſeen any ſuch villany amongſt the *Waldenſes*, nor any the leaſt appearance of the ſame.

Popiſh malice. Slanders.

Yet did not the Archbiſhop ceaſe to proſecute them to the uttermoſt of his power, ſo that he cauſed moſt of them to flie away, only one *James Pateneri* ſtood to it, averring before the Court that he was unjuſtly vexed, contrary to the Kings Letters, demanding a copy of the proceedings, that he might right himſelf by Law: Thereupon the Archbiſhop left him, and fell upon thoſe that wanted the like courage; citing the Conſuls of *Fraſſiniere* to anſwer for themſelves, and all the inhabitants of their valley: But they refuſed, ſaying, that they had nothing to ſay before the Archbiſhop, ſeeing their cauſe was now depending before the King and his Councel, proteſting againſt the Archbiſhops power, and demanding a copy of the Kings Letter: But the Archbiſhop, notwithſtanding this proteſtation, ſent them to the fire, without any other indictment.

Ja. Pateneri.

Yet the Lord left not this cruelty long unrevenged, for ſhortly after the Archbiſhop died by the ſtroak of Gods juſtice, and ſo ended his Perſecution, *Anno Chriſti* 1487.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

One villany of the Inquiſitor *Valeti* may not be forgotten, which was this: When he examined any of the *Waldenſes*, Whether he beleeved that the bread in the Sacrament, after the conſecration, was changed into the reall and naturall body of Chriſt which hung upon the croſſe? If the *Waldenſes* anſwered, No; he ſet down his anſwer thus, *That he beleeved not in God.* When he asked, Whether we ought not to pray to Saints? If they anſwered, No; he ſet down, *That they railed upon, and ſpake evil of the Saints.* When he enquired, Whether we ought not to pray to the Virgin *Mary* in our neceſſities? If they anſwered, No; he ſet down, *That they ſpake blaſpemy againſt the Virgin Mary*, &c. And by Gods providence theſe Records were kept in the Archbiſhop of *Ambruns* houſe, till the City and their Records fell into the hands of the Proteſtants an hundred years after, and ſo God brought all their knavery to light.

Popiſh lies.

Gods providence.

Anno 1488. Pope *Innocent* the eighth ſent *Albert de Capitaneis*, Arch-Deacon of *Cremona* againſt theſe *Waldenſes*, who craved aid of the Kings Lieutenant of *Danphine*, againſt them. This Lieutenant for his ſervice levied troops of men, and at the Arch-Deacons requeſt, led them againſt the *Waldenſes* in the valley of *Loyſe*, and to colour his proceedings with a pretence of juſtice, he took a Counſellour of the Court along with him. But when they came to the valley, they found no inhabitants, for they were all retired into their Caves in the high mountains, having carried their little children, and all their proviſion of food with them. Then did this cruel Lieutenant cauſe much wood to be laid to the mouths of the caves and ſet on fire, ſo that ſome were choaked with ſmoak, others burnt with the fire, others caſt themſelves headlong from the rocks, and were broken in pieces; and if any ſtirred out, they were preſently ſlain by the ſouldiers.

Popiſh ſubtilty

Barbarous cruelties.

In this Perſecution, there were found within the Caves, four hundred infants ſtifled in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers: and in all, there periſhed above three thouſand men and women

at

at that time; ſo that there were no inhabitants left in all that valley: And to prevent the coming of any more of them thither, the Lieutenant gave all their goods and poſſeſſions to whom he pleaſed.

Then did he march againſt the *Waldenſes* of *Pragela*, and *Fraſſaniere*, but they providing for their own ſafety, attended him at the paſſages and narrow ſtraits of their vallies, ſo that he was forced to retire. The Lieutenant repulſed.

After a while *Albert de Capitaneis*, being called to another place, he ſubſtituted a *Franciſcan* named *Francis Ploieri*, who *Anno* 1489. began anew to inform againſt the *Waldenſes* of *Fraſſaniere*, citing them to appear before him at *Ambrun*, and for non-appearing, he excommunicated them, and condemned them for hereticks, to be delivered to the ſecular power, and their goods to be confiſcated; and in this judgement, there aſſiſted one *Ponce*, a certain Counſellour of *Dauphine*. Theſe men afterwards caught two of their Paſtors [*Francis Gerondin* and *Peter James*] who being asked why the *Waldenſes* increaſed ſo faſt and ſpread ſo farre; they anſwered, *Becauſe the Popiſh Prieſts live ſo diſſolutely, and becauſe the Cardinals are ſo covetous, proud and luxurious, it being commonly known, that there is neither Pope, Cardinall, nor Biſhop, but keeps his whores, and few or none but had their youths for Sodomy beſides: And therefore it is eaſie for the Waldenſian Paſtors to perſwade the people, that their religion could not be good, whoſe fruits were ſo bad*, &c. Plain dealing. Popiſh uncleanneſſe.

This Perſecution grew exceeding hot, the Inquiſitor and Counſellour, ſending as many as they could catch, to the fire, without admitting any appeal: and if any interceded for them, though the father for the childe, or the childe for the father, he was preſently committed to priſon, and indicted as a favourer of hereticks.

Anno 1594. *Anthoni Fabri* and *Chriſtopher de Salience* had Commiſſions ſent them from the Pope, to commence ſuit againſt the *Waldenſes* in *Dauphine*, who apprehending the widow of one *Peter Berand*, they impriſoned, and oft examined her, and thereby drew from her whatever ſhe knew of the Aſſemblies of the *Waldenſes*, of the perſons that frequented them, and of the places and times of their meeting, which afterwards brought great trouble to the ſaid Churches of Chriſt, and of gain to the Inquiſitors. In *Dauphine*.

King *Lewis* the twelfth ſucceeding King *Francis*, Anno 1598. the inhabitants of *Fraſſaniere* petitioned him to take ſome order for the reſtitution of their goods, which were by the Inquiſitors detained from them. The King referred it to his Chancellor, who procured a Commiſſary from the Pope, and a Commiſſioner from the King, to be ſent down to examine the buſineſſe; theſe accordingly, having examined divers witneſſes againſt the *Waldenſes*, and finding their innocency, did at laſt abſolve them; the Kings Commiſſioner publikely profeſſing, that he deſired to be but as good a Chriſtian as the worſt of *Fraſſaniere* were: and returning to the King, they made report to him of that which they had done: The King thereupon ordered that The innocency of the *Waldenſes*.

the goods of the *Waldenſes* ſhould be reſtored.

When the Kings order came to *Ambrun*, it was the opinion of moſt men, that ſeeing moſt of theſe goods were in the poſſeſſion of the Arch-Biſhop, that therefore he ſhould give a good example in begining to reſtore them; but the Arch-Biſhop anſwered, that the goods which he held were annexed to his Arch-Biſhoprick, and incorporated to his Church, and therefore it was out of the Kings juriſdiction, and he did not beleeve that the King would meddle therein: Yet being willing to pleaſe the King, he profered to reſtore them their Vineyards, provided that the Lords of *Dauphine* would reſtore the goods which they had; but there was not one that would reſtore what they had ſo unjuſtly gotten, ſo that the poor people were wholly fruſtrated of their expectation.

Popiſh ſubtilty and injuſtice.

Then did they ſummon the Arch-Biſhop and thoſe refuſers before the King, but theſe great ones having more friends and favour at Court then the poor people had, their excuſe was admitted, which was, that they could not reſtore the goods, before the Pope had abſolved thoſe of *Fraſſaniere* from the ſentence of excommunication.

Anno 1560. The Preſident of *Provence* made a ſpeech to the aſſembly of Eſtates to root out theſe *Waldenſes:* Whereupon they raiſed an Army for the effecting of it; but as ſoon as the men were in Arms, it pleaſed God, by the death of King *Francis*, to put an end to that deſign, whereby the *Waldenſian* Churches in *Dauphine* enjoyed peace, and were well furniſhed with godly Paſtors, who held them in the exerciſe of religion, though they were in continuall danger of being perſecuted to the death for the ſame.

A ſpeciall providence.

The *Waldenſes* in *Dauphine*, many years before being multiplied, ſo that the countrey could not feed them, diſperſed themſelves abroad into divers parts, whereof ſome went into *Piedmont*, who lived in great love with thoſe of *Dauphine*, and though they were alwaies oppreſſed with troubles, yet with hearty love and charity, they ever ſuccoured one another, not ſparing their lives and goods for their mutuall conſervation.

In *Piedmont*.

Love.

The firſt Perſecutions in *Piedmont* were occaſioned by the Prieſts, who complained to the Arch-Biſhop of *Turin*, that theſe people lived not according to the manner and belief of the Church of *Rome*; that they offered not for the dead, cared not for Maſſes, Abſolutions, or to get any of theirs out of the pains of Purgatory, *&c.* Hereupon the Arch-Biſhop perſecuted them, complaining of them to their Princes to make them odious: But the Prince enquiring of their neighbours, heard that they were of a good converſation, fearing God, without deceit or malice, loving plain dealing, alwaies ready to ſerve their Prince with alacrity, *&c.* He therefore purpoſed not to moleſt them: But the Prieſts and Monks gaining nothing by their belief, charged them with an infinite number of calumnies, and ever and anon catching one or other of them, they delivered them to the Inquiſitors, and the Inquiſitors to the executioners, ſo that there was ſcarce a Town

Popiſh malice.

Slanders.

or

or City in *Piedmont*, wherein ſome of them had not been put to death. Cruelty.

At *Turin* one of them had his bowels torn out of his belly, and put into a baſon before his face, and then was he cruelly martyred.

At *Revel* in the Marquiſat of *Saluces*, one *Catelin Girard* being on the block whereon he ſhould be burnt, requeſted his executioner to give him two ſtones, which he refuſed to do, fearing leaſt he would throw them at ſome body; but he proteſting the contrary, at laſt they gave him two ſtones, which he held in his hands, and ſaid, *When I ſhall have eaten theſe ſtones, then ſhall you ſee an end of our Religion, for which you now put me to death*, and ſo he threw them on the ground, and died cheerfully. *Cat. Girard.*

Thus they burnt many of them in the fire, till *Anno* 1488. and then they reſolved to aſſault them by open force, becauſe they ſaw that otherwiſe they ſhould never be able to extirpate them: beſides, their conſtant ſufferings converted many to the faith. Hereupon they levied an Army of eighteen thouſand men, beſides many inhabitants of *Piedmont*, who ran to the pillage from all parts. Theſe marched all at once to *Angrogne*, *Lucerne*, *La Perouſe*, &c. They raiſed alſo forces in *Dauphine*, wherewith they over-ran the Valley of *Pragela*, whereby, being put to defend themſelves, they could not aſſiſt their friends in *Piedmont*. But the enemy by this diviſion of his forces, being weakned, was every where beaten, eſpecially in the Valley of *Angrogne*, where the *Waldeſians* having been informed of the levies of their enemies againſt them, prepared themſelves to receive and reſiſt them, keeping the ſtrait paſſages, where few men might defend themſelves againſt many. Popiſh malice.

They defended themſelves with long Targets of wood, whereby they covered themſelves from the hurt of their enemies arrows. Whilſt they were thus bickering with their enemies, the women and children upon their knees cried out, *O God help us*. The enemies made themſelves merry with this ſight, and amongſt them, one Capt. *Saquet*, who as he was imitating the women, was ſlain, and tumbled down into a very deep valley. Prayer. Profaneneſſe. A juſt judgement.

Another Captain, crying out to the women in deriſion, was killed with the ſhot of an arrow in the throat. Hereupon the ſouldiers betook themſelves all to their heels, and the greateſt part ſlew themſelves, by tumbling down from the rocks.

Another providence of God was this, that the enemies approaching to the ſtrongeſt entrance by nature, might there have fortified themſelves, and ſo made themſelves maſter of that Valley: But God ſent ſo thick a cloud, and dark a fog, that they could ſcarce ſee one another, whereby they wanted opportunity to diſcover their advantage, and therefore departed: which the *Waldenſes* ſeeing, couragiouſly purſued them, and by that means the enemy being diſperſed, and not ſeeing which waies they went, the greateſt part fell headlong down the mountains, quitting their arms and booty which they had gotten at A ſpeciall providence. Gods judgement on perſecutors.

at their first entrance into the Valley, by which means the *Waldenses* recovered it again.

Then it pleased God to move the Princes heart (which was *Philip* the seventh, Duke of *Savoy*, and Lord of *Piedmont*) with pity towards these poor people, saying, That he would not have that people which had been alwaies true, faithfull and obedient to him, to be unjustly destroyed by Arms; being content that twelve of the Principall should come to him to *Pigneroll* to crave pardon for all the rest, for taking arms in their own defence, without his authority: These he entertained lovingly, forgiving all that was past, during the warre. And having been informed that all their children were born with black throats, with four rows of teeth, and all hairy, he caused some of them to be brought to him, and seeing them fair and perfect creatures, he was much displeased with himself for beleeving so easily the reports which were brought to him against them, giving command that none should hereafter molest them, but that they should enjoy all the priviledges which the rest of his subjects in *Piedmont* did.

God's mercy.

Slanders.

Notwithstanding which the Monks Inquisitors daily sent out processe against them, lay in wait for them, and as they could apprehend any of them, delivered them over to the secular power. This Persecution lasted to *Anno* 1532. at which time the *Waldenses* ordered that their exercises of Religion should be performed no more in covert, as formerly they had been, but in publick, that every one might know them, and that their Pastors should preach the Gospel openly, not fearing any persecution that might happen unto them.

Zeal and courage.

The Prince being advertised hereof, was highly offended with them, and thereupou caused one of his Commanders to hast with his Troops into the said Vallies, which was performed with such diligence, that he was entred with five hundred Horse and Foot, before they were aware, ransacking, plundering and wasting all before them. Then did the *Waldenses* leave their ploughs, putting themselves into passes, and with their slings, charged their enemies with such multitudes of stones, that they were constrained to flie, and to abandon their prey, many of them remaining dead upon the ground.

Persecution renued.

This news was presently carried to the Prince, and withall he was told, that these people were not to be subdued with Arms, they knowing better the straits of their Country, then the assailants, and that the skin of one of the *Waldenses* would cost him the lives of a dozen of his other subjects: whereupon he used Arms no more against them, but as any of them was caught in *Piedmont*, he put them to death, if they changed not their belief.

Constancy.

Notwithstanding which rigour, they persisted in their resolution, and that things might be carried on in the better order, they assembled out of all their Vallies to *Angrogne*, Anno 1535. *viz.* the heads of all their families, with their Pastors, where they heard that their brethren of *Provence* and *Dauphine* had sent two of their Pastors, *George Morrell* and *Peter Maßon* into *Germany*, to conferre with *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*,

Bucer, and others, about their belief, which they had held from father to ſon, time out of minde: Where alſo the *Germane* Divines acknowledged that God had been very mercifull and gracious to them, in preſerving them undefiled, in the midſt of ſo many ſuperſtitions which had defiled all Chriſtendom under the tyranny of Antichriſt; encouraging and exhorting them not to bury thoſe Talents which God had given them: only they blamed them for delaying ſo long to make a publick profeſſion of their adhearing to the Goſpel, and cauſing it to be preached publickly, leaving the ſucceſſe to God, *&c.* Then were the Letters of *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer*, which they ſent to them, openly read, together with the Propoſitions and Articles of Religion which they had agreed upon, which were all approved, ſigned and ſworn to by all the aſſiſtants with one conſent, to perform, obſerve, beleeve and retain amongſt them inviolably, as being conformable to the Doctrine which they had been taught from their forefathers for many hundred years, and all taken out of the Word of God. Unity.

When this Agreement came abroad to the ears of the Prieſts, they were much aſtoniſhed, deſpairing to ſee theſe people reclaimed and brought back to the Church of *Rome*; whereupon they retired from amongſt them without ſpeaking a word.

The *Waldenſes*, becauſe they had only the New Teſtament and ſome books of the old amongſt them in the *Waldenſian* Tongue, they reſolved ſpeedily to ſend the whole Bible to the Preſſe, all their books hitherto being but Manuſcripts, and thoſe but a few. They ſent therefore ſome to *Newcaſtle* in *Suitzerland*, where they gave 1500 Crowns in gold to a Printer, who brought to light the firſt Impreſſion of the *French* Bible that was ſeen in *France*. They ſent alſo to *Geneva* to make a large ſupply of books fit for the inſtruction of the people; but their meſſenger, as he paſſed over the hill *de Gap*, was apprehended for a ſpy by the Lord of *Champelion*, and as ſoon as they knew him to be a *Waldeſian*, they ſent him to *Grenoble*, where he was firſt impriſoned, and then in the night drowned in the river, leaſt he ſhould ſpeak of his belief before the people. Zeal. The firſt *French* Bibles Printed.

Shortly after there happened warres between King *Francis* the firſt, and the Prince of *Piedmont*, which, through Gods grace, turned to the great peace and quiet of theſe poor people; which peace continued till Pope *Paul* the third ſollicited the Parliament of *Turin* to perſecute them as pernicious hereticks: Whereupon the Parliament cauſed a great number of them to be burnt at *Turin*. Then theſe *Waldenſes* petitioned the King that they might not be perſecuted for their Religion, in which they and their anceſtors had lived for many hundred years. But the King rejected their petition, commanding them to live according to the Laws of the *Roman* Church, upon pain of being puniſhed as hereticks: adding, that he did not burn the *Lutherans* through his whole Kingdom of *France*, to let them amongſt the *Alps* eſcape. A ſpeciall providence. The Pope ſtirs up perſecution.

Hereupon the Parliament of *Turin* commanded them preſently to ſend away all their Miniſters, and to receive the Prieſts to ſing Maſſe, *&c.* To which they anſwered, that they could not receive any ſuch commandment, it being contrary to Gods Word, whom they would rather obey then men. But through Gods mercy, the King had other imploiments elſewhere, whereby they wanted leaſure to proſecute theſe ſervants of Chriſt, and therefore they only proceeded by the Inquiſition, receiving ſuch as the Monks condemned to the fire.

Courage.

A ſpeciall providence.

Anno 1555. They increaſed the perſecution, condemning to the fire *Bartholmew Hector* a Stationer, to be executed at *Turin*, who died with admirable conſtancy, and ſo edifying the ſpectators, that they wept and compaſſionated him, juſtifying him in their ſpeeches, and praying for him. Hereupon the Parliament reſolved wholly to extirpate them, and for that end ſent two men with authority, either to reform or root them out.

Bar. Hector.

Theſe perſons went firſt to *Perouſe*, where by Proclamation in the Kings name, they command all to go to Maſſe upon pain of looſing their lives. Then they went to *Pignoral*, where they cited many to appear before them: amongſt others, a poor ſimple labouring man appeared, whom the Preſident commanded to have his childe re-baptized by a Prieſt: The man requeſted reſpite to pray to God, before he anſwered him, which with great laughter was granted: Then falling down on his knees, he prayed unto God, and when he had done, he ſaid to the Preſident; I will cauſe my childe to be re-baptized, upon condition that you will give me a bill, ſigned with your own hand, that you will diſcharge me of the ſin which I ſhall commit hereby, and bear one day before God the puniſhment and condemnation which ſhould befall me for the ſame, taking this iniquity upon you and yours: The Preſident hearing this, commanded him out of his preſence, and preſſed him no further.

Perſecution renewed.

Profaneneſſe.

Prudence.

The Preſident framed divers Indictments againſt ſundry perſons in the Vallies, and collected whatſoever he thought might hurt them; and going to one of their Churches, he cauſed a Monk, that he brought along with him, to preach in the preſence of the people; and when he had ended, the people deſired that ſome one of their Paſtors there preſent might anſwer his diſcourſe, but that was denied by the Preſident; whereupon there was ſuch a murmur amongſt the people, that the Preſident, without any more ſpeech, gat him away to *Turin*, where he reported all to the Parliament, and withall told them, that if they ſought by violence to reclaim this people, they were reſolved to defend themſelves; and that the places of their abode, were of ſuch ſtrength, that it was a work for a King of *France* to root them out. Thereupon, this report and the Indictments were ſent to the King, who having other occaſions, returned no anſwer that year: Only the Inquiſitors proceeded, as they could catch any, to deliver them to the ſecular power.

At the years end, the King commanded the Parliament to cauſe them

them to do that by force, which they would not by words be brought to. Then did the Parliament ſend the Preſident again to *Angrongne*, where he commanded them in the name of the King, to go to Maſſe upon pain of forfeiting their lives and goods; but they anſwered that they could not obey ſuch commands againſt the command of God. Then he commanded that twelve of the Principall of them, together with all their Miniſters and Schoolmaſters, ſhould preſently yeeld up their bodies to the priſons of *Turin*, &c. They anſwered that they could not obey that command, or appear at *Turin*, becauſe they ſhould thereby endanger their lives. The Parliament was ſo incenſed at this anſwer, that as many as they could apprehend, they burnt, amongſt whom was *Jeffery Varnigle* Miniſter of *Angrongne*, Anno 1557. by whoſe death the people that were preſent were much edified, ſeeing his conſtancy of invocating of God to the laſt.

Popiſh malice.

The Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* hearing of this great Perſecution, interceded in their behalf to King *Henry* the ſecond of *France*. Then he promiſed to have regard to this requeſt of theirs, and indeed they enjoyed peace afterwards, till the peace was concluded betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and that the Duke of *Savoy* was reſtored to his Eſtate, which was *Anno* 1559. But the year after, the Popes Nuntio reproved the Duke, for that with all his power he had not perſecuted the *Waldenſes*; and that if he did not now endeavour to reduce them to the *Romiſh* Church, or to root them out, his Holineſſe ſhould have cauſe to ſuſpect that he was a favourer of them. Hereupon the Duke preſently commanded them to go to Maſſe, upon the pain of their lives: But they not obeying him, he ſet upon them by open force, and yet at the ſame time, he cauſed them to be purſued by the Monks Inquiſitors alſo: So that a great Perſecution was raiſed againſt the poor Chriſtians: Some were taken and burnt, who ſhewed invincible conſtancy in all their torments and death.

The *German* Princes intercede for them.

A great perſecution.

To recite all the out-rages, cruelties and villanies practiſed againſt them, would be too tedious: Many fled, and their houſes and goods were ranſacked and ſpoiled: One of their Miniſters was apprehended, and put to a ſhamefull and cruel death, but he ſhewed ſuch admirable patience therein, as aſtoniſhed his very adverſaries. Some alſo were taken and ſent to be Gally-ſlaves: Yet ſome through weakneſs, yeelded to the adverſaries, and were more cruelly handled then thoſe that remained conſtant in the truth.

Humane infirmity.

Three of the moſt cruell perſecutors of theſe faithfull ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, were firſt *Thomas Jacomel* a Monk, an Apoſtate, that had renounced the known truth, and perſecuted mortally and maliciouſly the poor Chriſtians againſt his own conſcience: he was a whoremonger, and given over to all villanies, and filthy living, a Sodomite, *&c.* his delight was to ſpoil, rob, and torment the captives of theſe *Waldenſes*: The ſecond was a collaterall, called *Corbis*, who in the examination of the priſoners was very rigorous, and burnt many of them: but in the end feeling a remorſe in his conſcience, he proteſted that he would

meddle with them no more: The third was the Proveſt of Juſtice, who lay in wait in the high waies to apprehend them when they went abroad in the morning, or as they went to the market.

Popiſh malice. The Monks alſo of *Pigneroll* vexed the Churches near about them grievouſly, ſome they took priſoners, and kept them in their Abbies: then they aſſembled a company of Ruffians, ſending them to ſpoil the Churches, and to take priſoners men, women, and children; of whom ſome by torments they forced to abjure, others they ſent to the Galleys, others they burnt.

The gentlemen of the valley of S. *Martin* vexed their tenants grievouſly: ſpoiling ſome of their goods, impriſoning others, and vexing them by all means: Two of thoſe gentlemen getting ſome Ruffians to them in the night time, ſet upon a village called *Renclaret*, which the Inhabitants perceiving, fled into the mountains covered with ſnow, naked, and without victuals: in the morning theſe villains took a Miniſter of that valley, who was coming to viſit theſe people of *Renclaret*, and burnt him: but three nights after they of *Pragela*, pitying their friends of *Renclaret*, ſent four hundred men againſt the Ruffians, who fought with them, and without the loſſe of one man, put them to flight, and reſtored their friends to their houſes.

A ſpeciall providence.

A year after one of theſe gentlemen called *Truchet*, with a company of Ruffians, arreſted the Miniſter of *Renclaret*, as he was at his ſermon: but the people were ſo moved at his outragious dealing, eſpecially the women, that they had almoſt ſtrangled *Truchet*; and ſo canvaſed the reſt of his company, that they had no minde to come any more.

Shortly after they took another Miniſter as he was going to preach in a pariſh a mile from his houſe, but the people hearing of it, ſpeedily purſued them, and recovered their Miniſter again: but when the villains ſaw that they were like to loſe their prey, they ſo wounded him, that they left him for dead.

Treachery. The Monks of *Pigneroll* ſent ſome Ruffians by night to the Miniſters houſe of S. *Germain*, who were conducted by a Traitor that knew the houſe, and formerly had frequented it: this fellow knocking at the door, and the Miniſter knowing his voice, opened the door, but perceiving himſelf to be betraied, he fled at a back-door, yet was quickly taken, and ſorely wounded, notwithſtanding which, they pricked him with halberds to haſten his pace, as they carried him away: they alſo ſlew and hurt many others: The Miniſter after ſore impriſonment endured a cruell death with much conſtancy: at his death the Inquiſitors cauſed two poor women that they kept in priſon, to carry faggots to burn him, and to ſay to him their Paſtor, *Take this thou wicked heretick in recompence of that naughty doctrine that thou haſt taught us:* To whom he replied, *Ah good women, I have taught you well, but you have learned ill.*

Prodigious villany.

In brief, they ſo perſecuted theſe poor people, that they forced them to forſake their houſes, and fly into the mountains, looſing all their eſtates, ſo that many that had lived well, and relieved others, were

were now fain to crave relief and ſuccour of others.

The Monks with their troops of ruffians continuing thus to moleſt and perſecute theſe poor people, they asked of their Miniſters, Whether it were not lawfull for them to defend themſelves againſt ſuch violence? The Miniſters anſwered, that it was, only they adviſed them to avoid bloudſhed as much as might be. This queſtion being reſolved, they of *Luſerne* and *Angrongne* ſent ſome to aid their friends of St *Germaine* againſt the Monks.

In *June*, divers of theſe *Waldenſes* went out into the country to reap their harveſt, and in ſundry places were all taken priſoners, not knowing of each others calamity; but God ſo wrought, that miraculouſly they all eſcaped out of priſon, to the great aſtoniſhment of their adverſaries. At the ſame time alſo others who had been long in priſon, and looked for nothing but death, through Gods providence were delivered after a wonderfull ſort. A miracle of mercy.

In *July*, they of *Angrongne* being at their harveſt on the hill ſide of St *Germaine*, perceived a company of ſouldiers that were ſpoiling the inhabitants of St *Germaine*; whereupon they made an out-cry, upon which the people of *Angrongne* ran preſently thither-ward, ſome by the valley, others over the mountain: they which went by the valley, being but fifty men, met with the ſpoilers, who were a hundred and twenty men well appointed, with whom they fought, and gave them a great overthrow; ſome were hurt, others drowned, and but few hardly eſcaped; not one of *Angrongne* being hurt in the fight. A ſpeciall providence.

The Monks were ſo affrighted with this defeat, that they ran away from their Abbey to *Pigneroll*, to ſave their Reliques and Images, which they carried thither; and if the Miniſters would have ſuffered their people to have attempted it, they might eaſily have freed their brethren which were impriſoned in the Abbey.

After this theſe Monks being aſſiſted by a Captain, took many of the inhabitants of the Valley of *Luſerne* priſoners, ſpoiling their goods, driving away their cattell, and in the end, ranſomed them for great ſummes of money. Popiſh ſubtilty

About this time a gentleman of *Campillan* promiſed his neighbours that if they would give him thirty crowns, he would ſecure them againſt trouble; but when he had got the money, he cauſed ſome ſouldiers to come to his houſe, and in the night ſending for the poor men which ſuſpected no danger, he trayterouſly endeavoured to deliver them into the hands of their mortall enemies: but God who ſuccours his in their greateſt neceſſity, diſcovered to one of them the danger they were in, whereby they all fled, and eſcaped. Popiſh diſſimulation and perfidiouſneſs.

Then were ſtrickt commands ſent through all the country to baniſh all the *Waldenſes*, together with the Goſpel, out of the mountains and vallies of *Piedmont*: but the people ſtill deſired that they might have leave to ſerve God purely according to the rules of the Word.

In the end of *October*, a rumour was ſpread abroad, that an Army was raiſing wholly to deſtroy them: Yea and ſuch malefactors as were

in priſons or baniſhed, were pardoned, upon condition that they ſhould take arms to deſtroy the *Waldenſes*: Hereupon the Miniſters met together to conſult what was to be done in ſo great an extremity. Then they enjoyned a generall and publick Faſt to ſeek unto God for direction; and in the end concluded that they ſhould not defend themſelves by arms, but that forſaking their houſes, and taking their beſt movables with them, they ſhould retire into the high mountains: but if their enemies purſued them thither, that then they ſhould take ſuch advice as God ſhould pleaſe to give them.

Faſting and Prayer.

This counſel all the people ſubmitted to, and for eight daies ſpace, were as buſie as Ants in ſummer, to remove their goods and proviſions, which though they did it in great danger, yet with great courage and alacrity, praiſing God and ſinging Pſalms, every one cheering up another. But other Miniſters hearing of this reſolution, wrote to them, that they thought it ſtrange that in ſuch an extream neceſſity, they ſhould not rather reſolve to defend themſelves againſt violence, proving that it was lawfull for them ſo to do, to defend the true Religion, and the lives of themſelves, wives and children, knowing that it was not the Duke, but the Pope that thus ſtirred him up againſt them.

During this time, their adverſaries cryed nothing, but *To the fire with them, to the fire with them*, and preſently by Proclamations ſet up every where, *Angrongne* was expoſed to the fire and ſword: The Army alſo approached to their borders, and the people retired into the mountains: But when they ſaw ſome horſemen not only ſpoiling their goods, but taking ſome of their brethren priſoners; they came back, and ſet upon them, in which bickering ſome of the enemies were ſlain, and the reſt retired to their camp; not one of the *Waldenſes* was ſlain or hurt. But two of theſe horſemen that fled, galloping away before the reſt, when they came near to the Army, cryed out, *They come, they come*: Whereupon the whole Army was ſo aſtoniſhed, that every man fled away, none purſuing, and the Captain could not all that day get them into order again.

A ſpeciall providence.

The next day the Army under the Lord of *Trinity*, was muſtered in a meddow, near to *Angrongne*; They of the Town had ſent ſome to ſtop the paſſages that the Army ſhould not enter, and in the mean time they retired into the meddow of *Toure*, not expecting the Army ſo ſoon, ſo that there were but few that kept the paſſages, but when thoſe few perceived their enemies preparing themſelves to fight, they all fell down upon their knees, praying earneſtly unto God to pity them, and not to look on their ſins, but on the cauſe that they maintained, to turn the hearts of their enemies, and ſo to work that there might be no effuſion of bloud, but if it were his will to take them, their wives and infants out of this world, that it would pleaſe him mercifully to receive them into his Kingdom. Their prayers being ended, they perceived their enemies to come through the Vines to win the top of the mountain: Whereupon the combat began in divers places, and continued untill night: The poor *Waldenſes* being but few, and

Power of Prayer.

and only armed with ſlings and croſs-bows, were much oppreſſed by the multitudes of their enemies, at laſt they retired to the top of the mountain, where they defended themſelves till night. But having found a place where they might withſtand their enemies, they turned again and ſlew divers of them.

At Even the enemies began to encamp themſelves, which the *Waldenſes* perceiving, they fell to prayer, deſiring God to aſſiſt and ſuccour them, for which the enemies flouted and laughed them to ſcorn. Profaneneſſe.
The poor people deviſed to ſend a Drum into a valley hard by; and as they were at prayer, the Drum beat up in the valley; whereupon the Lord of *Trinity* cauſed his ſouldiers to retreat, which was a great advantage to the *Waldenſes*, who were weary, thirſty, and in great perill, if God by this means had not given them ſome reſt: Of the *Waldenſes* there were but three ſlain, but many of their enemies, and more hurt, of whom few recovered. A ſpeciall providence.

This combat much encouraged the *Waldenſes*, and as much terrified their enemies, who in their retreat, burnt many houſes, and deſtroyed the Wines that were in the Preſſe.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* encamp in the valley of *Luſerne*, by a Village, the people whereof had alwaies hated the *Waldenſes*, and much rejoyced at this hurt that was now done them, but they were paid back in their own coyn, being all deſtroyed by the Army. A juſt reward.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* place four Gariſons in four ſeverall Fortreſſes, ſo that the poor *Waldenſes* found themſelves in a ſea of troubles: Whereupon they firſt betook themſelves to prayer, then ſent to their friends for aid, who ſent them all that they could make. Prayer.
Then did the Lord of *Trinity* ſend his Army to *Villars* and *Tailleret*: The leſſer part went towards *Villars*; the people ſeeing their enemies approaching, called upon God with fervent prayer, then ſet upon their enemies, ſlew ſome, hurt others, and the reſt fled. The other company going towards *Tailleret*, they of that place were but few in number, yet making their prayers to God, and commending their cauſe to him, they ſet valiantly upon their enemies; during which bickering, they of *Villars*, encouraged by their late ſucceſs, came to help their friends, and ſet ſo luſtily upon their enemies, that they put them to flight: but in the purſuit of them they fell into an ambuſh, and were environed by their enemies, yet through Gods mercy they all eſcaped without the loſſe of one man; on the enemies ſide there were ſo many ſlain, that they were laid together by whole Cart-loads. A ſpeciall providence.

Another party of the enemies going to ſpoil a rich mans houſe, ſome of his neighbours, not being above ſeventy, ſet upon them, put them to flight, took away their Drum, and recovered their booty from them.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* ſend to them, telling them how much the Duke and his Dutcheſſe favoured them, and promiſed himſelf to mediate for them that they might live in peace: But whileſt by Popiſh ſubtilty

theſe

theſe pretences, he ſought to make them ſecure, he ſent part of his Army to get the hill of *Tailleret*, and another part had already gotten the way that led to the meddow of *Tour*, whereby the *Angrongnians* might have been eaſily encloſed; but they perceiving it, immediatly ſent ſome to encounter with their enemies, who gat the victory, purſued them to their camp, and ſlew very many of them, without the loſſe of one man.

The Lord of *Trinity* cunningly excuſed this attempt, and ſent to them to draw up a ſupplication to the Duke, which was accordingly done, wherein they promiſed to render all honour and reverence unto God, according to his Word, and all due obedience to the Duke, *&c.*

Perfidiouſneſs. But in the mean time *Trinity* grievouſly vexed them of *Tailleret*, upon pretence that they had not preſented themſelves to treat of this agreement, taking their Arms from them, and cauſing them to ask pardon on their knees.

But preſently after news was brought them, that the enemies had gotten to the top of the mountain, and had taken all the paſſages, whereat they were ſore amazed, and ran with all ſpeed to defend their wives and children: ſome they ſaved, but the moſt of their goods were already in the enemies hands, who at this time did them much miſchief.

Yet after this, the Lord of *Trinity* ſent word again to them that were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy:

Papiſt trechery The poor people moſt of them truſting to his promiſe, returned, but the next morning the enemies came to apprehend them and their Miniſters, beſetting the place on every ſide: Then they that were ſwift of foot, eſcaped, all the reſt were taken; yet God miraculouſly delivered them;

A notable ſtory. for an old man that could not run ſo faſt as the other, was eſpied by a ſouldier, who ran with a naked ſword to have ſlain him, the old man ſeeing the imminent danger, caught him by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill;

A ſpeciall providence. the ſouldier cried, *Help, help, this villain will kill me*; hereupon his fellows ran to his reſcue, but in the mean time the old man eſcaped; and the reſt ſeeing what the old man had done, though they had loſt their weapons, yet took heart of graſſe, and with ſtones and ſlings, drave away their enemies, and thereby they all eſcaped.

The next day the ſouldiers went again to *Tailleret*, robbing, ſpoiling and carrying away all that they could finde, but moſt of the people were retired towards *Villars*: Then did the ſouldiers range all about, and took divers priſoners, whom they uſed cruelly, and one

Barbarous cruelty. ſouldier bit off one of their ears, ſaying, *I will carry the fleſh of this wicked heretick with me into my country*: They found alſo two women, the mother and the daughter, in a cave, whom they wounded to death: and in another cave, an old man of an hundred years old, with his grand-daughter of eighteen years old that fed him; the man they ſlew, the maid they would have raviſhed, who flying from them, tumbled down the mountains and died.

About

About the ſame time there was one *John Martin* that made his boaſts every where, that if he could meet with the Miniſter of *Angrongne*, he would ſlit his noſe; but ſhortly after a Wolf met him, and ſetting upon him, bit off his noſe, whereupon he ran mad, and died miſerably. Gods judgement on perſecutors.

A certain ſouldier promiſed the Lord of *Trinity* to bring to him the Miniſter of *Tailleret*, and accordingly never ceaſed till he found him, but as he was purſuing of him, ſome out of the mountains reſcued the Miniſter, and ſlew the ſouldier with ſtones.

Theſe ſouldiers were ſo extream abuſive to women, that many Papiſts that lived by, ſent their daughters into the mountains to the *Waldenſes* to preſerve their chaſtity. Uncleanneſſe.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* promiſe, that if they would pay him eight thouſand crowns, he would withdraw his Army and be gone: They being deſirous of peace, ſold their cattell to raiſe the money, but when he had received it, he ſtaid his Army there ſtill. Perfidiouſneſs.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* require them to ſend away their Miniſters till the matter were determined before the Duke, or elſe by his Army he would force them to it; whereupon by mutuall conſent, they agreed, that the Miniſters ſhould withdraw for the preſent, till the Army was retired, which was not done without great ſighs, lamentations and tears. At that time there fell an extraordinary ſnow, ſo that the people with great difficulty, were fain to make way for their Miniſters to paſſe. But the Army hearing that the Miniſters were gathered together, they ſent out a company of harquebuſhers to apprehend them, who came but one hour too late to have taken them: Then did they ſearch every cave, houſe and cheſt, to ſeek them; whereby they robbed the poor people of all their beſt things. Then did they beſet the Miniſters houſe of *Angrongne*, to whom the Lord of *Trinity* had promiſed ſafety, but it pleaſed God that he eſcaped; the ſouldiers purſued him into the mountains, but could not overtake him; whereupon they plundered his houſe, burnt his books and writings, and ſo returned.

The next morning command was given to the Rulers of *Angrongne* within twenty four hours to deliver up their Miniſter, or elſe *Angrongne* ſhould be put to fire and ſword; they anſwered, that they knew not where he was, for the ſouldiers had driven him over the mountains: Then did the ſouldiers burn houſes, break the mils, ſpoil the people, and do all the miſchief they could, and ſo departed.

The Lord of *Trinity* left Gariſons in the Fortreſſes, and cauſed the poor *Waldenſes* to maintain them, who not content with their wages, pillaged and robbed all about them; and having taken fourteen men, they bound them, and were leading them away priſoners, but their wives and children purſued them ſo fiercely with ſtones, that they were glad to let their priſoners go, and had much adoe to ſave themſelves. Two others that they caught, they hung up by the heels and hands, and having tormented them almoſt to death, at laſt releaſed Cruelty.

them for a great ſumme of money. Another Gariſon in the night went to *Tailleret*, brake in at the windows and tops of houſes, ſpoiling all, and took alſo fourteen priſoners, whom they bound two and two together, and were carrying them to the Fortreſſe, but two of them getting loſe, ſo valiantly aſſaulted the ſouldiers, and beat them with ſtones, that they forced them to let go their other priſoners. Yet two others they took and carried them to the Fort; one was but a childe, whom the Captain ſtrangled with his own hands; the other was ſixty years old, whom they bound, and took a creature that lives in horſe-dung, and put into his navel, covering them with a diſh, which in a ſhort ſpace did eat into his belly, and killed him.

Barbarous cruelty.

The *Waldenſes* were in great perplexity, by reaſon of theſe Gariſons, but eſpecially for the want of their Miniſters: Whereupon they reſolved to call them back, yet to have preaching only in private, becauſe they would not imbitter the ſouldiers, till their meſſengers returned from the Duke. Theſe meſſengers were cruelly handled at the Court, and at laſt ſent back with a command that they ſhould entertain Prieſts to ſay Maſſe, *&c.* When this report was made to their brethren that ſent them, there was wonderfull lamentation, weeping and mourning. Then did they ſend two of their Miniſters to the Church of *Pragela*, to ſhew them of the pitifull condition of the Churches in *Piedmont*, and to ask their advice, how to prevent the danger: And in the next place they all fell to prayer, and having long called upon God for counſel and direction in ſo great a ſtrait; they reſolved upon debate, that the people in *Piedmont* and *Dauphine* ſhould join in a League together, wherein they promiſed, through Gods grace and aſſiſtance, to maintain the pure preaching of the Goſpel, and adminiſtring the holy Sacraments; to yeeld obedience to their ſuperiors, ſo farre as they were commanded by the Word of God, and one to be aiding and aſſiſting to the other; that none ſhould conclude any thing touching the eſtate of Religion, without the conſent of the reſt of the Vallies.

Prayer in danger.

A League.

During this Treaty, all the houſholders were required to be preſent at Maſſe, and ſuch as would do it, ſhould live in peace, but ſuch as refuſed ſhould be condemned to be burnt, or ſent to the Gallies; ſo that the people were conſtrained to fly, die, or renounce the Goſpel: The firſt they would have choſen, but could not do it by reaſon of the great ſnow: Whereupon they exhorted one another ſaying, We ſhall be all called for to morrow, to renounce God, and to return to Idolatry, let us therefore make a ſolemn proteſtation, that we will live and die in the confeſſion of Gods holy Word; let us in the morning hear a ſermon, and then caſt down to the ground, all the Idols and Altars: and to this all agreed.

A good reſolution.

In the morning they put their reſolutions into execution, beating down the Images, and caſting down the Altars: Then they went to *Villars* to do the like there; but by the way they encountered with a band of ſouldiers, who were going to ſpoil a village, and to fetch away

Images demoliſhed.

away the inhabitants priſoners: Theſe ſouldiers ſeeing them ſo ill provided, mocked them, and diſcharged their guns at them; but they taking courage, with ſtones beat the ſouldiers, purſuing them to the Fortreſſe. Then did they go to *Villars*, and having deſtroyed the Idols and Altars, they returned to beſiege the Fortreſſe, demanding the priſoners that were therein.

The Judge with many Gentlemen came that day to enroll their names that would go to Maſſe, but ſeeing the reſolution of the people, they fled into the Caſtle, where they were beſieged for ten daies: Then did the Captain of *Tour* go with a company of ſouldiers, thinking to raiſe the ſiege; but by thoſe which kept the paſſages, ſome of them were ſlain, the reſt were driven back again: Then came they back with three bands, which cauſed a furious fight, wherein many of the ſouldiers were ſlain and hurt, and not one of the beſiegers was hurt. A ſpeciall providence.

The *Waldenſes* attempted often to have taken the Fortreſſe, but without Ordinance it was impoſſible: alſo the Lord of *Trinity* was come back with his Army, and the next day would have raiſed the ſiege: But it pleaſed God that very night the ſouldiers in the Caſtle, deſired leave to depart, with bag and baggage, which was eaſily granted to them: and the ſouldiers which before had ſo cruelly perſecuted the Miniſters, were now fain to requeſt them to protect their lives, and to conduct them to a place of ſafety, which the Miniſters did willingly, and the ſouldiers were very thankfull for it: that night the Fort was razed to the ground.

The next day the Lord of *Trinity* cunningly ſent to them of *Angrongne*, that if they would not aid the other, they ſhould be gently dealt with, but they knowing his fraud, agreed with the reſt to defend their Religion with their lives, and that no one ſhould make an agreement without the conſent of the reſt. Then did the Lord of *Trinity* aſſay with his Army to enter into the borders of *Angrongne* by certain ſtreights: but the people having raiſed up ſome breaſt-works, valiantly defended themſelves and offended their enemies. *Trinities* ſouldiers being weary, freſh ones were brought in their ſtead, ſo that the fight endured untill night, wherein many of the enemies were ſlain, and more hurt, and but two of the *Waldenſes*; and ſo the battel ceaſed for the preſent. Popiſh ſubtilty

The next day the Army marched towards *Angrongne* five ſeverall waies, and there was none to reſiſt, but only a few that kept the Watch, who valiantly fought for a ſpace, but ſeeing themſelves in danger to be incloſed, they retreated to an high place, where the combat was renued with greater fierceneſſe then before: The Lord of *Trinity* ſeeing the loſſe of many of his men, ſounded a retreat, and went to *Angrongne*, but the people were fled into the meddow of *Tour*; therefore he burned and ſpoiled all before him: He alſo oft ſet fire upon the two Churches, where the word uſed to be preached, but could not burn them, and ſo he did to the Miniſters houſe, and yet it remained whole. A ſpeciall providence.

Amongſt them of *Angrongne*, there were but two that were enemies to the word of God, and they were both ſlain that day.

Then did the Lord of *Trinity* ſend ſome to burn *Roſa*, but the ſouldiers were driven back four daies together, by them that kept the paſſages; whereupon he ſent his whole Army, yet they valiantly withſtood them from morning till night; at laſt a party gat behinde them over a mountain, ſo that the poor people ſeeing themſelves environed, ſaved themſelves by running through the midſt of their enemies, and others of them gat into the rocks. The enemies being entred *Roſa*, deſtroyed all with fire and ſword: The people fled by ſecret waies toward *Luſerne*, wandring all night upon the mountains full of ſnow, laden with their ſtuff, carrying their infants in their arms, and leading others by the hand with great pain and travell: They of *Luſerne* ſeeing them, ran to them, praiſing God for their deliverance; they all were very chearfull, notwithſtanding their extremities.

Gods providence.

Shortly after the Lord of *Trinity* went to *Luſerne* by three waies; they which kept the paſſages reſiſted their enemies valiantly, but when they ſaw themſelves aſſaulted on every ſide, they fled into the mountains. Then did the ſouldiers ſack and burn the houſes, ſlaying all they could finde: When they which were fled to the mountains ſaw their houſes on fire, they praiſed God, and gave him thanks, that thus accounted them worthy to ſuffer for his Name: Then did the ſouldiers purſue them to the mountains, but after they had called upon God, a few of them beat back their enemies, whereupon the Army retired.

Joy in tribulations.

They in the meddow of *Tour*, perceiving a company of ſouldiers burning the reſt of the houſes in *Angrongne*, they ſent ſix harquibuſhiers againſt them, who from the higher ground, diſcharging all their guns together, the ſouldiers ran all away, when none purſued them.

Shortly after, as the Watch was hearing a Sermon, they ſpied a company of ſouldiers marching up the hill, whereupon they ran to encounter them, and eaſily diſcomfited them: But whileſt they purſued the chaſe, ſome cried to them, that another company was entred into the meddow, whereupon they left the chaſe, or elſe not one of their enemies had eſcaped.

Preſently other companies came other waies, which the Miniſters and people ſeeing, were much diſcouraged, and therefore they fell to prayer, and ardently called upon God, with ſighs and tears untill night. And whereas ſeven ſpies were ſent before the ſouldiers, there went out five of the *Waldenſes* againſt them, and took ſome, and chaſed the reſt: Then went out eight more againſt the whole company, and purſued them with an undaunted courage, from rock to rock, and from hill to hill, and then went out twelve more, who joining with the other, made a great ſlaughter of their enemies.

Prayer in danger.

Another company from *Luſerne*, having a Miniſter with them, as they uſed alwaies to have, after they had made their prayers to God,

ſet upon another company of ſouldiers, whoſe hearts were ſo taken from them, that they preſently fled: One of the *Waldenſes*, a very young man, carried a great ſtaff in his hand, with which he laid ſo luſtily at his enemies, that he brake his ſtaff, and ſlew many of them, he alſo brake four of their own ſwords, in purſuing of them: Alſo a boy of eighteen years old, ſlew the Lord of *Monteil*, Maſter of the Camp, which much diſmaied the enemies: Another threw down *Charles Truchet*, and then leaped upon him, and ſlew him with his own ſword; the reſt all fled, and were purſued till night hindred. Speciall providences.

The Miniſter ſeeing the great effuſion of bloud, and the enemies flying, cried to the people that it was enough, and ſo exhorted them to praiſe God: They that heard him obeyed, and fell to prayer. In this battell they gat much armour, which was a great advantage to them afterwards. Thanks were returned unto God in every place, every one ſaying, *Who ſees not evidently that God fighteth for us?* Thankſgiving.

Preſently after, the Lord of *Trinity* returned to burn the Villages, but eſpecially to purſue the poor people in the mountains: One company with many horſemen aſcended the mountain of *Comb* by an unſuſpected way, where were no Warders; but they which were next, ſeeing of them, called upon God for aid, and though they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice; many of the enemies were ſlain, and not one of the *Waldenſes*. *Trinity* ſeeing his men thus beaten back, ſent out moſt of his Army to aſſiſt them, which were about one thouſand five hundred men: And there came about a hundred to help the Warders: The combat was very cruel; at laſt the poor men were fain to retreat with the loſſe of two of their men; at this the enemies exceedingly rejoyced, blowing their trumpets and triumphing: but the people crying all together to the Lord, returned again, with great violence aſſaulting them with their ſlings; the enemies being weary, reſted themſelves, and the while the *Waldenſes* betook themſelves to prayer, which more affrighted their enemies then any thing elſe. A ſpeciall providence. Prayer.

Then did the ſouldiers charge again furiouſly, but by the hands of a few they were driven back; yea little children fervently calling upon God, threw ſtones at their enemies, as alſo did the women: Such as were unfit for warre kneeled on the ground, with their faces towards heaven, crying, *Lord help us*. Then came one running that brought word, that the *Angrongnians* were coming to help them, which the enemies hearing, preſently retreated. The enemies every where beaten.

Another party of the Army of an hundred and fourty, went another way; but by ſeven men they were ſtrongly reſiſted and driven back: A third party was met by the *Angrongnians* and driven back.

The Lord of *Trinity* intending to be revenged on them in the meddow of *Tour*, aſſembled all the Gentlemen of the country, and an Army of about ſeven thouſand: And when the poor people ſaw them

Prayer in danger.

coming, glittering in their harneſſe, and ſo many in number, they were at firſt aſtoniſhed, but pouring out their prayers unto God to ſuccour them, and to have regard to the glory of his Name, *&c.* They marched to encounter with their enemies, and ſeaſonably by the way, they met with ſome aid that was coming to them from *Luſerne*, ſo that uniting themſelves, they ſoon diſcomfited their enemies.

The Captain had in the morning promiſed to do great matters that day, but in the evening he was carried back, weak and wounded, and not like to live: Whereupon a Papiſt ſaid to him, *Monſieur, their religion is better then ours.*

Another part of the Army ſet upon an houſe in a paſſe, wherein were but five men, yet they luſtily defended it, drave out their enemies that had entered, and kept the place, till ſome of their friends came to relieve them.

Another half of the Army, aſſaulted another bulwork on the ſide of the mountain; They within ſuffered them to come very near, but then with ſlings and guns, they ſlew many of them, others rouled down great ſtones, which killed divers, ſo that when they had attempted all waies, they were forced to retire; the Lord of *Trinity* weeping to ſee his men ſlain ſo faſt; ſo that at laſt, having loſt very many of his men, he was forced to retreat; many of the Army crying out, *God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong.*

A ſpeciall providence.

In all that conflict there were but two of the *Waldenſes* ſlain, and two hurt; whereas they never ſhot at their enemies but they killed ſome, ſometimes two at one ſhot: The ſouldiers confeſſed that they were ſo aſtoniſhed that they could not fight: Others ſaid, that the Miniſters by their prayers, conjured and bewitched them. It was a wonderfull work of God, that ſhepherds and cowherds ſhould encounter with ſo mighty a power of ſtrong and brave ſouldiers, well furniſhed with ammunition, and themſelves having nothing but ſlings, ſtones, and a few harquebuſhes, and yet ſhould beat them, and in all thoſe fights, they loſt not above fourteen men.

Scorners puniſhed.

Shortly after a company of ſouldiers went to *Angrongne* to deſtroy the Vines, *&c.* and mocking the *Waldenſes*, they ſaid, that they were valiant men behinde their bulworks, but if they came into the plain, how they would beat them: Then came thirty of the *Waldenſes*, and ſet upon them in the plain, and fought with them a long time, hand to hand, ſlew many of them, and at laſt forced them to run away, and that with the loſſe of one man of their own.

The night after, ſome thought that it would have been an eaſie matter to take the Lord of *Trinity*, and to have ſpoiled his whole Army, but the *Waldenſes* would not do it, leaſt they ſhould offend God, and paſſe the bounds of their vocation, intending only to defend themſelves.

Subtilty. Perfidiouſneſs.

Then did *Trinity* betake himſelf to his old ſhifts of entertaining a treaty for agreement; but in the interim, he ſent a company of *Spaniards* one way, and other companies other waies, to ſurpriſe the meddow

of

of *Tour*. The *Spaniards* were entred the meddow, before they were perceived: but when the people ſpied them, they betook themſelves to prayer, then winded their horns, and ſo prepared for reſiſtance: The firſt that oppoſed themſelves were but twelve men, who yet ſtoped them in a Paſſe, and others rolled down ſtones from the mountains upon them, whereby many of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, the reſt were forced to retreat. The *Spaniards* repulſed.

Shortly after the Miniſters and chief Rulers of the *Waldenſes*, requeſted the Lord of *Raconis* to deliver a petition, which they had drawn up to the Dutches of *Savoy*, wherein they declared the equity of their cauſe, proteſting all due obedience, *&c.* and at laſt, through Gods mercy, they came to a good agreement, and according to the promiſe of God, all things turned to the beſt of thoſe that feared him, that were called according to his purpoſe. Peace obtained

After the death of the Duke and Dutcheſſe of *Savoy*, *Charles Emmanuel* their ſon ſucceeded, who maintained them in peace according to the treaty formerly made: Yet the Inquiſitors were alwaies watchfull to apprehend one or other of them: and amongſt others, one *Bartholmew Copin* of *Luſerne*, being at *Aſt* in *Piedmont*, with his Merchandize, at evening ſupping with ſome other company, one began to ſpeak much to the diſgrace of the *Waldenſes* for their Religion. *Copin* thought that he was bound not to be ſilent when he heard ſuch blaſphemies: Whereupon he began to argue in their defence. Are you then a *Waldenſian*, ſaid the other to him? he anſwered, Yea. And do you not beleeve that God is in the Hoſt? No, ſaid *Copin*. Fie upon you, ſaid the other, what a falſe Religion is yours? My Religion, ſaid *Copin*, is as true, as it's true that God is God, *&c.* The next morning *Copin* was called before the Biſhop of *Aſt*, who told him, that he muſt either recant the opinions he held over night, or be puniſhed: *Copin* ſaid, he had been provoked to that diſcourſe; yet he ſaid nothing but what he would maintain with his life: That he had ſome goods, and a wife and children, yet he had loſt the affections that he bare unto thoſe things, neither were they dear to him, to the prejudice of his conſcience. Yet behaving himſelf honeſtly, he ought not to be moleſted, when he came about his merchandize, the *Turks* and *Jews* being permitted to come to Fairs without moleſtation. Notwithſtanding which the Biſhop preſently ſent him to priſon. The next day the Biſhops Secretary went to him, profeſſing great love, and telling him, that except he acknowledged his fault, he was in great danger of his life: *Copin* anſwered that his life was in the hands of God, and he deſired not to preſerve it to the prejudice of his glory; and having but a few paces to walk in his journey to heaven, his hearty prayer to God was, to give him grace not to turn back. *Bar. Copin.* Zeal. Chriſt beſt of all.

Some few daies after he was examined by an Inquiſitor in the preſence of the Biſhop, who exceedingly tormented him with ſweet and gentle perſwaſions, by fair words ſeeking to draw him to an abjuration: But *Copin* alwaies convinced him by the word of God: alleadging that Tentation.

Conſtancy.

that if he ſhould be aſhamed of, or deny Chriſt before men, Chriſt would be aſhamed of, and deny him before his heavenly Father. Then ſaid the Monk, Go thy waies thou curſed heretick to all the devils in hell, and when thou ſhalt be there tormented by them, thou wilt remember this good and holy counſel that we have given thee, *&c.*

His exhortation to his wife and children.

After many violent encounters, they cauſed his wife and ſon to come to him, promiſing if he would confeſſe his fault, he ſhould have liberty to depart with them; They ſuffered them alſo to ſup together, which time he ſpent in exhorting them to patience, telling them that God would be more then a husband and father to them: for his own part he was not bound to love wife or childe more then Chriſt; and that they ſhould eſteem it their happineſſe, that God pleaſed to do him the honour to be a witneſſe to his truth, with the loſſe of his life, *&c.* He enjoined his wife to bring up his children in the fear of God: his ſon he commanded to obey his mother: he deſired them to pray for him, that God would ſtrengthen him againſt all tentations, and ſo taking leave of his wife, and bleſſing his ſon, he diſmiſſed them, his wife and ſon ſhedding fountains of tears, and crying out in ſo lamentable a manner as would have moved the hardeſt heart to compaſſion.

Copin murthered.

The Biſhop knew not well what to do with him: If he let him go he feared a ſcandall, and that many would be encouraged by his impunity: If he puniſhed him, he offended againſt the agreement betwixt the Duke and the *Waldenſes*. And thereupon he ſent his indictment to the Pope, to know his pleaſure. Shortly after *Copin* was found dead in priſon, it appearing manifeſtly that he was ſtrangled: and after his death, he was condemned to be burnt, which was accordingly executed.

Chap. XXII.

The Perſecution of the VValdenſes *in* Calabria.

Gods providence.

Anno Chriſti 1370. The *Waldenſes* of *Pragela* and *Dauphine* grew ſo numerous, that they ſent their younger people to ſeek ſome other Country to inhabit. In their travell, they found in *Calabria*, ſome waſt and untilled lands: yet ſeeming very fertill, fit for corn, wine, oyl and cheſtnuts, and that the hils were fit for cattel, and to furniſh them with fuel and timber; they came therefore to the Lords of thoſe places to treat with them touching their abode there.

The Lords received them lovingly, agreed to orders much for the advantage of theſe new inhabitants: agreed about rents, tenths, tolls, penalties, *&c.* and ſo aſſigned to them certain parts of the Country. Then did they return to their parents, ſhewing how it fared with them,

and

and ſo receiving what they pleaſed to beſtow upon them, and many of them marrying, they returned into *Calabria*, where they built ſome Towns and Cities, as S^t *Xiſt*, *la Garde*, &c.

The Lords of thoſe Countries thought themſelves happy in that they had met with ſuch good ſubjects as peopled their waſte lands, made them to abound with all manner of fruits; but principally becauſe they were honeſt men, and of good conſcience, yeelding all thoſe duties and honours which they could expect from good ſubjects. Only the Prieſts complained of them, that they lived not after their religion, made not their children Prieſts and Nuns; loved not Tapers, Maſſes, *&c.* that they adorned not their Churches with Images, went not on Pilgrimage, *&c.*

Hereupon the Lords feared, that if the Pope ſhould take notice, that, ſo near his Seat, there were people that contemned his Laws, they might chance loſe their ſubjects: They therefore perſwaded the Prieſts to be ſilent, ſince in other things, they ſhewed themſelves honeſt men, inriched the Country, yea and the Prieſts themſelves, by their Tithes. Theſe Lords alſo ſtopped the mouths of their neighbours, who exceedingly murmured, becauſe by no means they could draw them into alliance with them, and becauſe all that they had, proſpered exceedingly: They were wiſe and temperate, not given to drinking, dancing, ſwearing, *&c.* and living in a Country, where the inhabitants were given to all manner of wickedneſſe, they were as precious ſtones in a common ſink. Their godly converſation.

Thus they were preſerved in peace by their Lords, till *Anno* 1560. At which time theſe *Waldenſes* reſolving to make a publick profeſſion of their Religion; ſent for two Miniſters from *Geneva*, who did much eſtabliſh the exerciſe of Religion amongſt them.

Pope *Pius* the fourth hearing of this, preſently concluded their utter ruine and extirpation, giving the ſame in charge to Cardinall *Alexandrino*, a violent man, who choſe two Monks Inquiſitors, of his own humour, and ſent them firſt to begin with the inhabitants of S^t *Xiſt*; there they aſſembled the people, gave them good words, promiſing that they ſhould receive no violence, if they would accept of ſuch teachers as the Biſhop ſhould appoint, which if they refuſed, they would loſe their lives, goods and honours, and would be condemned for hereticks: And further to prove them, they appointed a Maſſe to be ſung: But the people with their wives and children, preſently quit their houſes, and fled into the woods. The Pope perſecutes them.

From thence the Monks went to *la Garde*, where they cauſed the Town-gates to be locked, and the people to be aſſembled, telling them that they of S^t *Xiſt* had abjured their Religion, and went to Maſſe, *&c.* promiſing that if they would do the like, no man ſhould injure them. Theſe poor people, beleeving what was told them, were content to do what they would have them; but when they heard that their friends of S^t *Xiſt* refuſed to go to Maſſe, and were fled into the woods, they were exceedingly grieved at their own revolt, and reſolved Popiſh lies.

ſolved with their wives and children, to go to their brethren.

Popiſh cruelty.

In the mean time the Monks ſent two companies of ſouldiers after them of S. *Xiſt*, who ran after them as after wilde beaſts, crying *kill, kill*, and ſo ſlew divers: but ſuch as could get to the top of the mountain, called to the ſouldiers, beſeeched them to have pity on them, their wives and children, that they had been inoffenſive in their converſations, *&c.* yet if they would not ſuffer them to continue in their habitations, that they would licenſe them to depart, either by ſea or land, that they might retire themſelves, whither the Lord ſhould be pleaſed to conduct them, beſeeching them alſo, for Gods ſake, not to force them to defend themſelves.

A ſpeciall providence.

But this more enraged the ſouldiers, who preſently violently aſſaulted them: Then did they ſo defend themſelves, that by Gods aſſiſtance, they ſlew the greateſt part of the ſouldiers, and put the reſt to flight. Hereupon the Inquiſitors wrote to the Viceroy of *Naples*, ſpeedily to ſend ſome Companies of ſouldiers to apprehend the hereticks of S. *Xiſt* and *la Garde*, whereby he ſhould do a work very pleaſing to the Pope, and meritorious for himſelf.

Then did the Viceroy come himſelf with his Troops, in the mean time the *Waldenſian* women came home to ſeek for food for their huſbands and children that were in the woods.

Barbarous cruelty.

The Viceroy proclaimed through all *Naples*, that all ſuch baniſhed perſons as would come to fight againſt the hereticks of S. *Xiſt*, ſhould be pardoned all their offences: Whereupon great numbers reſorted to him, and were conducted to the woods, where they chaſed theſe poor people, ſlaying ſome, wounding others, the reſt fled into caves, where moſt of them died of famine.

Then were they of *la Garde* cited before the Inquiſitor, and many fair promiſes were made unto them, if they would appear; but contrary thereunto, thirty of them were apprehended, and put to the rack.

One *Charlin* was racked with ſuch violence, that his bowels brake out of his belly, and all to extort from him a confeſſion, that in the night, the candles being put out, they committed whoredome, and abominable inceſt, yet would he never confeſſe any ſuch wickedneſſe.

Prodigious wickedneſſe.

Another with extream pain upon the rack, promiſed to go to Maſſe; the Inquiſitor ſeeing that he had ſhewed ſuch weakneſſe, urged him to confeſſe the forementioned wickedneſſe, which, becauſe he refuſed, he left him eight hours together upon the rack, yet could he not get from his mouth ſo foul a ſlander.

Another was ſtripped ſtark naked, whipt with rods of iron, drawn through the ſtreets, and burnt with firebrands: One of his ſons was killed with knives: Another thrown down from an high Tower, becauſe he would not kiſſe a Crucifix: Another was condemned to be burnt alive, and as he went to the fire, he threw to the ground a Crucifix, which the executioner had faſtened to his hands, where-

Zeal.

upon

upon they covered him over with pitch, and ſo burnt him.

The Inquiſitor *Panza* cut the throats of eighty, as butchers do ſheep's; then cauſing them to be divided into four quarters, he ſet up ſtakes for the ſpace of thirty miles, and appointed a quarter to be faſtened to every ſtake. Four of the principall men of *la Gard* he cauſed to be hanged. Another young man, becauſe he would not confeſſe himſelf to a Prieſt, was thrown from an high tower. Horrible cruelties.

The Vice-roy going by before he was dead, hearing him implore Gods mercy, kickt him on the head, ſaying, is this dog yet living? take him, and caſt him to the hogs. Sixty women were racked ſo violently, that the cords pierced into their arms and legs, and being then caſt into priſon, they died there, only nine of the handſomeſt being delivered to the fathers of the Inquiſition, were never heard on after.

Many others were delivered to the ſecular power to be burnt, and if any interceded for them, he was preſently put on the rack as a favourer of hereticks.

Pope *Pius* the fourth ſent the Marqueſſe of *Butiane*, promiſing that if he would wholly clear *Calabria* of theſe *Waldenſes*, he would make his ſon a Cardinall: But he was put to no great pain to do it, for the Inquiſitors and the Vice-roy of *Naples* had by ſundry deaths killed all the men, women and children that they could light of. Their totall extirpation.

One of their Miniſters was famiſhed in priſon: Another was carried to *Rome*, where he was condemned to be burnt; The Pope and his Cardinals would needs ſee that pleaſing ſpectacle: But the Miniſter ſpake ſo many things out of Gods Word, againſt the Pope, that the Pope gnaſhed his teeth for anger, wiſhing that he had been ſome where elſe. And thus were theſe godly people wholly rooted out of *Calabria*.

Chap. XXIII.

The Perſecution of the VValdenſes *in* Provence.

THeſe came from *Piedmont*, when their Vallies were over-peopled. The country of *Provence*, at their firſt arrivall, was a deſert, but within few years, by Gods bleſſing upon their labours, abounded with Corn, Wine, Oil, Cheſnuts, and other fruits.

Their habitations being near to *Avignion* (many times the Popes ſeat) they were expoſed to ſundry Perſecutions, *Anno* 1380. and at other times: But the greateſt of all began about the year 1560. in the time of King *Lewis* the twelfth; who being informed that in *Provence* was a certain kinde of people that lived not according to the Laws of

Deviliſh ſlanders.

the Church of *Rome*, but were an accurſed people, committing all kindes of wickedneſſe and villanies: He gave Commiſſion to his Parliament in *Provence* to take cognizance of it, and to puniſh them according to their demerits.

The Court proſecuting this order with rigour; the King hearing that divers innocent perſons were put to death, he ſent his Maſter of Requeſts, and Confeſſor into *Provence*, to finde out what kinde of perſons theſe were, who at their return, certified him that all the former ſuggeſtions were untrue, that they were neither Sorcerers, nor Whoremongers, but lived honeſtly, did hurt to none; cauſed their children to be Baptized, taught them their Belief, the ten Commandments, and that they carefully kept the Lords day, and had the Word of God purely expounded to them: Whereupon the King ſwore an oath, *That they were honeſter then himſelf, and his Catholick ſubjects.* Upon this information he ſent and ſtaied the Perſecution.

Note.

Then did the *Waldenſes* ſend two of their Miniſters [*George Morrel* and *Peter Maſſon*] to *Oecolampadius*, *Capito*, *Bucer* and *Haller*, to confer with them about matters of Religion, and to have their advice in many things.

P. Maſſon martyred.

In their return, *Maſſon* was apprehended at *Dijon*, where he was condemned and put to death for a *Lutheran*. *Morrell* eſcaped with his Letters and Papers, and came ſafe to *Provence*, where he much comforted and confirmed the Churches. Yet all this while did the Parliament of *Aix* apprehend one or other of them, condemning ſome to the fire, others to the gibbet; they which ſcaped beſt, returned with marks in their foreheads.

Anno Chriſti 1540. The inhabitants of *Merindoll* were ſummoned, and ſome of the chief appearing for the reſt, they were all condemned to be burned alive, their children and families to be out-lawed, and that the place of their habitation ſhould be laid waſte, the woods cut down two hundred paces round about, and ſo left deſolate.

A cruel decree.

K. *Francis* the firſt.

The King being informed of the rigour of this Edict, and of the innocency of the people, countermanded the execution of it: but his Letters were ſuppreſſed, and the Cardinall of *Tournon* obtained for a great ſumme of money, the revocation of them.

Called *Mincirs*.

Anno 1545. The Preſident of *Opede* proclaimed warre againſt them both at *Aix* and *Marſeilles*: Divers companies of ſouldiers were liſted, and five bands of the old ſouldiers of *Piedmont* were joined with them, and preſently they began to ſet fire on the Villages of *Cabrieres*, *Pepin*, *&c.* The poor people without any reſiſtance were ſlain, women and their daughters raviſhed, ſome great with childe murthered; the breaſts of many women were cut off, after whoſe death their poor infants died of famine.

Barbarous cruelty.

Opede alſo proclaimed, that on pain of death no man ſhould give any relief or ſuſtenance to them. All their habitations were pillaged, ſacked and burnt, and none of their perſons ſpared, but ſuch as were reſerved for the Gallies.

Opede

Opede coming to *Merindol*, found none there but one ſimple lad, who had yeelded himſelf priſoner to a ſouldier, and promiſed two Crowns for his ranſom; but *Opede* paid the money to the ſouldier, and cauſed the lad to be ſhot to death; then he utterly razed the Town, and laid it levell with the ground.

Then did he march againſt *Cabrieres*, and with the Cannon battered the wals: There was within only about ſixty poor ſick Peſants, who ſent him word that he needed not to ſpend powder to batter the wals, for they were ready to open the gates, and quit the Country, if they might but have leave, with their wives and children to go to *Geneva* or *Germany*, and to leave all their goods behinde them.

Opede entring the Town, cauſed all the men to be brought into a field, and to be cut in pieces, the ſouldiers ſtriving who ſhould ſhew the beſt manhood in cutting off heads, arms and legs: The women he cauſed to be locked in a barn with much ſtraw, and ſo put fire to it, where many women great with childe were burnt: One ſouldier moved with pity, opening a hole in the wall, that ſome of them might come out; *Opede* made them to be beaten back into the fire with Pikes and Halberts. Some of them that came forth he ſlew with his own hands, ripping open their bellies, ſo that their children came forth, whom he trod under his feet: many were fled into cellers and caves, whom he cauſed to be dragged out, had into the field, ſtripped ſtark naked, and then ſlain. Others were bound two and two together, and ſlain by the Captains, who rejoyced in their bloudy butchery. Prodigious cruelty.

Then did this Tyrant (worſe then *Herod*) command one of his Captains to go into the Church, into which many women, children and infants were fled, and to kill them all, which the Captain at firſt refuſed, ſaying that it was a cruelty unbeſeeming men of warre: Whereat *Miniers* being diſpleaſed, charged him upon pain of rebellion againſt the King to do it. The Captain fearing what might be the iſſue, entred with his ſouldiers and deſtroyed them all, ſparing neither young nor old. Other ſouldiers that ranſacked the houſes, found many poor perſons, who had hid themſelves in ſecret places, whom they ſlew upon crying *kill, kill,* the ſouldiers without the Town killed all they could meet with, ſo that above a thouſand men, women and children were ſlain in this place.

Many perſons which were eſcaped into the mountains, ſent by ſome that had moſt intereſt in *Miniers*, to deſire him to give them leave to go whither the Lord ſhould pleaſe to leade them, with their wives and children, though they had nothing but the ſhirts on their backs: to whom he anſwered, that he knew what he had to do, he would ſend them to dwell in hell amongſt the devils.

Then did he ſend part of his Army unto *Coſta*, which they overcame, and committed there great ſlaughter. Many of the inhabitants fled into an Orchard, where the ſouldiers raviſhed many women and maidens, and having kept them there a day and a night, they uſed them ſo beaſtly, that the women with childe, and younger maidens died preſently after.

Many of theſe *Merindolians* hid themſelves in rocks and dark caves, where ſome were famiſhed, others were choaked with fire and ſmoak ſet to their caves mouths. Many more were the outrages and cruelties which this wicked *Opede* committed: but the Lord found him out at laſt, ſtriking him with a ſtrange kinde of bleeding at the lower parts, neither was he able to void any urine, ſo that by degrees his guts rotted within him: No remedy could be found for this terrible diſeaſe, worms bred in his bowels, which continually gnawed him. Then did he ſend to *Arles* for a famous Chyrurgion, who cured him of his difficulty to make water, after which, deſiring all to depart the room, in private he exhorted him to repent of his former cruelty and bloudſhed, telling him that this his ſtrange bleeding was Gods juſt hand upon him for ſhedding ſo much innocent bloud: But theſe words pierced the impure conſcience of this wicked wretch, and more troubled him then the torments of his diſeaſe, ſo that he cried out to lay hands on the Chirurgion as an heretick: Whereupon he conveyed himſelf away, and returned to *Arles*.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Yet not long after he was ſent for again, and great promiſes were made for his ſecurity: But when he came back, he found *Miniers* paſt cure, raging and caſting out moſt horrible and blaſphemous words, feeling a fire which burnt him from the navell upwards, with extream ſtink of his lower parts, and ſo he ended his wretched life.

Miniers his horrible death.

In the beginning of this Perſecution, there was one *John de Roma*, a Monk, who gat a Commiſſion to examine thoſe he ſuſpected to be hereticks; whereupon he afflicted the faithfull with all kindes of cruelty: Amongſt other horrible torments that he uſed, this was one; he filled boots with boiling greaſe, and put them upon their legs, tying them backwards over a form, and their legs hanging down over a ſoft fire: Thus he tormented very many, and in the end moſt cruelly put them to death.

Francis the *French* King being informed of the helliſh cruelty of this wicked Monk, ſent to his Parliament at *Provence* that they ſhould apprehend and condemn him: but he being informed of it, fled to *Avignion*, where he hoped to enjoy all that wealth which ſo mercileſly and unjuſtly he had extorted from the poor Chriſtians: But ſhortly after he was robbed of all that he had, by his own ſervants; and then he fell ſick of a moſt horrible and ſtrange diſeaſe unknown to the Phyſitians: He was intollerably tormented with pains all over his body, ſo that no means could give him eaſe for one minute of an hour; neither was there any man that could tarry near him, no not of his neareſt friends, ſo great was the ſtink that came from him: Then was he removed to an Hoſpitall: but the ſtink and infection ſo encreaſed, that no man durſt come near him; no nor he himſelf was able to abide the horrible ſtink of his own body, full of ulcers and ſores, and ſwarming with vermine, and ſo rotten, that the fleſh fell from the bones by piecemeal. In theſe torments he often cried out in great rage. *O who will*

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

deliver

deliver me? Who will kill and rid me out of theſe intollerable pains which I know I ſuffer for the oppreſsions which I did to the poor men? Oft times he himſelf endeavoured to deſtroy himſelf; but he had not the power. In this horrible anguiſh, and fearfull deſpair he miſerably ended his accurſed life.

When he was dead no man would come near to bury him; till at laſt a young novice caught hold of his ſtinking carcaſe with an iron hook, and ſo dragged him into an hole that was made for him.

In the time of this Perſecution the Biſhop of *Aix*, with ſome other Biſhops and their courtizans, walking along the ſtreets of *Avignion*, ſaw a man ſelling baudy Images and Pictures, with filthy rimes and ballads annexed to them: All theſe goodly Pictures the Biſhops bought up. When they had gon a little further, there was a Bookſeller that had ſet to ſale certain Bibles in *French*, which the Prelates were greatly moved at, ſaying to him, *Dar'ſt thou be ſo bold to ſell ſuch merchandiſe in this Town?* The Bookſeller replied, Is not the holy Bible as good as theſe goodly Pictures that you have bought for theſe gentle-women? Then ſaid the Biſhop of *Aix*, I renounce my part in Paradiſe, if this fellow be not a *Lutheran*, take him away to priſon. Then did his attendants cry out, A *Lutheran*, a *Lutheran*, To the fire with him, to the fire with him; and one gave him a blow with his fiſt, another pulled him by the hair, another by the beard, ſo that the poor man was all imbrued in bloud, before he came to priſon. The next day he was brought before the Judge, where, by the inſtigation of the Biſhops, he was condemned to be burned the ſame day, and ſo was carried to the fire with two Bibles about his neck, one before, and another behinde, where he made a moſt Chriſtian end.

Popiſh uncleanneſſe.

Profaneneſſe.

A godly Bookſeller burnt.

The *Waldenſes* were diſperſed alſo into ſeverall other Countries, as *Bohemia, Auſtria, Germany, Flanders, England, Poland, Italy, Spain, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Grecia, Philadelphia, Livonia, Sarmatia, Bulgaria*, &c. In all which places at one time or other they ſuffered perſecutions; concerning which there is not much left upon Record, and ſomething will be ſpoken again of it in other places of this book, and therefore this may ſuffice for the preſent.

Chap. XXIV.

The Perſecution of the Albingenſes.

THeſe were the ſame with the *Waldenſes*, differing only in name from their habitation in the Country of *Albi*. Divers of *Waldo*'s diſciples going into this Country, and amongſt them one *Arnold* (from whom they were called *Arnoldiſts*) laboured with ſo good ſucceſſe, that in a ſhort time there was ſcarce any found that would go to Maſſe.

Pope

Pope *Alexander* the third was much moved to anger, when he saw many great Provinces to shake off his Antichristian yoak, and therefore he condemned them for hereticks in the Councel of *Lateran*: Yet did they so multiply, that *Anno* 1200. they possessed many and great Cities; yea they had many great Lords that took part with them, as Earl *Remund* of *Tholouse*, *Remund* Earl of *Foix*, the Vicount of *Beziers*, &c. Pope *Innocent* the third pretended a great desire to reclaim them by preaching and conference; and thereupon there was a famous Disputation at *Montreall*, wherein the Popish Doctors were shamefully baffled by *Arnold*: But the Popes policy was thus to rock them asleep whilest he raised Armies against them to destroy them: The pretended occasion whereof was this, there was one Frier *Peter* that was slain in the dominions of the Earl of *Tholouse*; whereupon the Pope sent preachers abroad through all *Europe* to assemble men together to take vengeance on the hereticks, for the innocent bloud of Frier *Peter* slain amongst them; promising Paradise to all that would come to this warre, and bear arms for fourty daies. This he called the holy warre, and gave the same Pardons and Indulgences to those that came to this war, as to those which went into the holy land against the *Saracens*.

Popish subtilty

Then did he thunder against Earl *Remund*, charging all Archbishops and Bishops through their Dioceese to pronounce him accursed and excommunicated, and that with the sound of a Bell, and extinction of Candles every Sabbath and festivall day, for murthering of a good servant of God: He also absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him; commanding every good Catholick to pursue his person, and to take and possesse his land, *&c.* He also wrote to all Christian Princes to stirre them up to get this pardon, rather by fighting against these *Albingenses*, then by going against the *Turk*. Earl *Remund* hearing of all these preparations against him, sent to the Pope, humbly beseeching him not to condemn him before he was heard, assuring him that he was no way guilty of the death of Frier *Peter*, but he was slain by a Gentleman, who immediatly fled out of his Country, otherwise he would have severely punished him for it. But all was in vain, for presently came Armies of crossed souldiers to pour down their vengeance on him and his lands.

Popes rage against Earl *Remund*.

Amongst these were many noble men, and Ecclesiasticall persons, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, *&c.* to all which the Pope promised Paradise, but gave them not a penny.

The Earl of *Tholouse* perceived that he must either prepare for defence, or submit; the latter he thought the safer, and therefore he went presently to the Popes Legate at *Valence*; to whom he began to say, that he thought it strange that so many armed men should be brought against him, who used no other arms for his defence but his own innocency: And that concerning the death of the Frier, they should first have enquired the truth of the fact, before they thus moved heaven and earth against him; yea if he had been guilty, yet there was an

He goes to the Popes Legate.

ordinary

ordinary courſe of juſtice to be uſed againſt him, and not to wreak their anger on his innocent Subjects: and therefore Sir (ſaid he) ſince I come voluntarily to you, armed only with the teſtimony of a good conſcience, what further uſe is there of theſe armed Pilgrims? pray you therefore countermand theſe ſouldiers before they go to make any further ſpoil in my territories: for my own perſon may ſerve for a ſufficient pledge, *&c.*

The Legate anſwered, that he had done well in coming to him, yet could he not ſend back the ſouldiers, except he would put ſeven of his beſt Caſtles into his hands, which ſhould ſerve for a hoſtage: now did the Earl too late ſee his own folly in putting himſelf into his hands, and thereby making himſelf a priſoner, but now he muſt take Laws from him that had him in his power, and therefore he told him that both his perſon and poſſeſſions were at his diſpoſall, beſeeching him that his Subjects might receive no more damage by the Souldiers.

The Legate preſently ſent to put Gariſons in thoſe ſeven Caſtles, commanding all the Conſuls of every City preſently to appear before him: and when they were come, he told them that Earl *Remund* had delivered up his Caſtles to the Pope, and therefore they were to take notice of it, that ſo they might acknowledge themſelves lawfull Subjects to his Holineſſe, in caſe the Earl ſhould falſifie his Oath to the Pope.

The Conſuls were much aſtoniſhed thus to ſee their Lord deveſted of all his poſſeſſions: but that which moſt afflicted them was to ſee him led to S. *Giles* to be reconciled to the Church, where the Legate commanded the Earl to ſtrip himſelf ſtark naked all but his linnen drawers: then did he put a cord about his neck, whereby he led him nine times about the grave of *Frier Peter*, ſcourging him with rods all the while: The Earl demanded ſatisfaction for ſo ſharp a penance when he was not guilty of the fact: the Legate anſwered, that he muſt ſubmit if he would be reconciled to the Pope, yea, he muſt be thus ſcourged before the Earls, Barons, Marqueſſes, Prelates, and all the people: he made him alſo to ſwear to be obedient all his life to the Pope, and Church of *Rome*: and to make irreconcileable warre againſt the *Albingenſes*, &c.

The Earl whipt naked.

Then did the Legate make him Generall of the croſſed Souldiers for the ſeige of *Beziers*: The Earl knew not what to do: for to conduct an Army to fight againſt the *Albingenſes*, was to ſin againſt his conſcience, and if he ſhould fly away, it would furniſh them with new matter of perſecution againſt him and his.

In this extremity he ſtaied in the Army a few daies, and then went towards *Rome* to reconcile himſelf to the Pope.

Then did the Army come before the City of *Beziers*, and provided all manner of Engines for battery, reared up ladders for a generall Eſcalado: this the Earl of *Beziers* beholding, and judging it impoſſible to defend the City, he went out: and caſt himſelf down at the Legates

Beziers beſieged.

feet, beſeeching him not to puniſh the innocent with the nocent, which muſt needs be, if the Town were taken by ſtorm: he told him there were in the City great numbers of good Catholicks, which would be ſubject to the ſame ruine with the *Albingenſes*: he deſired him alſo to commiſerate him now in his minority that was a moſt obedient ſervant to the Pope, and had been brought up in the Romiſh Church, in which he would live and die: The Legate told him that all his excuſes prevailed nothing, and that he muſt do as he may: The Earl returned into the City, aſſembled the people, and told them that he could obtain no mercy from the Legate except all the *Albingenſes* would come and abjure their religion, and promiſe to live according to the Laws of the Church of *Rome*: The Popiſh party requeſted the *Albingenſes* to yield to this, but the *Albingenſes* anſwered, that they would not forſake their religion for the baſe price of their frail life: that God was able, if he pleaſed, to defend them, but if he would be glorified by the confeſſion of their faith, it ſhould be a great honour to them to die for his ſake: that they had rather diſpleaſe the Pope, who could but kill their bodies, then God, who could caſt both body and ſoul into hell, *&c.*

Faithand courage.

Then did the Popiſh party ſend their Biſhop to the Legate, beſeeching him not to include them in the chaſtiſement of the *Albingenſes*: and that the beſt way to win the others was by gentle means, not by rigour: the Legate grew into great choler at this, ſwearing that if all the City did not acknowledge their fault, they ſhould all taſte of one cup without diſtinction of religion, ſex or age: and accordingly he ſummoned the City preſently to yield to his diſcretion, which they refuſing, he cauſed that his Engines ſhould play, and that a generall aſſault ſhould be given.

Beziers ſtormed.

It was impoſſible for them within to reſiſt ſo great violence, being aſſaulted by above an hundred thouſand Pilgrims: ſo that the enemies entred, and ſlew a great multitude, and ſet the City on fire, and burnt it to aſhes: When the City was firſt taken, the Prieſts and Monks came forth of the great Church with Banners and Croſſes, ſinging, *Te Deum laudamus*; but the Souldiers, who were commanded by the Legate to kill all, ran upon them, made their heads and arms to fly about the ſtreets, ſo that they were all cut in pieces.

Barbarous cruelty.

In this City of *Beziers* they ſlew ſixty thouſand perſons, the Popes Legate ſaying to the Captains and ſouldiers, *Cædite eos omnes, novit enim Dominus qui ſunt ejus*, Kill them all [Catholicks and Hereticks] for the Lord knoweth who are his.

Then were theſe Pilgrims preſently conducted to *Carcaſſon* before the fourty daies of ſervice, which they had vowed to the Church of *Rome*, were expired.

The Earl of *Beziers* when he ſaw that he could obtain no favour of of the Legate before the city was taken, left his charge to the Biſhop, and went to *Carcaſſon*, endeavouring to prepare and furniſh it for a long ſiege: but the Legates Army followed him preſently, unto which there

came

came a new ſupply of croſſed ſouldiers out of ſundry countries, ſo that his Army now conſiſted of three hundred thouſand fighting men.

Near to the City of *Carcaſſon* was a Town of the ſame name: the City was ſeated on an hill, and fenced with a double wall, the Pilgrims thought to take it at the firſt ſight, and therefore ran with great violence upon the firſt Rampier, filling the ditch with fagots, but they were beaten back with ſuch courage, that the ground was covered with their dead bodies: The young Earl of *Beziers* won much honour in this firſt encounter, encouraging his men, and telling them, that it was better to die fighting, then to fall into the hands of ſuch cruell and mercileſſe enemies, *&c.* The *Albingenſes* much encouraged hereby, ſwore to him that they would ſpend their lives for the preſervation of the City. *Carcaſſon* beſieged.

The next morning the Legate commanded a generall aſſault to be made upon the Town of *Carcaſſon*, two miles off the City: The people valiantly defended themſelves, but being oppreſſed with multitudes, the ſouldiers entred the Town, putting all to the ſword and fire, as they had done at *Beziers*. Popiſh cruelty.

Then came the King of *Arragon* to the Camp, and told the Legate that he underſtood that his kinſman the Earl of *Beziers* was in the City, and that, with his leave, he would go to him, not doubting but that he ſhould prevail with him to do his duty to the Pope and Church: the Legate gave him leave, and the King approaching to the Rampier, called for the Earl, who came to him: then ſaid the King, that he deſired to know of him what moved him to ſhut up himſelf in that City againſt ſo great an Army of Pilgrims? the Earl anſwered, that it was to defend his life, goods, and Subjects: that he knew well that the Pope, under the pretence of religion, reſolved to deſtroy his Uncle *Remund*, and himſelf: that he ſaw the cruelty which they had uſed at *Beziers* even againſt the Prieſts themſelves: adding alſo what they had done to the Town of *Carcaſſon*, and that they muſt look for no mercy from the Legate or his Army: and that therefore he rather choſe to die, defending himſelf with his ſubjects, then to fall into the hands of ſo inexorable an enemy as the Legate was: that though he had in his City ſome that were of another religion, yet they were ſuch as had wronged none, and were come to his ſuccour in his greateſt extremity, and for their good ſervice he was reſolved not to abandon them, and that his truſt was in God the defender of the oppreſſed, that he would aſſiſt them againſt that world of ill deviſed men, who forſook their own houſes to burn, ſack, and ranſack, and kill in their houſes other men without reaſon, judgement, or mercy.

The King returning to the Legate, told him, that his cozen was much diſcontented with his former dealings againſt his Subjects of *Beziers*, and *Carcaſſon*, that he believed, ſeeing they ſpared not the Romiſh Prieſts, their war was not for Religion, but a kinde of theevery: that he would not yield himſelf to the deſcretion of ſuch mercileſſe men, *&c.*

The Legate, after ſome debate, told the King, that for his ſake he would receive the Earl of *Beziers* to mercy, and that with him twelve more might come out with bag and baggage, but for the reſt they ſhould be wholly at his diſcretion, and that they ſhould all come forth ſtark naked, men, women, maids, and children, without ſhirts, ſmocks, or other covering, and that then they might hope well of his mercy, he being the Popes Legate, *&c.*

Popiſh cruelty, and uncleanneſſe.

The King much diſtaſted this propoſition, yet reported it to the Earl of *Beziers*, who returned anſwer, that he would not come forth upon ſuch unreaſonable and unjuſt propoſitions, but would defend himſelf and his Subjects, as God ſhould enable him.

Then did the Legate cauſe all his Engines to play, commanding, that they ſhould take the City by ſtorm, but he was little pleaſed when he ſaw the loſſe of a great number of his Pilgrims: for they in the City threw down ſtones, fire, pitch, brimſtone, and boiling water, wherewith they ſo galled the aſſailants, that the earth was covered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies, which cauſed a wondrous noyſom ſtink both in the City and Camp.

Carcaſſon ſtormed.

The Pilgrims repulſed with great loſſe.

This overthrow cauſed divers of the croſſed ſouldiers, having accompliſhed their fourty daies ſervice, and thereby gained Paradiſe, to refuſe to conquer more after ſo fair a purchaſe, and therefore to return home.

The Legate being much troubled to ſee his Army ſo decreaſed, thought of this Stratagem, he ſent for a gentleman, telling him that he might do a piece of ſervice, whereby he might not only merit heaven, but gain a great reward here, which was by going to the Earl of *Beziers*, endeavouring to put him into great fears, and then to perſwade him to have recourſe to the Legates mercy, and withall that he ſhould perſwade him with great Oaths and Execrations (whereof he could abſolve him at his pleaſure) to come with him to the Legate, with aſſurance that he ſhould be diſmiſſed ſafe and ſound.

Popiſh Profaneneſſe and perfidiouſneſs.

This Gentleman plaied his part ſo well, that he brought the young Earl with him: the Legate preſently told him, that he was now his priſoner till *Carcaſſon* was taken, and his Subjects had better learned their duty: the Earl aſtonied hereat, cried out that he was betraied, and that faith was violated with him, *&c.* but this nothing prevailed, for he was preſently committed to the guard and cuſtody of the Duke of *Burgongne.*

The Earl made a priſoner.

The inhabitants of *Carcaſſon* underſtanding this, brake forth into tears, and were ſo aſtoniſhed, that they now thought of nothing but how by flight to eſcape the danger, but that ſeemed impoſſible, being environed with ſuch an Army: at laſt one told them, that he heard ſome old men ſay, that there was a certain vault under ground great and large, which went to the Caſtle of *Cameret* three leagues off: Then were all the Citizens imploied to ſearch for this vault, and having at laſt found it, they began their flight in the evening, with their wives and children, carrying with them only ſome victuals for a few daies.

A ſpeciall providence.

This

This departure was accompanied with much ſorrow thus to leave all their worldly enjoyments: The next morning they came to the Caſtle, and from thence diſperſed themſelves, ſome to *Aragon*, others to *Catalonia*, others to *Tholouſe*, whether it pleaſed God to conduct them.

In the morning the Pilgrims were ſtrangely aſtonied, hearing no noiſe, nor ſeeing any man ſtirring in the City, yet they approached the wals with much fear, leſt it ſhould be but a ſtratagem to endanger them, but finding no oppoſition, they mounted the wals, crying out, that the *Albingenſes* were fled, and thus was the City with all the ſpoils taken, and the Earl of *Beziers* committed to priſon in one of the ſtrongeſt Towers of *Carcaſſon*. *Carcaſſon* taken.

Then did the Legate call all the Prelates, and great Lords of his Army together, telling them that though it was requiſite that there ſhould be alwaies a Legate in the Army, yet it was likewiſe neceſſary that there ſhould be a ſecular General, wiſe and valiant, to command in all their affairs, *&c.* This charge was firſt proffered to the Duke of *Burgongue*, then to the Earl of *Ennevers*, and to the Earl of S. *Paul*: but they all refuſed it: Laſtly, it was proffered to Earl *Simon* of *Montfort*, who after ſome excuſes, accepted of it. *Simon* of *Mont. fort* made Generall.

Then did he ſettle himſelf at *Carcaſſon* with four thouſand Pilgrims, the remainders of that huge Army.

Earl *Remund* of *Tholouſe*, went to the French King for his Letters of commendation to the Pope, to be by him fully cleared from the death of Frier *Peter*, the Pope received him courteouſly, gave him full remiſſion and abſolution, and thereby declared him ſufficiently juſtified.

Shortly after the Earl of *Beziers* died in priſon, and Earl *Simon* was put into poſſeſſion of his lands, whereupon all that bordered upon him began to fear him, for that he gave it out that the Spring following he would have a great Army of Pilgrims, wherewith he would chaſtiſe thoſe that had not acknowledged his authority given him by the Church. Upon this occaſion *Caſtris* ſent unto him the keys of their City; the Caſtle of *Pinies* yielded to him, and ſo did all round about *Carcaſſon*: But the King of *Arragon* ſecretly encouraged the Gentlemen of the Vicounty of *Beziers*, telling them that his Pilgrims would be uncertain, and would not ſtay long with him, and that if in the mean time they would but keep themſelves in their Gariſons, when he was weak by the departure of his Pilgrims, they might ſet upon him, and reduce him to reaſon. Earl of *Beziers* dieth.

Theſe meſſages gave ſuch encouragement to the gentry, that the Earl *Simon* being gone to *Montpelier*, they took arms to ſhake off his yoak, beſieging ſome of his ſouldiers in a Tower near to *Carcaſſon*: The Earl hearing of it preſently returned to ſuccour them, but the Tower was taken before he came, which affront brought him into ſome contempt: Then Captain *Boucard* belonging to Earl *Simon*, attempted to ſurpriſe the ſtrong Caſtle of *Caberet*, making his approach thereto as

ſecretly as he could: Captain *Roger* commanding therein for Earl *Remund*, was come forth with eighty horſe to forrage: *Boucard* on the ſudden charged him: but *Roger* doubled the charge in ſo furious a manner, that he overcame *Boucards* party, and brought him priſoner into that Caſtle that he came to ſurpriſe.

Gerard of *Pepios* took part with the *Albingenſes*, ſo that the warre grew hot: all the men that Earl *Simon* took, he cauſed a great fire to be made, and caſt them into it: neither did his men ſcape ſcot-free, when they fell into their enemies hands.

Earl *Simons* pride abated.

The City of *Carcaſſon* was hereupon ſtricken with much fear, having little hope to defend themſelves, but by flight, being environed on all ſides by their enemies. Thereupon Earl *Simon* wrote to all the Prelates through *Europe*, that if in the ſpring following they did not ſend him good ſtore of Pilgrims, he could hold out no longer againſt his enemies, having ſince the laſt departure of his Pilgrims, loſt above fourty Towns and Caſtles; And whileſt that he waited for his new ſuccours, he ſurpriſed the Caſtle of *Beron*, where he pulled out the eies of above a hundred *Albingenſes*, and cut off their noſes, leaving only one with one eye to guide the reſt to *Cabaret*.

Prodigious cruelty.

Anno 1210. Earl *Simon* being ſhut up in *Carcaſſon* for want of ſouldiers, heard that his wife was coming from *France* with many Pilgrims, whereupon he went out to meet her: Theſe Pilgrims he imployed againſt the Caſtle of *Menerbe*, it at laſt was yeelded up to him for want of water. When he was entred, he cauſed a Frier to preach to the people, to exhort them to acknowledge the Pope and Church of *Rome*: but they not ſtaying till he had done, cried out, *We will not forſake our faith, you labour but in vain, for neither life nor death ſhall make us abandon our belief.* Then did the Earl and Legate cauſe a great fire to be made, and caſt into it a hundred and fourty men and women, who went in with joy, giving God thanks for that he was pleaſed ſo to honour them, as to die for his Names ſake: They alſo told Earl *Simon* that he would one day pay dear for his cruelties.

Menerbe taken.

Courage and conſtancy.

Then did the Earl beſiege the Caſtle of *Termes*, which alſo at laſt was taken for want of water; yet they within the Caſtle, when they perceived that they could hold it no longer, one night quit the place, and paſſed away undiſcovered. The Caſtle *de la Vaur*, was alſo beſieged, in which there were many godly people: Thither came many Pilgrims to the Legate, from all Countries; and amongſt others, ſix thouſand *Germanes*, whom the Earl of *Foix* hearing of, he laid an ambuſh for them, overthrew them all, not one eſcaping, but an Earl that carried the news to Earl *Simon*. After ſix moneths ſiege the Caſtle of *Vaur* was taken by aſſault, where all were put to the ſword ſave eighty Gentlemen, whom Earl *Simon* cauſed to be hanged, and the Lord *Aimeri* on a gibbet higher then all the reſt; the Lady his ſiſter was caſt into a ditch, and there covered with ſtones.

The Caſtle of *Termes* taken.

Six thouſand Pilgrims ſlain.

Horrible cruelty.

After the return of the Earl *Remund* from the Pope, the Legate ſtill ſought

ſought to entrap him, but the Earl would not come within his reach. Then did the Legate ſend the Biſhop of *Tholouſe* to him, who pretended a great deal of love and friendſhip to the Earl, and by his ſubtilty at laſt prevailed with him to profer his ſtrong Caſtle of *Narbones* to them to lodge in, as they paſſed that way: but as ſoon as the Legate and his company were entred, they ſeiſed upon it, and put into it a gariſon, which was a continuall vexation to all his ſubjects. Popiſh ſubtilty

Then did they reſolve upon the utter extirpation of Earl *Remund*, and all his houſe, as the head of the *Albingenſes*; but preſently after this Legate dying, Earl *Simon* was fruſtrated of this hope. The Legate dies.

Anno 1211. A new Legate was appointed, who excommunicated Earl *Remund*, and the Biſhop of *Tholouſe* thereupon ſent the Earl word that he muſt depart out of the City, for that he could not ſay Maſſe whileſt an excommunicated perſon was in the City: The Earl returned this anſwer, being netled at his inſolency, that he ſhould preſently depart out of his Territories, and that upon pain of his life: The Biſhop departed, and took with him the Canons of the Cathedrall Church, with the Croſſe, Banner, and Hoſt, and all of them barefooted in Proceſſion: Coming thus to the Legates Army, they were received as perſecuted Martyrs, with the tears of the Pilgrims, and generall applauſe of all. Popiſh pride. Popiſh hypocriſie.

Then the Legate thought that he had ſufficient cauſe to proſecute Earl *Remund*, but firſt he ſought by craft to get him into his power, and with his fair flattering letters, he at laſt drew him once again to *Arles*: The Earl had requeſted the King of *Arragon* to meet him there. When they were both come, the Legate commanded them upon the pain of his high indignation, that they ſhould not depart, but with his leave: The Earl was privately ſhewed by a friend, the ſentence which the Legate intended to publiſh againſt him, which he communicating to the King, he adviſed him preſently to mount on horſeback, leaſt ſeiſing upon him, they might the better become maſters of all his eſtate. The Legate was much troubled that he had thus loſt his prey, and deſpairing to do any more by ſubtilty, he reſolved to ſet upon him by force: he took ſome of his Caſtles, won from him by craft the King of *Arragon*, his only prop under God, beſieged *Tholous*, but was beaten from thence with great loſſe. Earl *Remund* in danger.

Afterwards the King of *Arragon* and Earl *Simon* fall out, raiſe forces on both ſides, fight a great battel, wherein the King of *Arragon* is ſlain, and his forces diſſipated. King of *Arragon* ſlain.

With this victory Earl *Simon* was ſo puffed up, that he ſummoned the Earls of *Tholous*, *Foix* and *Comminges*, and the Prince of *Bearn*, to deliver to him the keys of thoſe Cities and Caſtles which they poſſeſſed: they returned no anſwer, but each of them betook himſelf to his own Territories, to provide the beſt they could for their affairs.

Earl *Remund* retired to *Montalban*, writing to them at *Tholouſe*, that he, underſtanding that the Biſhop of *Arras* was coming with a great Army

Army of Pilgrims, and that he had no means to defend their City, that therefore they ſhould make the beſt terms they could for themſelves with Earl *Simon*, yet reſerving their hearts for him, till God ſhould give him means to free them from thoſe miſeries. In the interim, the Earls of *Foix*, *Comminges*, and the Prince of *Bearn* did what they could to infeſt the enemies Armies.

Then did the City of *Tholouſe* ſend ſome Deputies to Earl *Simon*, to profer him the keys of their City; he received them honourably, and preſently wrote to *Lewis* ſon of King *Philip*, that the City of *Tholouſe* was offered to him, but his deſire was that he ſhould come and have the honour of taking of it: The Prince went thither immediatly, and had *Tholouſe* delivered to him: Yet the Legate preſently reſolved that the pillage of it ſhould be given to his Pilgrims, and the City diſmantled, which was preſently executed, though contrary to the promiſe made to the Citizens, that no wrong ſhould be done to the City.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

Then came there a new Legate of the Popes with thoſe that had taken on them the Croſſe. The Legate ſeeing ſo many Pilgrims, feared leaſt Prince *Lewis* ſhould take upon him to diſpoſe of divers places held by the *Albingenſes*, to the prejudice of the Church: Whereupon he preſently ſent to all thoſe places Abſolution and Protection; ſo that when the Prince came againſt them, they ſhewed that they were under the protection of the Church: Yea the Legate told the Prince, that ſince he had taken upon him the Croſſe, he was to be ſubject to his commands: The Prince diſſembled his diſpleaſure at this audaciouſneſſe; and the poor *Albingenſes* were ſo oppreſſed by new Armies of Pilgrims, that they ſunk under the burthen of it.

Subtilty.

Prince *Lewis* retires.

The Prince, when his fourty daies ſervice were expired, retired himſelf, being much diſcontented to ſee ſo much tyranny exerciſed againſt the *Albingenſes*.

Young *Remunds* ſucceſſe.

Shortly after came *Remund* the ſon of Earl *Remund*, with an Army, and quickly made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Beaucaire*, and almoſt famiſhed them that held the Caſtle, ſo that they yeelded it up to depart with their baggage. There Earl *Simon* loſt a hundred Gentlemen that he had laid in ambuſh near unto the City, whom young *Remund* in a ſally cut in pieces.

Earl *Simon* honoured,

Anno 1214. The Legate called a Councel at *Montpelier*, for renuing of the Army of the Church, and to confirm the authority of Earl *Simon*; where they declared him Prince of all the Countries conquered from the *Albingenſes*, which title was confirmed by the Pope alſo. But whilſt Earl *Simon* was in the Councel receiving this his new honour, a great rumour was heard in the City, and a meſſenger brought word that the people hearing that Earl *Simon* was there, betook themſelves to their Arms, purpoſing to kill him; whereupon he ſtole away by the wals of the City on foot, without any company, and ſo eſcaped; ſo that in one hour he ſaw himſelf honoured as a god, and flying diſguiſed, hiding himſelf like a baſe ſcoundrell, for fear of the raſcall multitude.

and diſgraced.

Anno

Anno 1216. He returned from *France* with an hundred Biſhops, who had cauſed the Croſſe to be preached in their Biſhopricks, reſolving with this great Army to make himſelf Maſter of all thoſe Lands which the Pope had given him. All men trembled at his approach, and with his great Army of Pilgrims he took in divers places, uſing great cruelty, putting men, women and children to the ſword. Then was he marching to *Tholouſe*, purpoſing to pillage, and raze it to the ground: But by the way his wife ſent him word that he muſt ſpeedily come to her relief, being beſieged in the Caſtle of *Narbones*, by the Earl of *Tholouſe*; but by this time many of his Pilgrims were returned into *France*.

A new Army of Pilgrims.

Cruelty.

Yet Earl *Simon* haſted to the relief of his wife, and being come before *Tholouſe*, the people by their frequent ſallies made that place too hot for his abode. The Legate perceiving that he was much aſtoniſhed at it, ſaid unto him; *Fear nothing, we ſhall quickly recover the City, and then we will deſtroy all the inhabitants; and if any of our Pilgrims die in the fight, they ſhall as Martyrs immediatly paſſe to Paradiſe.* Then was it reſolved that the City ſhould be beſieged on the ſide of *Gaſcongne*, but the Citizens made ſuch a blunt ſalley, that they put their enemies to flight; and preſently the Earl of *Foix* coming with new ſupplies, fell upon Earl *Simon*, chaſed him to the river *Gorone*, where many of his Pilgrims were drowned, and the Earl with his horſe fell into the river, and hardly eſcaped.

A popiſh brag.

E. *Simon* beaten

The Earl *Remund* cauſed publick thankſgiving to God for this happy victory.

Thankſgiving.

Earl *Simon* being in great perplexity, a Biſhop bid him be of good comfort, for that the Cardinall had ſent meſſengers throughout the world to raiſe him ſuccours, and he was inforced to wait, with much impatiency, the coming of theſe new ſupplies.

Anno 1218. There came to him a hundred thouſand Pilgrims, and he was reſolved that they ſhould earn their pardons, knowing that at the end of fourty daies they would vaniſh: Whereupon the next morning they were ordered to give a generall aſſault to *Tholouſe*: But Earl *Remund* perceiving in the night that they were very ſecure, becauſe of their great multitude, he ſallied out upon them, and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that ere morning all the field was covered with their dead bodies, and the Earl with his men being weary with killing, returned into the City to give thanks unto God for his aſſiſtance.

Many Pilgrims ſlain.

Shortly after they made another ſally, killing as many as they encountered with; and Earl *Simon* coming in to the relief of his men, had his horſe ſhot into the head with an arrow, which cauſed him to run away with him, which one of the *Albingenſes* ſeeing, with his Croſs-bow ſhot him thorow the thigh; *Simon* perceiving that he loſt much bloud, was labouring to get out of the preſſe, but juſt at that preſent, a woman diſcharging an engine from the wals of *Tholouſe*, a ſtone parted his head from his ſhoulders; and thus by Gods juſt judgement, he that had been the deflourer and murtherer of many

E. *Simon* ſlain by a woman.

women, was himſelf ſlain by a woman.

Upon his death, the Legate and all the Biſhops fled, never ſtaying till they came to *Carcaſſon*, the Pilgrims disbanded and returned to their homes, and Earl *Remund* cauſed a publick Thankſgiving to be returned to Almighty God for this ſo ſignall a deliverance.

Thankſgiving.

Shortly after the *Albingenſes* under their Commanders recovered all that they had formerly loſt; and though many new Armies of Pilgrims were raiſed againſt them, yet wanting an able Generall to leade them, their expeditions were of ſmall effect.

Albingenſes victories.

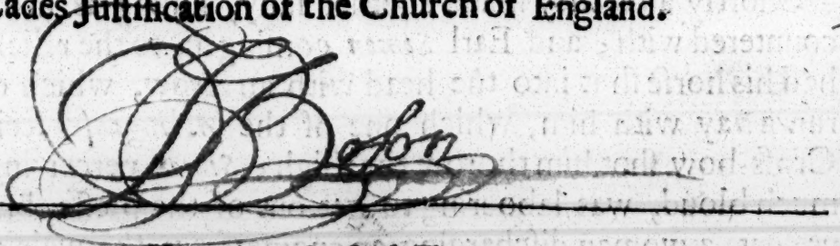
At laſt *Almerick* the ſon of Earl *Simon*, being unfit to manage ſuch a buſineſſe, reſigns his intereſt in the Countries of the *Albingenſes*, to *Lewis* the eighth, King of *France*, who continued the warre againſt thoſe poor ſervants of God, and having wearied Earl *Remund*, he brought him to a diſhonourable compoſition, which was very prejudiciall to his ſubjects the *Albingenſes*: And though the warres afterward ceaſed, yet was the Inquiſition ſet up amongſt them, whereby they were drawn out by retail, as ſheep to the ſlaughter.

The Inquiſition.

Yet notwithſtanding all cruelties uſed againſt them, their enemies could never prevail to a totall extirpation of them, but they ſtill lay hid like ſparkles under the aſhes, deſiring and longing to ſee that, which now through Gods grace their poſterity do injoy, *viz.* The liberty to call upon God in purity of conſcience, without being inforced to any ſuperſtition and idolatry: and ſo inſtructing their children in the ſervice of God, the Lord was pleaſed to preſerve a Church amongſt them, in the middeſt of the Romiſh corruptions, as a Diamond in a dunghill, as wheat amongſt chaff, as gold in the fire, till it pleaſed God to diſperſe the Goſpel in a more generall and publick way, by the Miniſtry of *Luther*, and his aſſociates and fellow-labourers in the Lord, at which time theſe *Albingenſes* received with greedineſſe the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and ſo became more eminent in their profeſſion of piety then they were formerly.

Laus Deo.

Collected out of a Book called Luthers Forerunners, *and out of* Cades Juſtification of the Church of England.



Here place the ſixth Figure.

Chap. XXV.

The Persecution of the Church of God in Bohemia, *which began* Anno Christi 894.

THe *Bohemians* were Heathens and Idolaters, till their Duke or Captain *Borivoius* going into *Moravia*, Anno Christi 894. by a strange providence of God was converted to the knowledge and faith of Christ, whereupon he with thirty other Palatines were baptized: At his return into *Bohemia*, he took along with him *Methudius* Bishop of *Moravia*, by whose ministry, *Ludomilla* the Dukes wife was converted and baptized. Christianity brought into *Bohemia*.

Borivoius erecting divers Schools and Churches, it pleased God that in a short time a great harvest was gathered, many of the Nobility and Commons being daily converted and baptized: but Satan envying the progresse of the Gospel, presently raised up persecution against the professors of it: For first of all *Borivoius* was banished by the wicked faction of the Idolaters, and then compelled to resign his Dominion to his Eldest Son, who being dead, his younger son *Boratislaus* succeeded, who was a very holy man, yet was drawn to marry *Drahomira*, famous for nobility and beauty, but an Heathen: she promising after instruction to be baptized, and during her husbands life, she cunningly concealed her hatred against Christians, but he being dead, the grandmother *Ludomilla* educated the elder son *Wenceslaus*, and *Drahomira* took the younger *Bolislaus*, and usurped the government, commanding the Christians Churches to be shut up, the exercises of their worship to cease, prohibiting Ministers from instructing the people, and Schoolmasters from teaching youth: such as disobeyed, were imprisoned, banished, and put to death. Persecution begun. Tyranny.

At *Prague*, the Magistrates were changed, and cruell Idolaters substituted in the rooms of Christians, by whose incitements the poor Christians were secretly, openly, and unworthily murthered and abused: whilest the murtherers went away with impunity: but if any Christian killed another in his own defence, ten were massacred for one. The insatiable cruelty of *Drahomira* was not satisfied herewith, but that she might destroy all the Christians, she dealt with one *Balloius* a cruell wretch, whom she had set over the City of *Prague*, earnestly entreating him by fraud or force to effect it, promising him a great reward if he did it: he thereupon arms six hundred conspirators at his own house, with whom he hastens to those that were designed for slaughter: but the plot, through Gods mercy, being discovered to the Christians, four hundred of them met to defend their own lives: the issue of the fight was victory to the Christians, the streets being polluted with the bloud of eight hundred that were slain: then did *Drahomira* A speciall providence. Subtilty.

mira pretend that ſhe was much diſpleaſed with the tumult, commanding that the Arms of both parties ſhould be brought into the City magazine, ſeverely forbidding any man to walk with dart or ſword: the Chriſtians, though ſuſpecting her fraud, yet that they might not ſeem diſobedient, brought their arms to the Magazine, the enemies pretended alſo to do the like: *Drahomira* then imploies her cut-throats in the night to ſet upon the unarmed Chriſtians, whereby above three hundred of them were ſlain in one night; This *Drahomira* much rejoyceth at, but yet not ſatisfied, ſhe commands the Maior of *Prague*, to deſtroy all the Chriſtians: whereupon he beſets all the ſtreets, and paſſages, and ſlaies all that he meets withall: till the Chriſtians gathering themſelves together, encounter with him, put him to flight, and in the purſuit ſlew this wicked perſon This ſo enraged *Drahomira*, that ſhe commanded the two Churches to be burnt down, in one of which her husband was interred. Whileſt ſhe thus raged againſt the Chriſtians, *Wenceſlaus* now grown to years, by the advice of his grand-mother, and the Chriſtian Nobility, took upon him the government, and the better to eſtabliſh peace, he aſſigned the City of *Boliſlavia*, and the adjacent parts to his mother, and younger brother.

300. Chriſtians ſlain.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Wenceſlaus reigns.

Drahomira yet laid not aſide her hatred and bloudy deſigns againſt the Chriſtians, which ſhe firſt ſhewed againſt holy *Ludomilla*, ſubſtituting two wicked villains in the night to murther her, theſe fellows finding her at her prayers in her Oratory, ſtrangled her: Some there were that much provoked *Wenceſlaus* to revenge that wicked act, which he refuſed becauſe he judged it contrary to that duty which he owed to a mother, and to the modeſty and patience of a Chriſtian. But he was ſhortly after ill requited by this unnaturall monſter, who affecting domination, began to defame *Wenceſlaus* as ſluggiſh and unfit for government, but when ſhe perceived that his ſubjects loved him exceedingly, ſhe waited a fitter opportunity, which thus fell out.

Ludomilla murthered.

Boliſlaus having a ſon, ſhe invited *Wenceſlaus* to the baptizing of this his Nephew at *Boliſlavia*, he going thither, ſhe entertained him with much diſſembled love: but in the night as he was making his prayers to God: His brother *Boliſlaus* aſſaults him, and being aſſiſted with ſome other cut-throats, ſlew him *Anno* 929. *Boliſlaus* having by this fratricide obtained the government, threatned impriſonment and death to all the Miniſters and Chriſtians if they did not preſently depart *Bohemia*: his mother added, that their dead bodies ſhould not be buried: Hereupon many fled, others were ſeized on, and tormented to death diverſe waies: but God ſuffered not *Drahomira* to eſcape his revenging hand, for in that place where the Miniſters bones lay unburied, the earth opened of it ſelf, and ſwallowed her up alive with her Chariot, and all that were in it, which place is to be ſeen before the Caſtle of *Prague* to this day.

Wenceſlaus murthered.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Others alſo who were her inſtruments in maſſacring the innocent Chriſtians, ſome of them ran mad, and threw themſelves down from high places, others ſlew themſelves with their own ſwords, where-

with

with they had murthered the innocent men, and the place where *Wenceſlaus* bloud was ſhed, could never be waſhed off, but remained as a perpetuall witneſſe of that villany.

Theſe things ſo affrighted *Boliſlaus* that he became more milde to the Chriſtians.

Anno 970. *Woytich* the ſecond Biſhop of *Prague*, labouring ſeriouſly in converting the reliques of the *Gentiles*, and reforming their wicked lives: they raiſed ſo great a ſedition againſt him, as enforced *Woytich* to a voluntary baniſhment: Then did the Pagans riſe up againſt his brethren, and murthered five of them, and then conſpired againſt their Prince, but were overcome in battel, *&c.* *Woytich* baniſhed,

Not long after the Pope having uſurped domination over other Churches, ſought to obtrude his ſuperſtitions upon the *Bohemians* alſo: but eſpecially commanding that all their ſacred ſervice ſhould be in the Latine tongue, and that they ſhould not have the cup in the Sacrament: the *Bohemians* ſent two Miniſters, and four others to *Rome*, *Anno* 977. to the Pope, deſiring to be eaſed of theſe grievances, and at laſt obtained their requeſt. The Pope uſurps over the *Bohemians*.

Yet afterwards they were again inhibited the uſe of their own language in holy ſervices, whereupon *Uratiſlaus* Duke of *Bohemia* (who ſhortly after for his valiant ſervice to the Roman Empire was created King) ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, requeſting a confirmation of the Liberties formerly granted to them; but the Pope [*Hildebrand*] abſolutely refuſed it.

Anno 1197. Pope *Celeſtine* ſent a Cardinall into *Bohemia*, to inhibit Miniſters marriage, and to divorce ſuch as were married, but the Biſhop and Miniſters almoſt ſtoned him to death.

Alſo when afterwards the cup was taken away in the Sacrament, there were many that oppoſed that ſacrilege, and amongſt the reſt, *John Melicius* of a noble family and fervent ſpirit, much honoured for his rare learning and holineſſe of life, in his miniſtry earneſtly exhorted his auditors to a frequent communicating in both kindes: at laſt he was much moved in ſpirit to go to *Rome*, and there to teſtifie that the great Antichriſt was come, and did then reign. *John Melicius.* The Pope Antichriſt.

He prayed unto God, with faſting and tears, that unleſſe theſe thoughts came from Gods Spirit, he might be delivered from them: But when yet he could finde no inward quiet, he went to *Rome*, and wrote upon the Cardinals doors, *Antichriſt is come, and ſitteth in the Church.* He alſo in his conferences with many, aſſerted the ſame: For this the Pope impriſoned him, and excommunicated both him, and his auditors. *Melicius* impriſoned.

Mr *Mathias* of *Prague* alſo, was a zealous defender of the Communion in both kindes. *Anno* 1375. He with ſome other learned men went to King *Charles* that then reigned, requeſting him to call a *Oecumenicall Councel*, for the reformation of the Church. *Charles* ſending to the Pope about it, he was ſo incenſed at the meſſage, that he commanded the King to puniſh thoſe raſh and hereticall men: Whereupon M. *Mathias*.

Mathias banished.

Mathias was banished the Kingdom; and then was the use of the Sacrament in both kindes prohibited through all *Bohemia*: so that the godly could not administer and receive it but in private houses, in woods and caves, and yet neither so, but with the hazard of their lives: for they were set upon in the high waies, plundered, beaten, and drowned in rivers, so that at last they were necessitated to goe together in companies, and armed: and this continued to the daies of *John Husse*.

John Husse, *Ferome* of *Prague*.

Concerning the Persecution of *John Husse*, and *Ferome* of *Prague*, See in my *first part their lives*: But when these holy men of God were so unjustly burned at *Constance*: the adversaries were not satisfied with their bloud, but took further counsell for the destruction of the whole Nation: for when 58. of the chief Nobles of *Bohemia* in the name of all the Commons, *Anno* 1416. had sent Letters from *Prague* to the Councel, complaining that their Pastor, an innocent and holy man, and faithfull teacher of the truth was unjustly condemned: the Councell instead of answering them, wrote their Letters to some violent Papists who were in authority to assist their Legate in oppressing the Hereticks.

Thus the *Bohemians* were incited more and more to mutuall contentions: the Priests daily from the Pulpits divulged their excommunications and execrations against the *Hussites*, and to stir up the greater hatred against them, they used lying signs, for putting dirt about the wicks of their Tapers: when the flame had burned the wax to the dirt, the Taper went out: Then cried they out, That God by miracles declared his hatred of those wicked Hereticks, who were unworthy to enjoy the light: and thereupon they persecuted them all manner of waies, and they used such violence, as raised a tumult at *Prague* Anno 1419. wherein the enraged multitude threw twelve Senators of *Prague* with the Maior, out of the windows of the Senate-house, who fell upon the points of spears.

Popish malice, and subtilty.

After this the Pope publikely excommunicated the *Bohemians* at *Florence*, exciting the Emperour, Kings, Princes, Dukes, *&c.* to take up Arms against them, entreating them by the wounds of Christ, and their own salvation, unanimously to fall upon them, utterly to extirpate that cursed generation, promising universal remission of sins to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one *Bohemian*: Hereupon great wars were raised against them, but it pleased God still to give them the victory under that brave Captain *Zisca*: *Whereof see more in my second Part in* Zisca's *Life*.

The Pope excommunicates the *Bohemians*.

Yet still as the Popish party prevailed at any time, they exercised all manner of cruelty upon the poor servants of Christ, insomuch that at *Cuttenburg*, where were deep mettall-mines, *Anno* 1420. they threw into one of them a thousand seven hundred persons, and into another a thousand thirty eight, and into a third a thousand three hundred thirty four persons.

Multitudes martyred.

Also a Merchant of *Prague* coming to *Preslaw* in *Silesia*, the Emperour and Popes Legate being there, was in his Inne drawn into discourse, where pleading for *Husse*, and the Sacrament in both kindes, he

was

was caſt into priſon; the next day a Student of *Prague* was caſt into the ſame priſon: The Merchant exceedingly encouraged him, ſaying, *Oh my Brother, What an honour is it that we are called thus to bear witneſſe to the Lord Jeſus? Let us undergo the trouble with chearfulneſſe; the fight is but ſhort, the reward is eternal: Let us remember the Lord, what a cruel death he underwent for us, and with what guiltleſſe blood we are redeemed, and what torments the Martyrs have patiently endured,* &c. But when they were brought to execution, and the ropes, by which the horſes were to drag them through the ſtreets, were faſtened to their feet; the Student affrighted with the terrors of death, and allured by the fair promiſes of the Legate, recanted: But the Merchant, like an unſhaken rock, told them that their hopes of any recantation from him were but vain; *I am ready to die* (ſaith he) *for the Goſpel of the Lord Jeſus:* And ſo being drawn ſlowly through the ſtreets, he was brought to the place of execution, and there burnt, *Anno* 1420.

Encouragement.

Apoſtacy.

Conſtancy.

Pichel the chief Magiſtrate of the City of *Litomeritia,* having taken twenty four of the chief Citizens, and amongſt them his ſon in law, put them in an high Tower, and at laſt he brought them out, half dead with hunger and cold, and adjudged them to be drowned. When they came to the river *Albis,* their wives, children and friends greatly mourning; the Maiors own daughter came wringing her hands, and falling at her fathers feet, beſeeched him to ſave her husbands life; but he, harder then a rock, bad her give over, ſaying, *What? can you not have a worthier husband then this?* To whom ſhe anſwered, ſeeing his inexorableneſſe, *You ſhall never more eſpouſe me to any*; and ſo beating her breaſt, and tearing her hair, ſhe followed amongſt the reſt. When the Martyrs came to the river, whilſt Ferries were preparing, they with loud voices call heaven and earth to witneſſe their innocency, and ſo taking their leave of their wives, children and friends, exhorting them to conſtancy and zeal for the truth, they were carried and caſt into the middeſt of the river, with their hands and feet bound together, and ſo drowned; and if any were driven to the banks, they were ſtabbed with iron forks and pikes. The Maiors daughter ſeeing her huſband thrown into the river, leaped in to him, caught him about the middle, but being unable to draw him forth, they were both drowned; the next day they were found embracing one another, and were both buried in one grave, *Anno* 1421.

Unnaturall cruelty.

Many drowned.

A loving wife.

About the ſame time a company of ſouldiers going towards *Prague,* ſeized upon a godly Miniſter, and four other men, and four boys, the eldeſt not being above eleven years old, for adminiſtring, and receiving the Sacrament in both kindes, and carried them to their Colonel, the Colonel ſent them to the Biſhop, who required them to abjure, or elſe he would burn them; the Miniſter ſtoutly anſwered, *But the Goſpel teacheth otherwiſe, ſo that you muſt either approve what we do, or blot it out of your Bible.* Hereupon one of the troopers ſmote him ſo violently on the face with his gantlet, that the bloud ran out of his mouth and noſe. The Biſhop made this Miniſter the ſubject of his mirth and ſcorn all that

Cruelty.

A Miniſter & others burned.

that night, and the next day being the Sabbath, he burned them all in one fire; and when the Biſhop would have perſwaded them to abjure the Cup in the Sacrament, the Miniſter anſwered, That he would rather ſuffer a thouſand deaths, then deny a truth ſo clearly revealed in the Goſpel.

Another Captain violently entring into a Church where many godly people were met together, he killed ſome, and took others priſoners; and going to the Communion Table, he took the Cup, being full of wine, and drunk to his horſe, who having pledged him, he ſaid, his horſe was now one of the communicants in both kindes.

Profaneneſſe and blaſphemy.

About the ſame time alſo a godly Tayler was burned at *Prague*.

Martin Loquis.

Alſo one *Martin Loquis* ſhould have ſuffered the like death, but his life was begged by the *Thaborites*. Afterwards, taking another aſſociate with him, he was travelling towards *Moravia*, but by the way, they were taken by a Captain, who manacling them with irons, examined them about the Sacrament: *Martin* anſwered, *The body of Chriſt is in heaven, and he hath but one, not many bodies*: Hereupon the Captain gave him a box on the ear, as not enduring ſuch blaſphemy, and would have had him preſently burned. Then did a Prieſt beg him to ſee if he could convert him: but when that ſucceeded not, he thruſt them into a dark, ſtinking dungeon for two moneths: Then did he torment them with fire, till their bowels came forth, to extort from them who were their companions: Afterwards they were both ſhut up in a tub, and ſo burned, *Anno* 1421.

Prodigious cruelty.

Some beheaded

A godly and eloquent Preacher in *Prague*, was, together with twelve more apprehended by a Captain, carried into the common-hall, and there privately beheaded, but their bloud running out, cauſed a great tumult in the City, wherein ſome of the Senators were ſlain, and others ſaved themſelves by flight.

Schiſm.

Not long after there ſprung up a Schiſm amongſt thoſe that were called *Huſſites*, for ſome of them began in other things to comply with the Pope, only they inſiſted upon the Cup in the Sacrament, whence they were called *Calixtines*: Others of them ſtuck cloſe to *Huſſe* his doctrine, and cried down all ſuperſtition: And this contention was cunningly fomented and increaſed by ſome that ſought thereby the advancement of the Pope and Emperour: And to make the profeſſors of the pure Doctrine odious, they branded them with the hatefull name of *Piccards*, by which name the *Waldenſes* in *Picardy* were called. Yet both theſe parties, when they were aſſaulted by the Emperour, joined together in oppoſing him, and obtained many great victories againſt him: Yet *Anno* 1444. the *Thaborites* were utterly oppreſſed by fraud and force.

Calixtines.

Popiſh ſubtilty

Thaborites deſtroyed.

Reformation begun.

Anno 1459. There were divers godly people in *Bohemia*, Miniſters, Nobles and Commons, who being much preſſed in conſcience about the ſuperſtitions in the Church of *Rome*, obtained of their King [*George Pogiebracius*,] a place in the hilly Country near to *Sileſia* to inhabit, where throwing off all ſuperſtitious practices, they applied themſelves

themſelves to the form of the Primitive ſimplicity, calling themſelves Brethren and Siſters.

The beginning of this Church diſpleaſed the Devil, and therefore he raiſed a ſudden and violent tempeſt to overthrow it: For the fame of it being ſpread abroad, the Prieſts in every pulpit ſtirred up the hatred of the people againſt them, crying out, *Blow out theſe ſparks, blow them out before they grow into a flame.* Popiſh malice.

Anno 1461. One of their Miniſters with ſome others of them coming to *Prague*, to viſit their friends, were betraied, and ſome officers coming to apprehend them, ſaid to them, *All that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution*, therefore come forth, and follow us to priſon, which they did. The King beleeving the ſlanders that were raiſed againſt them, as that they were attempting ſome ſedition *&c.* he commanded the aged Miniſter to be tortured, but he falling into an extaſie, felt no pain at all; the tormentors ſuppoſing him to be dead, took him down from the rack, but after ſome hours, he came to himſelf, and by the interceſſion of a friend, was diſmiſſed. A Miniſter racked.

Preſently after there came forth from the King an Edict, forbidding all Paſtors to adminiſter holy ſervices without ceremonies: and withall, threatning death to thoſe that ſhould adminiſter to the brethren, called now by the hatefull name of *Piccards*. The brethren hereupon were brought into great extremity, being like ſheep deſtitute of ſhepherds. Yet preſently came forth a new Edict that none of them ſhould be ſuffered to live either in *Bohemia*, or *Moravia*. Hereupon they were diſperſed amongſt the woods and mountains, dwelling in caves; where yet they were ſcarce ſafe, ſo that they were forced to make no fire, nor dreſſe any meat, but in the night time, leaſt the ſmoak ſhould betray them. In the cold winter nights, ſitting by the fire, they applied themſelves to the reading of the Bible, and holy diſcourſes. When in the ſnow they went abroad to provide them neceſſaries, they went cloſe together, and leſt their foot-ſteps ſhould betray them, the hindermoſt of them did draw after him a great bough, to cover the prints which their feet had made. A wicked Edict. Popiſh cruelty.

Theſe brethren choſe by ſuffrage, certain Elders, to whom they promiſed obedience: and by the advice of theſe Elders, the chiefeſt of the brethren in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, where called together in a Synod, in the mountains, to ordain *Eccleſiaſtical Laws*, whereby they ſhould be governed; they appointed alſo ſundry daies of Faſting and Prayer for themſelves, and their diſperſed friends; taking counſell from Gods Word, concerning thoſe things which were required to the fuller Reformation, both of life and doctrine. That which moſt afflicted them was for want of Paſtors, not knowing where they ſhould have new ones, after thoſe were dead, who then lived with them; but after debate, they reſolved, that Chriſt had given this authority to his Church, that ſuch as were ordained themſelves, might ordain others: Yet ſome ſcruple aroſe, whether ſuch as were but Elders choſen. A Synod.

Presbyters, might ordain without a Biſhop: For which cauſe they met together, and with faſting, prayers and tears, they ſought unto God to reveal his will to them in this difficulty; and afterwards making a ſcrutiny by lot, the Lord anſwered them, that it was lawfull for Presbyters to ordain Presbyters, which occaſioned great joy unto them.

Ordination of Miniſters.

Then did theſe Brethren deliberate amongſt themſelves, whether they ſhould join with the *Waldenſes* in *Moravia* and *Auſtria*, and ſo be one people with them, and one Church: The purity of their Doctrine and Chriſtian converſation did much pleaſe; but again, it much diſpleaſed them, that they concealed the truth, not openly profeſſing of it as they ought, but to avoid perſecution, they frequented the Churches of the Papiſts, and ſo communicated with Idolaters. Therefore they concluded to admoniſh them of this evil; and for this end they ſent ſome able men to them, to acquaint them with it: The *Waldenſes* anſwered, that to be in unity with them, was very gratefull, and for the evils objected againſt them, they were not ignorant of them, nor would defend them, but rather would labour to amend them: Concluding that they deſired to have a fixt day of meeting with the Brethren, in which they would take ſome further order about this buſineſſe.

The *Waldenſes*.

Admonition.

But before the time came, the Papiſts having ſome intelligence of it, raged ſo violently againſt the *Waldenſes*, that they burnt one of the chiefeſt of them at *Vienna*, and ſo perſecuted the reſt, that they were fain to provide for their own ſafety by flight.

The *Waldenſes* perſecuted.

Anno 1468. There came out a new Decree againſt theſe Brethren, requiring all the Nobles of *Bohemia*, within their ſeverall juriſdictions, to apprehend as many as they could, and to proceed againſt them.

Many therefore were apprehended and put into priſon, where they were kept for a long time: But through the wonderfull working of God, the more the enemies laboured to put out this ſpark, the more it brake forth into a great flame, for many of the Peers ſubmitted to the Diſcipline of the Brethren, building Churches for them in their Towns and Villages, ſo that *Anno* 1500. they had in *Bohemia*, and *Moravia* about two hundred Churches.

The Church increaſeth.

After the death of *Pogiebracius*, *Uladiſlaus*, a *Polonian* ſucceeded in the Kingdom, to whom the Brethren wrote an Apology, by reaſon of many foul accuſations that were carried to him againſt them: This ſo exaſperated their enemies, that they endeavoured by a moſt impudent invention, to ſtir up the hatred of all men againſt them. The way they uſed was this; They ſuborned a wicked villain, to ſay that he came from amongſt them, and that he had been an Elder, but had therefore forſaken them, becauſe in their meetings they uſed to blaſpheme God, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Saints, to traduce the Sacraments, to mingle themſelves inceſtuouſly, after the manner of the *Adamites*, to commit murther, and practice witchcraft, *&c.* This

Popiſh ſubtilty

Slanders.

man

man they led through the Towns and Cities, as a ſpectacle; they brought him to their Church, where he muſt abjure his errors, and beſeech the people to pray for him, a moſt miſerable ſinner, and to take heed, by his example, of the wicked *Piccards*. They alſo publiſhed his confeſſion in writing, being confirmed with the ſeals and ſubſcriptions of ſome Deans and Prieſts, cauſing them to be read in the Churches to the people.

But the devil was befooled herein, for the Brethren, by publick writings, did confute theſe lies; and the villain trembling ſo often to forſwear himſelf in the ſight of the people, confeſſed at laſt that he was ſuborned to do what he did, and that he knew not any of the *Piccards*: Yet thus far it made for good, that ſome to make experience of ſo great villanies, began, privately and diſguiſed, to frequent the Aſſemblies of the Brethren, and finding it to be farre otherwiſe then was reported, did aſſociate themſelves with them, as with true Chriſtians. Confeſſion.

Anno 1488. *Mathias* King of *Hungary*, baniſhed the Brethren from *Moravia*, which cauſed ſome hundreds of them, taking a Miniſter along with them, to go into *Moldavia*: Whereupon the Brethren in *Bohemia* ſent one of their Elders to them, to exhort them unto patience under this perſecution, which was for the truth. The Brethren baniſhed.

Shortly after the reſtleſſe enemies of God and his Church, raiſed another perſecution againſt the Brethren in *Bohemia*; for ſome Biſhops conſulting together, ſuborned the Queen, great with childe, ſo that they conceived that the King would deny her nothing in that ſtate, to requeſt of him, that he would ſeverely puniſh the *Piccards*: The King diſpleaſed at her requeſt, only nodded his head, but gave no anſwer at all: Yet the Biſhops, in his preſence, began to draw up the Edict. The King going into his chamber, fell down on his knees, and with tears beſought God to forgive the guilt of thoſe bloudy counſels, and to grant no ſucceſſe to them: and God heard his prayers, and ſhewed ſome examples of his ſevere judgements on the authors of this conſpiracy. Perſecution. Popiſh malice.

The Queen who propoſed to her fancy, what gratefull ſpectacles ſhe ſhould have, in ſeeing the *Piccards* brought to *Prague*, and there ſome burnt, ſome beheaded, and others drowned in the water, preſently fell in travell, and when ſhe was not able to bring forth, the Phyſitians adviſed that the childe ſhould be cut out of the mothers womb, which was accordingly done, whereby the childe lived, but the mother died. Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Two years after, the Biſhops by their importunity prevailed with the King that ſharp remedies ſhould be uſed againſt thoſe growing evils, as they were pleaſed to call them; whereupon an Edict was ſent forth that all the *Piccards*, without diſtinction of ſex, age or quality, ſhould be ſlain. This Mandate was brought to the Aſſembly of States at *Prague*, by two Biſhops, but divers of the chiefeſt Nobles oppoſed it, ſo that eighteen moneths were ſpent in debate, before any thing *Anno* 1510. A cruel Edict.

was done; but at laſt, by the cunning artifice of the Chancellor, and his bloudy aſſociates, it was confirmed by the greateſt part of the Nobility, in the preſence of the King; and a mutuall confederacy was entred into, that it ſhould be proſecuted with an armed power; but God following ſome of the chief contrivers of it with ſundry judgements, it almoſt came to nothing.

Devilliſh wickedneſſe.

Yet in theſe troubles moſt of the Miniſters were turned out of their places, ſo that they durſt not preach nor pray, but in private. And a certain Noble man, having apprehended ſix of the Brethren, caſt them into priſon, and when they were brought forth to be burnt, they went chearfully to it; and when the chief officer, taking affection to one of them, offered him his life, if he would recant his error, profering him withall to give him a years time to conſider of it; he pawſed a while, but by and by anſwered, *It is too much by ſuch a delay, to loſe my Brethrens company*, and ſo going along with them, they were burned together.

Tentation reſiſted.

Shortly after the Chancellor that had procured the paſſing of the Edict againſt the Brethren, as he returned from the Parliament, viſiting a certain Noble man by the way, he with great pleaſure reported to him what was agreed upon againſt the brethren: The Noble man having a ſervant by that was much addicted to the diſcipline of the Brethren, asked him how he liked it; the ſervant anſwered, that all were not agreed: The Chancellor ſuſpecting ſome new conſpiracy, asked him who durſt oppoſe the States of the Kingdom, *&c?* the ſervant ſaid, *In heaven there is one, who if he were not preſent at your counſels, you have conſulted in vain*: The Chancellor replied, *Thou knave, thou ſhalt finde that as well as the reſt*: And riſing up in fury, immediatly a Carbuncle roſe upon his foot, which turned to a diſeaſe, called *Ignis ſacer*, whereof he died miſerably.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

Another of the great ſticklers in this buſineſſe, returning homewards, as he was alighting out of his Chariot to make water, he ſtruck his member on a ſharp nail that was in the boot, whereby he drew out his entrails with him, and not long after he gave up the ghoſt.

Alſo Dr *Auguſtine*, who by ſlanderous libels had endeavoured to ſtirre up the King againſt the Brethren, died ſuddenly as he was at ſupper.

Another Noble man of theſe perſecutors, as he was hunting, his horſe threw him, and his arrow ran into his thigh, and came out at his loins, whereby he died a moſt painfull death.

Many others of them felt the like judgements of God; ſo that it grew into a proverb amongſt them: If you be weary of your life, attempt ſomething againſt the *Piccards*, and you ſhall not eſcape a year to an end.

Anno 1523. *Luther.*

About this time God ſtirred up in *Germany*, undaunted *Luther*, the thunderbolt againſt the Pope, which occaſioned many of the *Calixtines* to reſolve to embrace the purer Doctrine of the Goſpel, and to ſeek for the Ordination of their Miniſters from *Wittenberg*, rather then

from

from *Rome*. But amongſt theſe there was one *Zahere* an Apoſtate, who to ingratiate himſelf with the King and Pope, would enforce the Paſtors and Citizens of *Prague*, to ſubſcribe to ſundry Articles, or elſe they muſt be proſcribed. And firſt of all ſix Paſtors were baniſhed, then ſixty five of the chiefeſt Citizens: Then to colour greater cruelty, a rumour was ſpread abroad of a conſpiracy made by the Brethren againſt the *Calixtines*; and to extort a confeſſion hereof, three Citizens were brought to the rack, who rather choſe to ſuffer all torments, then falſly to accuſe the innocent: Yet divers were perſecuted: Amongſt others, a Cutler that had found an Orthodox Book about the Sacraments, was whipped openly in the market-place, and baniſhed: Another was branded in the forehead; a third was thruſt into priſon, and there murthered.

Zahere an Apoſtate.

Popiſh lies and ſlanders.

Then in the Aſſembly of Eſtates it was decreed, that the Mandate of the King ſhould be put in execution againſt the *Piccards*: Whereupon a new Perſecution was raiſed againſt the Brethren, their Churches being ſhut up, and their Exerciſes forbidden.

Perſecution.

Anno 1526. A godly and learned man, together with his Hoſteſſe, with whom he lodged, a widow of ſixty years old, were both burnt in the fire for *Picardiſm*, together with the books that were found about them.

Two burnt.

Another godly woman being brought before the Magiſtrate, made a bold profeſſion of her faith, and then being required to prepare her garments to be burnt in, ſhe anſwered, *They are ready, leade me away when you pleaſe*. The Crier declaring openly that ſhe had blaſphemed, ſhe with a loud voice denied it, ſaying, *It is falſe, I am condemned becauſe I deny the reall preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament; give no credit to theſe Prieſts, they are diſſembling Hypocrites, Adulterers, Sodomites, Epicures*, &c. Being commanded to pray to the Crucifix, ſhe turned her back to it, and lifting up her eies to heaven, ſhe ſaid, *There is our God, thither we muſt look*, and ſo chearfully mounting the pile, ſhe was burned, *Anno Chriſti* 1527.

A godly woman burnt.

The year after two *German* tradeſmen were caught at *Prague*, accuſed by the Monks of *Lutheraniſm*, and condemned to be burnt: As they went to execution, ſuch gracious words proceeded out of their mouths, as drew tears from the ſpectators eies: When they came to the pile, they exceedingly encouraged one another; one of them ſaying, *Since our Lord Chriſt hath ſuffered ſuch grievous things for us, let us chearfully ſuffer for him, and rejoyce that we have found ſo much favour with him, that we are counted worthy to die for the Law of God:* The other ſaid, *I in the day of my marriage found not ſo much inward joy as I do now*. When fire was put to them, with a loud voice they ſaid, *Lord Jeſus, thou in thy ſufferings prayedſt for thine enemies, therefore we alſo do the like. Forgive the King, the men of* Prague, *and the Clergy, for they know not what they do, and their hands are full of bloud*; and ſo they ſlept in the Lord. But one of their chief perſecutors, who wiſhed that all the *Piccards* were hanged, beheaded or burnt by his own hands,

Two godly men burnt.

Comfort in death.

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

hands, had all theſe befall himſelf by Gods juſt judgement: For being much in debt, he hanged himſelf, and when his friends had privately buried him; the common people hearing of it, digged up his carkaſſe and caſt it away, which by the Magiſtrates command was ordered to be burnt; but when the woodſtack was conſumed, and the carcaſſe only ſcorched, his head was ſtricken off.

Zahera the Apoſtate, when under colour of an Inquiſition againſt the *Piccards*, he raiſed up civil commotions, was by the King baniſhed, where he died miſerably: The like befell another of thoſe cruel perſecutors.

A new perſecution.

Anno 1535. *Ferdinand* the firſt ſucceeding in the Kingdom, the Popiſh party cunningly ſtirred up the *Calixtines* to perſecute the Brethren: Whereupon they ſuffering many grievous things, ſent a petition, together with a Confeſſion of their Faith to *Ferdinand* at *Vienna*, ſubſcribed by twelve Barons and thirty three Knights, complaining how unjuſtly they were accuſed by their enemies, and that the Prieſts ordinarily cried out that the *Piccards* might be ſlain without controul, and that a leſſe ſin was thereby committed, then if one killed a dog. *Ferdinand* returned anſwer, that he had not leaſure to conſider of their Papers, yet promiſed that nothing ſhould be done either againſt law or equity, till he had further knowledge of the cauſe.

Popiſh malice.

In the mean time the Brethren being much encouraged by letters from *Luther*, *Bucer* and *Capito*, went on conſtantly, and through Gods mercy, a great number was added to the Church, till that fatall year, 1547. At which time *Charles* the fifth putting in execution the decrees of the Councel of *Trent*, raiſed warres againſt the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*: At which time his brother *Ferdinand* ſollicited the *Bohemians* for aid, but they refuſed it in regard of their ancient league with the houſe of *Saxony*. But the *German* Proteſtants being overcome in warre, *Ferdinand* entred *Bohemia* with an Army, ſeizeth on *Prague*, impriſoneth the principall Nobles, Barons and Citizens, ſome he ſcourged, ſome he beheaded, and on others he laid grievous Fines, and of others he ſequeſtred all their Eſtates: Alſo he diſarmed the City of *Prague*, took away their priviledges, baniſhing ſome, whileſt others went into voluntary exile.

Charles the fifth warres againſt the Proteſtants.

A great perſecution.

Then did the devil raiſe up ſome to lay all the blame upon the brethren, to which malicious ſuggeſtions the King giving heed, firſt by open Proclamation commanded all their Churches to be ſhut up, and then he took away their Peers, and baniſhed them all out of his Realms. When this Thunderbolt came abroad, the brethren agreed amongſt themſelves that they would be more faithfull to God and their conſciences then they had been: and ſo by common conſent dividing themſelves into three companies, they went into *Poland*: and all of them had experience of an admirable divine protection in their journey: eſcaping ſome that might, and would have robbed them, but that they were reſtrained by God: as alſo in moſt places where they came, they found Chriſtian commiſeration and liberality of men towards them, and courteous

Perſecution cauſeth reformation.

A ſpeciall providence.

courteous entertainment in *Poland*, though moſt of them were Papiſts: Yet not long after the Biſhop of that part where they were, got a Mandate from the King to drive them away: Then were they forced to go into the fartheſt parts of *Prußia*, where by D. *Albert Brandenburg* they had a place of habitation allotted to them, and one *Paul Speratus*, a Proteſtant Biſhop, having conferred with them about their faith, was very courteous and charitable to them.

Popiſh malice.

The next Edict that *Ferdinand* ſet forth againſt the brethren was for the apprehending of all their Miniſters, whereupon ſome of them retired into *Moravia*, others that they might be near their flocks, hid themſelves in private places, and in the night time they viſited the faithfull, which continued for ſome years, but at laſt three of them fell into their enemies hands: yet one of them, through the admirable providence of God, eſcaped out of a deep dungeon in the Caſtle of *Prague*, and fled to his brethren in *Boruſſia*, and ſometimes paſſing through *Polonia*, and preaching the Goſpel, through Gods mercy, many of the Nobility, and others were converted, ſo that in a few years he erected twenty Churches in *Poland*.

Miniſters perſecuted.

A ſpeciall providence.

Converſion.

The enemies having impriſoned *John Auguſta*, they much rejoyced at it, becauſe he was a chief Miniſter amongſt the brethren, and as *Luther* in *Germany* againſt the Pope, ſo he, both by his Miniſtry and writings had mightily confuted the *Calixtines*, and thereupon they laid to his charge his refuſall to raiſe Forces for the aſſiſtance of *Ferdinand*, and intentions of bringing in *John Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, to be King in *Bohemia*, and for the diſcovery of this pretended conſpiracy, he was cruelly racked three times, but when they could draw nothing from him, they yet kept him in priſon ſeventeen years.

John Auguſta.

Popiſh lies and ſlanders.

Anno 1549. *Ferdinand* publiſhed another decree for the extirpating both of the brethren, and *Lutherans*: and the Miniſters that had received Ordination in *Germany*, or that were married, were baniſhed the Kingdom to the number of about two hundred.

A wicked Edict.
Two hundred Miniſters baniſhed.

Alſo the Baron of *Schanow* a man of much experience and learning, being apprehended under the pretence of ſome conſpiracy againſt *Ferdinand*, was impriſoned, examined, and then laid on the rack: he with an heroicall indignation cut out his tongue, and caſt it away, and being asked why he did it, he wrote on the wall, *I did it becauſe I would not by any tortures be brought to ſay any thing falſly againſt my ſelf or others*: he alſo in a writing taxed the Tyrannical proceedings againſt himſelf and other innocents, citing the King and his Counſellers to appear, and anſwer it before the Tribunall of God, and ſo ſhortly after died.

The Baron of *Schanow.*

About that time *Ferdinand* brought Jeſuites into *Prague*, and built a ſtately College for them, who ſought by all means to overthrow the Church of Chriſt, and added fuell to the fire of perſecution.

Jeſuites firſt brought into *Prague.*

After the death of *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian* ſucceeded *Anno* 1562. who being of a peaceable diſpoſition would by no means be induced that any ſhould ſuffer for their faith.

Maximilian Emperour.

After

Rodulphus Emperour.

After him *Rodulphus* ſucceeded *Anno* 1576. who treading in his Fathers ſteps, the Church of Chriſt enjoyed peace under him, yea, pure religion ſo flouriſhed through the whole Kingdom, that there was ſcarce one amongſt an hundred that did not profeſſe the Reformed Religion: But alas! with liberty of Religion, by little and little men began to be licentious in their lives, and carnal ſecurity ſo encreaſed, that ſome began to preſage that an horrible tempeſt ſhould again overwhelm them.

Sin the forerunner of perſecution.

Mathias Emperour.

After the death of *Rodulphus* ſucceeded *Mathias*, who coming into *Bohemia*, Anno 1617. he called an Aſſembly of the States, but it being harveſt time, few appeared: To them that did appear, *Mathias* complained, that ſince he had no iſſue he would adopt *Ferdinand* for his ſon, commendeth his vertues, and deſires that he may be crowned: The Orders aſſembled, affirmed, that a matter of that conſequence could not be done in the abſence of the united Provinces: *Cæſar* urged, that what *Bohemia* ſhould do would be confirmed by all the reſt; that he grew faint, and it could not be deferred till another time. In brief, the Orders proteſted, that the Term of *Receiving him King*, was new, that he ought firſt to be choſen, and then received: and ſome perceiving that there was no place for a free voice, departed: others partly allured by promiſes, and partly deterred by threats, ſtaid, and were preſent at the Coronation of *Ferdinand*, after which he preſently went into *Moravia*, *Sileſia*, and *Luſitania*, requeſting to be received for their King.

Ferdinand forcibly made King of *Bohemia*.

The Perſecution of the Church in Bohemia, *which began* Anno Chriſti, 1617.

Ferdinand a Uſurper.

Ferdinand the ſecond, Emperour of *Germany*, being thus obtruded upon the *Bohemians* for their King, contrary to the ancient conſtitutions and cuſtomes of the Kingdom, and not lawfully elected thereunto, as he ought to have been, retired preſently into *Germany*: And thereupon the enemies of the truth began to crow, and openly to threaten the Proteſtants: and it appeared ſufficiently that *Ferdinand* ſware to the Orders with his mouth, but in his heart to the Pope, and preſently after his departure, the Popiſh Biſhops, Clergy, and Nobles, began to vex his Subjects for Religion, contrary to that aſſurance which the King had given to them: They attempted alſo the like in *Prague*, the Jeſuites daily threatning that their Liberty in Religion ſhould not laſt long. Then did they ſtrictly prohibit the Proteſtants from printing any thing unleſſe licenſed by the Chancellor of the Kingdom, themſelves in the mean time divulging their own ſlanderous Pamphlets and dangerous writings againſt the Proteſtants.

Popiſh malice. The firſt Artifice.

The ſecond Artifice.

Then inſtructions were given to the Captains and Judges that they ſhould

ſhould ſuffer no meetings in Churches except themſelves were preſent, and except they had a Popiſh Prieſt to adminiſter only in one kinde.

Then the *Burgrave* who had the cuſtody of the Crown, and priviledges of the Kingdom, was apprehended; becauſe in the late Parliament he had ſtood for the free election of a King, and delivered priſoner to one of the bittereſt enemies of the Proteſtants. The third Artifice.

In other places they deſtroied the Churches of the Proteſtants.

In the beginning of the year 1618. the Governours of the Univerſity and Conſiſtory, met together, having formerly had power given them ſo to doe, and chooſing ſix perſons, two Barons, two Knights, and two Citizens, to conſult what was beſt to be done in this time of their enemies inſolency: there preſently came an injunction in *Cæſars* name to inhibit them to call any together, and that if any man was called, he ſhould not dare to appear upon the pain of high Treaſon. The fourth Artifice.

Notwithſtanding which, the major part of the States met, and whenas new prohibitions and threats were ſpread abroad, and the States were informed that thoſe thunderbolts came not from the King, but from the Caſtle of *Prague*, their abuſed patience was turned into ſeverity, and being guarded with a great Troop, they went to the Caſtle, and apprehended two of the chief authours of theſe troubles, and threw them headlong out of the Caſtle windows, together with their Secretary that was privy to all their deſigns: but God intending to preſerve them to be the *Bohemians* ſcourges, they caught no hurt in the fall, falling upon the graſſe, and great ſtore of papers. The States inhibited their meeting.

Hereupon a great tumult being raiſed in *Prague*, but the States appeaſed it, and then they baniſhed the Jeſuites out of *Bohemia*, as the chief contrivers of theſe miſchiefs: then did they write to *Cæſar*, that they had no intention againſt his Royall Majeſty, but only to bring to puniſhment the diſturbers of the publike peace, being authorized thereto by his Majeſties Letter, and bound by their proteſtation: yet he reſolved to revenge this Treaſon (as he called it) by force of Arms, and the *Bohemians* on the other ſide reſolved to defend themſelves, and for that end they choſe thirty Directors, and the *Moravians* and *Sileſians* reſolved to joyn with them, when they perceived Religion to be the cauſe of the quarell. And indeed this was that which the enemies aimed at, and therefore they provoked the *Bohemians* by all waies, that ſo they might make a conqueſt of *Bohemia*, and for this end an Imperiall Army preſently entred the Kingdom under *Dampier*, and a Spaniſh Army under *Bucquoy*. The Jeuites baniſhed by the States. An Army raiſed againſt the *Bohemians*.

In the mean time the States reſolved not to admit *Ferdinand* to be their King, who was ſo open an enemy both to their Religion and Liberties, and who was obtruded upon them without a due election: They ſent alſo Embaſſadors to *Franckford*, where the Electors were met together to chooſe a new Emperour, deſiring that *Ferdinand* might not be admitted amongſt them as King of *Bohemia*, notwithſtanding which,

Frederick chosen King of *Bohemia.*

he was admitted and chosen Emperour: The *Bohemians* in the mean time chooſing *Frederick* Elector Palatine for their King, this more enraging the enemies, they ſend another Army under *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, which took two Proteſtant Towns by ſtorm, and put all to the ſword, and every where made great ſlaughter of the Proteſtants: Then the Imperiall Armies came to *Prague*, which being ſtruck with a Pannick fear, the Proteſtant Army being overthrown in a ſet battell under the wals, and their new King fled, they delivered up the City to them,

Anno 1620. Novemb. 8. *Prague* taken.

the Conquerour promiſing to keep Articles agreed upon, but performing nothing leſſe. For they did more miſchief to the Church of Chriſt by their ſubtle and ſlow proceedings, then lately by their outragious fury, when the ſword, fire, and wheel were the inſtruments of their rage againſt the faithfull.

Anno 1617. Popiſh ſubtilty

For a little before, when it was debated at *Rome* how they ſhould deal with the *Bohemians* and *Germans* after the Conqueſt; it was agreed, that ſeeing their former ſtrong purges which they had uſed to expell heretical humours, had not proved effectuall: they therefore reſolved not

The fifth Artifice.

to put them to death, wherein they did glory as in Martyrdom, but rather to weary them, and to change the hatefull name of Inquiſition into the milder name of Reformation.

The ſixth Artifice.

And whereas there was a debate amongſt the Imperialiſts at *Prague*, whether all the Proteſtants ſhould be preſently baniſhed, the negative was reſolved on, becauſe they would then carry much away with them, and ſo ſpoil the Province, and endure baniſhment with greater eaſe, and therefore they concluded that they muſt firſt be ſqueezed, and deprived of their goods: and for this end the ſouldiers at *Prague* were authorized to plunder the houſes of Noblemen and Citizens, yet at ſeveral ſeaſons, and moſtly in the night, by which means, as the enemies boaſted, was

The ſeventh Artifice.

taken from the Proteſtants ſome millions of gold: For indeed hither were all their riches brought in the time of war, as to a place of the greateſt ſecurity: But as this fell to the Commanders ſhares, ſo the neighbouring places were expoſed to the fury of the reſt, the common

Plundering.

ſouldiers robbing and ſpoiling Villages, Towns, and Churches, burning and killing without any reſtraint: The ſouldiers that were placed in Garriſons would not only have Free-quarter, but extorted mony from their Landlords every day.

The eighth Artifice.

Then were Commiſſions ſent abroad, promiſing ſecurity to thoſe Noblemen, Knights, Corporations, and Miniſters, that would bring in a good Sum of money to pay the Army, which yet they would not receive as a free gift, but only deſired to borrow it. *Cæſars* protection was alſo promiſed to thoſe that were liberall, the reſt were threatned to be plundered by the ſouldiers.

The ninth Artifice.

They ſet down alſo what ſums they expected from every one within ſuch a time: they promiſed alſo that when that was paid, the Souldiers ſhould be removed, which made every one to bring in their Plate, Money, and Jewels more willingly.

The tenth Artifice.

Then were Commiſſions ſent to require certain Cities, that belonged

ed to the Protestant Noblemen, to maintain the standing Forces of the Kingdome, and to contribute corn for their publike granaries: but whilest they were fed with a vain hope of lessening and removing the souldiers, there were more listed, which raised the taxes so high as was impossible for the people to pay: and whereas some were allured to deny the truth that they might be eased of taxes, and quarterings of souldiers, this was not performed, whereupon they complained that promise was broken with them, but the Jesuites answered them, that they had no cause to complain, for they had provided for their souls, and therefore they ought cheerfully to help the King by contributions and quarterings of souldiers, and that *Heretick, must be dealt with as mad men and children, from whom if you desire to get a knife, you must shew them something else, though you never intend to give it them.*

Apostacy rewarded.

Popish perfidiousness.

Thus the Kingdom being emptied of gold and silver, counterfeit and adulterate money was coined in great abundance, that the common people might rejoyce in their plenty, but in the mean time the souldiers would receive none but good money.

The eleventh Artifice.

Gold and silver also was raised to ten times the price of it, and on a sudden the Emperour diminished the value, making every piece of money to be worth but the tenth part: whereby the *Bohemians* were more impoverished suddenly, then if they had lain under the burden of an Army ten years.

The twelfth Artifice.

Then was it ordered that the creditor should lose all the money that he had lent in the time of the rebellion, as they called it, And thus they were first impoverished, after which the enemies insulted over them by infamous books, insolent pictures, and proud words.

The thirteenth Artifice.

Then did they send abroad their Commissioners of Reformation, who in every Town and Village endeavoured to bring Protestanism into disgrace, and highly to magnifie and set abroad their own cause: the most eminent men for honour and estates are invited to Apostasie, the inferiour sort are either fooled by their examples, or compelled by threatnings.

The fourteenth Artifice.

Then was there an High-Court of reformers set up, from which there was no appeal.

The fifteenth Artifice.

In the next place the souldiers exercised barbarous Tyranny against the Ministers of Jesus Christ. One aged Minister lying sick in his bed, they shot to death as he lay: The next day they robbed and murthered another; Another as he was preaching to his people, they came into the Church, and shot him to death. Another Nobleman, and a Minister hearing of souldiers that were coming that way, conveighed themselves away into a place of safety, the souldiers when they came, caught a Schoolmaster, and binding him in cords, examined him where the Lord of that place, and the Minister were, and where they had hid their treasure; he professed, that he knew neither the one nor the other, whereupon they beat him first with their fists, then with cudgels, then stripping him naked, they so extreamly singed him with fire, that at last he promised to bring them where the treasure was, shewing them

The sixteenth Artifice.

Ministers persecuted.

Barbarous cruelty.

a ditch full of stones, which for greedinesse of gold they emptied, but finding nothing, they beat him afresh, and when he professed that he knew of no treasure, though through pain he said so much, they cudgelled him, and with clods beat him into the ditch, and buried him under the stones.

Presently after they lighted on another godly Minister, whom they so miserably tortured that he died within five daies, shamefully abusing his daughters also whom they led away with them.

Another godly Minister for a moneth together they excruciated with new invented mockeries: they spit in his face, buffeted him with their fists, exposed him to be beaten by every vile rascall; They with a knotty cord twisten about his forehead, with a stick so strained his head, that his very eyes were ready to start out: Then they let loose a wilde horse upon him, which yet leaped quite over him, and did him no harm: at last, with much adoe he redeemed himself with five hundred Florences.

Gods providence.

Another Pastor they lighted on, and because he had a better estate then the former, they tormented him more, sometimes covering him over with hot burning coals, sometimes with Ice, till they had forced him to pay a thousand five hundred Florences for his ransome, though shortly after through extremity of the pain, he died.

Another Minister they fetched from his house, and miserably tortured him by twisting a cord about his head, then tied they his hands behinde him, and his legs with a small cord, intending the next morning to torture him with fire, but in the night time as he was earnest at his prayers, repeating those words, *In thee O Lord is my trust*, he perceived his hands and feet miraculously to be loosened. Whereupon getting up, he went to the gate, where were three Watchmen, one standing with his hand on his sword, yet he passed by them undiscovered: When he came to the Town-gate, he was known by the Souldier that stood Sentinell, but he, being a *Bohemian*, was overcome by entreaty, and let him passe over the Bridge, whereby he escaped.

A speciall providence.

Another Minister together with his wife they cruelly burnt: Another was hanged upon a crosse-beam, and making a fire under him, they broiled him to death: Another they cut into small peeces: Another Minister they sought for, but he being escaped, they took a young man in his house, laid him on his back, filled his mouth with gunpowder, which setting fire to, they miserably tore his jaws in pieces, and then killed him.

Cruelty to Ministers.

Prodigious cruelty.

When some souldiers came to the house of another, he entertained them courteously, and made good provision for them, but when they knew he was a Minister, they first beat him cruelly, then killed him, stripped, and plundered his house; they also burnt his Library, and would not suffer his body to be buried for seven weeks, during their abode there.

Ingratitude.

Another aged Minister and his wife, were so sorely burned by a souldier that demanded money of them, that presently after they died.

Another

Another was hung up by the privy members, being seventy years old, and his own books burnt under him, and at last was shot through, and slain.

Another was first assessed at seven hundred Florences, then had his house plundered, and lastly himself was murthered. Another they caught and wounded, cutting his neck half through: but being afterwards carried by some friends to a Chirurgion, he lived about two years, but in much pain and torment.

Another being above seventy years old, they carried into the market-place, where laying him upon a fire, they burnt him to death: Another was beaten so, that he died three daies after. Anno 1622.

The Jesuites laid wait for one *Pescinus*, a man eminent for learning and piety, at last they suborned an Apostate to betray him, who discovering him as he rode in a Coach with a Nobleman, fourty horsemen came suddenly, and took him away: but by the importunity of some Noblemen, he was ransomed for four thousand Florences, and ended his life in banishment. Another being bound to a Tree, was made a mark for the Musquetiers to shoot at, and though they did not hit him, yet by reason of the affrightment he died within three daies. *Pescinus.*

Another being met by a notable Papist, was ran thorow with a spear: But all this was done through military licentiousnesse; Now we come to what was acted by processe of Law.

Anno 1621. Six Articles were exhibited to the Protestant Congregations in *Prague*. 1. That they should lend some thousands of pounds to *Cæsar* for the paiment of his Army. 2. That they should publickly renounce the coming in of *Frederick*. 3. That they should bring into the Church the Popish Rites and Ceremonies. 4. That their Ministers should be ordained anew. 5. That they should leave their wives, or get a dispensation from the Archbishop. 6. That such as would renounce their Ecclesiasticall functions, should have publick promotions, and the favour of *Cæsar*. But they answered unanimously, that they would doe nothing against their consciences. The seventeenth Artifice.

Then came forth an Edict, wherein the blame of all the former rebellion (as they called it) was laid upon the Ministers of *Prague*, because they had stirred up by their seditious and lying Sermons (as they pleased to stile them) and by their writings, not only the common people, but the Nobles also, against *Cæsar*; and that they were the authors of the choice of *Frederick*, and that they still laboured to stirre up in the people, an hatred against *Cæsar*. Thereupon all within *Prague*, were required within three daies to depart out of *Prague*, and within eight daies to depart out of all the Kingdom, and the Provinces belonging thereto, and never to return again; and if any under what pretence soever, should stay or return again, or if any should presume to harbour or conceal them, that both the one and the other should suffer death: this was *Anno* 1621. Ministers charged with treason. Ministers banished.

The eighteenth Artifice.

Then were their Churches in *Prague* given to the Jesuites. It cannot be expressed what lamentations and mournings there were amongst the people, when thus they must leave their Pastors, and that for ever. Yet the *German* Ministers, whereof there were two, were suffered to continue in favour to the Duke of *Saxony*. Then did as many as understood Dutch, flock to their Congregations, which so vexed the Jesuites, that they obtained, not a banishment, but a gracious dismission of them: Multitudes of people followed them, with great lamentations and tears, and in the field they heard their farewell Sermon.

The *German* Ministers banished.

The next design was, to remove the Ministers out of other free Cities, and the Commissioners of Reformation were imployed herein: One of them, with a Troop of horse, coming to *Slana*, and going to Church, the Minister (a godly and learned man) was reading the Gospel: The Commissioner sent a souldier to him to bid him give over, but the Minister still going on, himself went to him with his sword drawn, crying out, *Thou foolish Preacher, leave off thy babling*, withall dashing the Bible out of his hand with his sword: The Minister with eies, hands, and voice lift up to heaven, repeated often, *Woe, woe unto you, you enter not into heaven your selves, and forbid them that would; Woe, woe, woe unto you.* But they mocking at these words, presently laid hands on him, justling of him to and fro, whereupon he said, *I for the name of my Lord Jesus Christ am ready to suffer all this, and what else you shall impose.* The people were much affrighted, but the chief Magistrates and many good women interceding for him, he was at last dismissed, provided that he should depart the City within three daies; and thus was this faithfull shepherd, not without the great lamentations of his people, banished; where about three years after he died.

Blasphemy.

In a neighbouring City, the Minister for fear of these barbarous proceedings, went away, yet the Commissioners extorted a great summe of money from his Church, and banished him in his absence. In another place they commanded the Minister to depart from his Parish within three daies, and from the City within eight daies; he modestly asking the reason of his banishment, they told him, *Cæsar* by conquest was Master of all the Churches, and that therefore he would put into them whom he pleased.

But into the rooms of these godly Preachers, were put in unclean men, wicked blasphemers, and men illiterate, and of no worth; and yet they could not provide for all places, so that one of their hirelings supplied divers Churches, and instead of the wholesom food of Gods Word, he fed them with poison. Then brought they ignorant Monks out of *Poland*, unprofitable burthens to the earth, yet fit enough to be scourges to unprofitable and common Gospellers.

Illiterate persons put into the places of Christs Ministers.

Then a Commissioner, with some Troops of horse, entring into *Cuttenburg*, a place famous for maintaining the Orthodox Faith, cals before him the Ministers, casts them out of their places, and puts Jesuites

ſuites into their Churches: And theſe Jeſuites urging it, the Miniſters were commanded to depart out of the City gates before break of day, and out of the Kingdom within eight daies: Hereby were twenty one Miniſters driven away, many Citizens accompanying of them: One of them at the parting, preached upon that Text, *They ſhall caſt you out of the Synagogues*; exhorting them to perſeverance. All the multitude much bewailed their loſſe, and with great lamentations, wailing, and kiſſing each other, they recommended themſelves to the bleſſing and protection of the Almighty.

Twenty one Miniſters baniſhed.

In every place the Miniſters were caſt out of their livings, ſome impriſoned, and after a while diſmiſſed, and all commanded to depart the Kingdom, upon pain of death. Some were ſtifled with ſtink whileſt they lay in priſon.

At laſt, *Anno* 1624. the Kings Decree came forth, whereby all the Miniſters of the Goſpel were commanded to depart the Kingdom, by a peremptory day prefixed, becauſe, as was alledged, they were ſeditious men, and ſeducers of the people: Yet herein they uſed this artifice, that in moſt places this Edict was concealed, till the time was almoſt or altogether elapſed, ſo that by this means, the Miniſters not having time to communicate their counſels together, went into ſeverall Provinces, and ſome were fain to hide themſelves in caves and dens, and thoſe either returned privately, and viſited their auditories, or comforted ſuch as came to them in the mountains and woods, preaching and adminiſtring the Sacraments to them.

Miniſters charged with ſedition.

But as ſoon as the enemies underſtood it, they preſently publiſhed a new Decree, wherein a puniſhment was propoſed to thoſe that ſhould conceal the miniſters, and a reward to ſuch as ſhould betray them: Whereupon ſome of the Miniſters were taken and caſt into priſon: Then by the Jeſuites were they by all waies ſollicited to Apoſtacy; and fear of death, hunger, cold, the ſtink of the priſon, *&c.* prevailed with ſome to renounce their Miniſtery: But moſt bore up couragiouſly againſt all ſtorms, and at laſt ſome by paying great fines, others by giving it under their hands, that they would never return into *Bohemia*, were diſmiſſed.

Tentation.

Conſtancy.

One godly Miniſter was examined by tortures, when, where, and to whom he had adminiſtred the Sacraments of Baptiſm or the Lords Supper, *&c.* he anſwered, that he had neither laid down, nor ſlacked his Miniſtry, which he received from Chriſt, not from *Caſar*: Being profered life if he would change his Religion, he anſwered, *This body of mine is ſubject to corruption, and now it begins to decay already, why would you have me hinder it?* Being brought forth to execution, the Crier with a loud voice proclaimed that he was guilty of ſedition: But he with a loud voice ſaid, *I ſuffer for the truth of Chriſt.* None of the Citizens were ſuffered to accompany him, yea they were threatned to be ſhot, if they did but look out at their windows: And that his voice might not be heard, the Drums and Trumpets ſounded continually. As he was paſſing on, he chearfully ſaid, *This day ſhall my*

ſoul

soul be with Christ: The Captain said, With the devil in hell: The Martyr replied, *But you with your impious crew will run headlong thither, except ye repent.* Then was his right hand cut off, wherewith he gave the Cup in the Sacrament: Then was his head cut off, his bowels taken forth, and wrapped in his shirt, his quarters set upon four stakes, and his head upon the fifth.

Then did the Commissioners go into *Moravia*, to a Noble Baron called *Charles de Zerotina*, a man for wisdom and vertue famous through all *Europe*, a constant professor of Religion, and one who maintained twenty four Ministers of the Brethren within his jurisdiction: They told him that they had an express command from Cardinall *Ditrichsteine* to expell all those Ministers: He answers, That in matters of Religion he ought not to be subject to the Cardinall, and therefore from him he appeals to *Cæsar*. Then did they grant him fourteen daies to prosecute his appeal, but the Baron being not in health, could not go in that time to *Cæsar*. Then they came again to him, and told him that it should be in his choice, whether he would send them away himself, or suffer them to do it; the Baron answered, that he could not banish those whom he knew to be the servants of Jesus Christ, nor could consent that they should do it: Yet that night they sent abroad their citations to require all the inhabitants of that Village to appear before them the next morning; at which time the Minister and people came; then did they reade to them *Cæsars* Edict, asking them if they would submit to it; they answered that they wholly relied upon the will of God, whom they served in the Gospel of his Son, and therefore they were resolved to undergo what punishment they should inflict, seeing they suffered only for the Name of Jesus Christ, and not for any ill deeds: Then they demanded of them, whether they would forsake their heresie, and return to the Catholick Church; which they unanimously denied. The Commissioners would have given them time to consider of it; but they all answered, that in so religious a cause as this, they needed no deliberations; therefore in *Cæsars* name they banished them, commanding them to depart within eight daies: These godly persons obeyed, and by the Baron, at his own charge they were carried into *Hungary*. The like they did in other places, so that the Ministers of the Gospel through all *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, were thrust out, and ignorant and illiterate persons set in their rooms.

The Vice-roy.

Courage and Constancy.

The next design of the enemies was against the Nobles: The crime was for taking up arms for *Frederick* their lawfull King, against an Usurper: For though hope of pardon was granted, if laying down arms they would submit to *Cæsars* mercy, yet divers of them were apprehended: And first they seized upon some that were of the rank of Defenders of the Kingdoms Liberties, and then all those whom they knew to have done any thing for the common good of Religion and Liberty; or feared that they might be able to do for the time to come, and all such as feared to break their faith given to *Frederick*. These were

The nineteenth Artifice. *Summa Papavera.*

The chiefest Nobles imprisoned.

were about the number of fifty men, famous for learning, skill in military affairs, and prudence in government, who were the light, delight and ſafeguard of their Country.

All of theſe one night, and at one hour, were apprehended in their houſes, when they expected no danger, and by the Captains were commanded to get up into Wagons, and ſo ſome of them were carried to the Caſtle of *Prague*, others to the Maiors houſe. The next day Proclamations were iſſued out, requiring all thoſe that had hid themſelves or departed the Kingdom, to appear within ſix weeks; but they not appearing, ſentence was pronounced, that all ſuch as were guilty of Treaſon, ſhould forfeit Goods, Honours and Lives, and then their names were ſet upon the Gallows: The next day ſentence was pronounced againſt their Heirs, that all their Goods ſhould be confiſcate to the King.

The Nobles examined.

Then did they proceed to the triall of the Noble men whom they had taken: Two Apoſtate Civilians were appointed to examine them, with ſome of the Nobility, who tired them out with a thouſand impertinent queſtions, labouring to extort that from them whereof they were never guilty: Which one of them not able to endure, renting his garments, and opening his breaſt, ſaid, *Tear into a thouſand pieces this body, and ſearch into my heart, and you ſhall finde nothing there but what is expreſſed in my Apology. The love of Religion and Liberty made us unſheath our ſwords; but ſeeing God would have* Cæſar *prevail, and hath delivered us into your hand, his will be done.* Others of them alſo ſtoutly maintained that their cauſe was not the worſe, becauſe of the ſucceſſe.

A brave ſpeech

Succeſs no ſign of a good cauſe

After ſome time, when none of theſe Noble men would yield, or acknowledge themſelves in an errour, or ſue unto them for mercy, they proceed to execution; their judgements were committed to ſuch as were ſworn enemies to the Goſpel.

After ſentence was paſſed, it was ſent to *Cæſar* to conſider of: He was ſo troubled, that he ſlept not that night, and the next morning calling his Confeſſor, he ſaid to him, *I adjure thee upon thy conſcience to tell me, whether I may with a ſafe conſcience pardon theſe that are condemned, or whether I ſhould ſuffer execution to paſſe on them?* The Confeſſor anſwered, *O* Cæſar, *both are in thy power.* Then did he with his pen pardon ſome, and left others to execution, with a great addition of ſhame and ignominy.

Their condemnation.

Preſently after they were brought out ſingly to hear their ſentence, wherein ſome were condemned to death, others to perpetuall impriſonment, others to baniſhment, and ſome were reſerved to *Cæſars* further pleaſure.

Then were each ſort of priſoners carried to their ſeverall priſons; the Noble men into the inward priſon of the Caſtle, the Citizens to the Maiors houſe; as they went, ſome villains were ſuborned to inſult over them, ſaying, *Why doe they not now ſing, The Lord reigneth?*

Profane blaſphemy.

Then did the wives, children and kinſfolk of the condemned perſons, humbly petition for their lives: but anſwer was made, that all the favour which could now be granted to them, was, that they ſhould have leave to bury the corps of their friends.

In the evening, the condemned men, which were twenty ſeven in number, had notice given them of the day wherein they were to ſuffer; and therefore they were adviſed to ſend for Jeſuites, or Capuchins, or a Miniſter of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, for the good of their ſouls; but they muſt expect no Miniſter of the Brethren, for that would not be granted to them. The Jeſuites and Capuchins not ſtaying till they were called for, flocked to them, uſing many perſwaſions, promiſing life, *&c.* if they would turn; but God ſo ſtrengthened them that all thoſe endeavours of Satans imps were in vain. Then were ſome Miniſters of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion ſent for, who ſpent that time which remained in Religious exerciſes, conferences, prayer, and ſinging of Pſalmes, and laſtly by adminiſtring the Sacrament to them.

Tentation reſiſted.

They which were of the Brethren, willingly admitted theſe Miniſters, proteſting that they acknowledged them for Brethren, though they differed from them in ſome things; only two of them did not partake of the Sacrament for fear of ſome falſe accuſation, comforting themſelves with that ſaying, *Beleeve, and thou haſt eaten.*

Crede quod habes & habes.

They which were priſoners in the Maiors houſe, being called to ſupper, the night before they were to ſuffer, comforted themſelves, ſaying, that this was their laſt ſupper on earth, but to-morrow they ſhould feaſt with Chriſt in his Kingdom; whereupon a great Papiſt flouted, ſaying, *Hath Chriſt Cooks for you in heaven?*

Blaſphemy.

When it was told them that the Noble men were coming to the Scaffold in the Market place, where they were to ſuffer, they haſted to the windows, and entertained their fellow Martyrs, with ſinging the 44. *Pſalm.* The night after they ſpent in Pſalms, prayer, godly diſcourſe, and mutuall exhortations, that ſince it pleaſed God to call them before others, to this honour of Martyrdom, they hoped by their conſtancy to confound the world, to glorifie Chriſt, and to leave a good example to others; and ſinging the 68. *Pſalm,* wherein *David* praies to God, *to ſhew ſome token of good upon him*; one of them ſaid, *Shew therefore ſome token of good upon us, O God, whereby we thy ſervants may be ſtrengthened by thy goodneſſe, and our enemies confounded:* And being full of faith, he ſaid further, *Be of good chear, for even in this God hath heard your voice, and to morrow he will ſhew ſome wonderfull ſigne, whereby he will witneſſe that we ſuffer for his cauſe.*

Joy in tribulation.

Faith.

Early in the morning they waſhed their faces, and put on clean clothes, as if they had been going to a wedding, and cut off the collars of their dublets, that when they came to the Scaffold, there ſhould need no new making ready. Then did they earneſtly pray to God,

God, that he would be pleaſed to confirm and ſtrengthen both themſelves and the people, concerning their innocency. Prayer.

Preſently after the ſun ariſing, a beautifull bow appeared, and compaſſed the heavens, the Miniſters, ſouldiers, and many others looking upon it: The Martyrs looked out at the window, and ſaw a Rainbow of an unuſuall colour, the heavens being very clear, and no rain of two daies before, whereupon falling on their knees, they lifted up their voices and hands, praiſing of God for this ſign that he ſhewed from heaven. Then preſently was a Gun diſcharged, which was a warning for their bringing forth to execution; whereupon thoſe Champions of Chriſt encouraged one another, praying that each of them may be ſtrengthened, *&c.* Then Troops of horſe and foot came to fetch them, the ſtreets, market-place and houſes, being filled with multitudes of ſpectators. Courage.

The Martyrs being called forth one by one, went to their death with an undaunted courage, haſting as if they had been going to a banquet: When one was called for, he thus took his leave of the reſt, *Farwell moſt loving friends, God give you the comforts of his Spirit, patience and courage, that what formerly with your mouths you have profeſſed, you may confirm by your glorious death: Behold I go before, that I may ſee the glory of my Lord Jeſus Chriſt; you will follow me that we may together ſee the face of our heavenly Father. At this hour all ſorrow departs from me, and joyfull eternity ſhall ſucceed it.* Then did the reſt anſwer, *God above to whom you are going, proſper your journey, and grant that you may paſſe happily from this vale of miſery, unto that heavenly Countrey; the Lord Jeſus ſend his Angels to meet you: Go, dear brother, into thine and our Fathers houſe, and we will follow after, preſently we ſhall meet in the heavenly glory, and this we are confident of through him in whom we have beleeved.* The Martyrs mutual farwell.

The firſt was the Lord *Schlik*, a man of admirable parts, about fifty years old: When he was condemned to be quartered, and his parts to be ſcattered here and there, he ſaid, *The loſſe of a ſepulchre is eaſie*: Being exhorted by a Miniſter to courage, he ſaid, *I have Gods favour ſo that no fear of death doth trouble me; I have formerly dared to oppoſe Antichriſt, and I dare now die for Chriſt.* The Jeſuites troubling him when he came to the Scaffold, he ſhaked them off, and ſeeing the ſun ſhining bright, he ſaid, *Chriſt thou Son of righteouſneſſe, grant that through the darkneſſe of death, I may paſſe into eternall light*; and ſo having ended his prayers he conſtantly received the ſtroak: his right hand and head were hung on the high Tower upon the Bridge. The L. *Schlik*. His faith and courage. His Martyrdom.

The Lord *Wenceſlaus* was next, about ſeventy years old, famous for Learning, Religion, and travels through divers countries: His houſe was formerly plundered, even to his wearing apparell, he only ſaying, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away.* Being asked why he would engage himſelf in *Fredericks* cauſe, he ſaid, *My conſcience preſſed me to do what I did; I am here, my God, diſpoſe of me thy ſervant as ſeems good in thine eies; I am full of years, take me out of this life,* The L. *Wenceſlaus*. His patience.

that I may not see that evil that is coming on my Country. Afterwards holding forth his Bible, he said, *Behold my Paradise, it never yeelded me so much Nectar and Ambrosia as now.* When he was sentenced, he said to the Judges, *You have a long time thirsted after my bloud; but know withall, you will finde God a revenger of innocent bloud, for whose cause we suffer.* A Frier saying to him, You are deceived in your opinion, he answered, *I rely not on opinion, but on the infallible truth, for I have no other way but him who said, I am the way, the truth, and the life.* On the Scaffold, stroaking his long beard, he said, *My gray hairs, behold what honour remains for you, that you should be crowned with Martyrdom.* And so praying for the Church, his Country, his enemies, and commending his soul to Christ, his head was cut off, and set on the Tower.

Psal. 119. 92.

His Martyrdom.

The next was the Lord *Harant*, a man that had gained much experience by his travels in *Asia*, *Africa* and *Europe*; his crime was that he had taken an oath to be true to *Frederick*, and durst not violate it. As he was going to suffer, he called the Minister to him, and told him that he much feared his wives inconstancy in Religion, and therefore desired him to exhort her to constancy, and not to suffer her self to be drawn from her Religion by any allurements, assuring her that it is the infallible way to salvation. Then to exhort her to use more clemency to his subjects, rather easing then over-charging them with burthens Lastly to require her to have a care of his children, and to bring them up in the pure Religion, *&c.* Being called to execution, he said, *I have travelled through many Countries, through many barbarous Nations, escaped many perils by sea and land, and now suffer innocently in my own Country, and by them for whose sake I, and my forefathers have spent our Estates and Lives: Father forgive them.* Then he said, *In thee O Lord have I hoped, let me not be confounded.* On the Scaffold he said, *Into thy hands O Lord I commend my spirit: In thee O Lord have I trusted from my youth; I am confident that I shall be accepted by that ignominious death of my Saviour*; and falling upon his knees, he said, *To thee O Lord I commend my spirit, for thou O God, just and true, hast redeemed me:* and so he received the fatall stroke with the sword.

The L. *Harant.*

His message to his wife.

His Martyrdom.

The next was *Casper Kaplitz* a Knight, of eighty six years old: When the Minister came to him after his condemnation, he said, *See me a miserable old man, who have often intreated my God that he would have mercy upon me, and take me out of this miserable life, but have not obtained it, for God hath reserved me to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself, Gods will be done: My death indeed is disgracefull in the eies of men, but glorious in the sight of God; for God will account that death precious in his sight, which I suffer for his glory and truth:* And when it was told him that he might have his life, if he would ask pardon; he answered, That he would ask pardon of him against whom he had committed many sins all his life, but he never offended the Prince, and therefore would not give occasion to suspect that he had committed some

Sir *Casper Kaplitz.*

His courage and constancy.

ſome crime, for which he had deſerved death, &c. *God forbid therefore*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould be ſeparated from this holy company of Martyrs*: As he was going to the Scaffold, being feeble with age, he ſaid, *Oh my God ſtrengthen me, leſt I fall down, and become matter of ſcorn to the enemies.* Being crooked with age, and hanging down his head, the executioner could not well come at his neck, whereupon the Miniſter ſaid to him, *My noble Lord, as you have commended your ſoul to Chriſt, ſo now offer up your hoary head chearfully to God, and lift up your ſelf towards heaven.* Then lifting up his head as well as he could, he ſaid, *Lord Jeſus into thy hand I commend my ſpirit*, and ſo his head was cut off. His Martyrdom.

The next was *Procopius Dorzecki*, who after his condemnation ſaid to the Miniſter, *I have had a great contention all night with old* Adam, *ſo that it made me ſweat again; but thanks be to my God, by whom my ſoul hath overcome all tentations*: ſaying further, *O Almighty God, ſtrengthen thy ſervant that I may not be made a deriſion to mine enemies by any fear of death; and as thou waſt wont to encourage thy holy Martyrs, ſo I ſtrongly beleeve thou wilt comfort me.* When he was called forth to execution, he ſaid, *Thanks be to my God, who doth now call me to himſelf, to him I have lived, and for him I will die; for my Saviour hath therefore died and riſen again, that he might be Lord, both of the living and the dead: I know that my ſoul ſhall live, and my body ſhall be raiſed like to his glorious body.* Upon the Scaffold, he ſaid to the Imperiall Judges, *Tell* Cæſar *that we are now under his judgement, but he ſhall undergo a more grievous, yet juſt judgement of God*: And ſeeing a gold Medall hanging about his neck, wherein was ingraven the Coronation of *Frederick*, he delivered it to one that ſtood by, ſaying, *I require thee that when my dear King* Frederick *ſhall recover the Throne of this Kingdom, thou deliver him this, and tell him, that for his ſake I wore it till my death, and that now I lay down my life willingly for God and my King*; and ſo preſently after he loſt his head. *Procopius Dorzecki.* His prayer and faith. His fidelity to his Prince. His Martyrdom.

The next was the Lord *Frederick de Bile*, who ſuffered death likewiſe patiently and piouſly. L. *Frederick de Bile.*

The next was the Lord *Henry Otto* a man of great judgement, who having received the ſentence of condemnation, ſaid, *O Cæſar, do you indeed eſtabliſh your Throne by our bloud? but what account will you make to God of it in the day of judgement?* &c. *kill my body, diſperſe my members whither you pleaſe: yet do I believe that my Saviour will gather them together again, and clothe them with skin, ſo that with theſe eyes I ſhall ſee him, with theſe ears I ſhall hear him, with this tongue I ſhall praiſe him, and rejoyce with this heart for ever.* Afterwards when the Miniſter came to him, amongſt other things he ſaid, *I was troubled, but now I feel a wonderfull refreſhing in my heart*, adding, with his hands lift up to heaven, *I give thee thanks, O moſt mercifull Saviour, who haſt been pleaſed to fill me with ſo much comfort: O now I fear death no longer, I will die with joy*: As he was going to the Scaffold he ſaid to the Miniſter, I am ſure that Chriſt Jeſus will meet my ſoul with his Angels, that he may bring it L. *Hen. Otto.* His faith. Joy unſpeakable.

to an everlaſting marriage, where I ſhall drink of a new cup, a cup of joy for ever: This death I know ſhall not ſeparate me from him: Upon the Scaffold lifting up his eyes to heaven, he ſaid, *Behold, I ſee the Heavens open,* pointing with his hand to the place, where others alſo obſerved a certain brightneſſe which dazled their eyes: after he had praied ſilently, he ſaid, *Into thy hands O Lord God I commend my ſpirit, have pity on me through Jeſus Chriſt, and receive me that I may ſee thy glory:* and ſo he received the ſtroak of the ſword.

His martyrdom.

Dion. Zervius.

The next was *Dionyſius Zervius* formerly a Papiſt, but being told of the promiſe made to the people of God concerning the pardon of ſins, and aſſurance of ſalvation to thoſe that beleeve in Chriſt, he ſtruck his breaſt, and with tears in his eyes, cried out, This is my faith, and in this I die: I reſt in the grace of Chriſt, and I truſt in my God, that he will graciouſly accept my contrite ſpirit: When upon the Scaffold the Jeſuites exhorted him, he liſtened not to them, but turned from the Crucifix, and falling down on his knees he prayed ſoftly: Then looking up towards heaven, he cried, They can take away the body, but they cannot take away the ſoul: *O Lord Jeſus I commend that unto thee:* and ſo he ended his life being fifty ſix years old.

His martyrdom.

An aged man.

The next was an aged man about ſeventy years old, that had been long lame: his crime was that he had aſſiſted *Frederick* with his counſell and wealth: at the time of his death, he ſaid, *O Lord Jeſus who being innocent didſt undergo death, grant that I may die the death of the righteous, and receive my ſoul into thy hands.*

His martyrdom.

The Lord of *Rugenia.*

The next was the Lord of *Rugenice,* a man of excellent parts, and full of zeal for God, being judged to die, he ſaid, that it was more welcome to him, then if the Emperour had given him life, and reſtored him to his eſtate with addition of more: afterwards he ſaid to the Miniſter: *God is our witneſſe that we ſought for nothing but the Liberty of Religion: and in that we are overcome and condemned to die, we acknowledge, and finde that God will not have his truth defended by our ſwords but by our bloud,* &c. When he ſaw divers called out before him, he ſaid, What is the matter my God? thou knoweſt that I reſign my ſelf wholly unto thee: Ah do not deſpiſe thy ſervant, but make haſte to take me away: and when the Sheriff came for him, he rejoyced, and ſaid, *Praiſed be my God, that I ſhall now be taken out of the world, that I may be with Chriſt:* and ſo he went to meet him: On the Scaffold he comforted himſelf with that promiſe, *Father, I will, that where I am, my ſervants may alſo be, to behold that glory which thou gaveſt me: Therefore* (ſaid he) *I make haſte to die that I may be with Chriſt, and ſee his glory,* and ſo he ſuffered Martyrdom couragiouſly.

His excellent ſpeech.

His martyrdom.

Val. Coskan.

The next was *Valentine Cockan* of about ſixty years old: During his impriſonment, he was full of heavenly diſcourſe, and at the Scaffold he ſaid, *Grant me O God to paſſe through this valley of death, that I may preſently ſee thee, for thou knoweſt my God that I have loved thy Word, bring me O God through the paths of life, that I may ſee fulneſſe of joy in thy preſence:* and kneeling down, he ſaid, *Into thy hands O Lord I commend my ſpirit,* and ſo holily ended his life.

His martyrdom.

The

The next was *Toby Steffick* a man of a compoſed temper, and ſincere in Religion: he ſpent moſt of the time of his impriſonment in ſilent ſighs and tears: Before his Execution he ſaid, *I have received many good things of the Lord all my life long, ſhall I not therefore receive this cup of affliction? I embrace the will of God, who by this ignominious death makes me conformable to his ſon, and by a narrow way brings me to his heavenly Kingdom; I praiſe God who hath joyned me undeſervedly to theſe excellent men, that I might receive with them the Crown of martyrdom:* When he was called to die, he ſaid: My Saviour being about to die, ſaid, *Father, not as I will but as thou wilt, thy will be done:* Shall I therefore who am but a worm, yea, duſt, and a ſhadow contradict his will? far be it from me: yea, I come willingly my God, only have mercy on me, and cleanſe me from my ſins, that no ſpot or wrinkle may appear in me, but that I may appear pure in thy ſight, and ſo he lifted up himſelf full of ſighs, yet full of hope, and as he was praying he rendred up his ſpirit unto God.

Toby Steffck.

His prayer.

His Martyrdom.

Then was *Feßenius* a Doctor of Phyſick called forth, a man famous for piety and learning all over *Europe*: having heard his ſentence, he ſaid, *You uſe us too cruelly and diſgracefully: but know, that our heads ſhall be buried, which you ignominiouſly expoſe for a ſpectacle:* which afterwards came to paſſe, *Anno* 1631. when the King of *Sweden* with his Army took *Prague*, and cauſed the Martyrs heads to be taken from the Tower, and ſolemnly and honourably buried. When the Hangman required his tongue to cut it off, he willingly put it out, and falling upon his knees, as he was praying, his head was cut off, his body quartered, and ſet upon four ſtakes.

D. *Feſſenius.*

A Propheſie.

His Martyrdom.

The next was *Chriſtopher Chober* who much encouraged his fellow-Martyrs: and then cited the words of *Ignatius, I am Gods corn, and ſhall be ground with the teeth of wilde beaſts:* So we (ſaith he) are Gods corn, ſown in the field of the Church, and that we may be for our Maſters uſe, we are now to be torn by beaſts: but be of good chear, the Church is founded in bloud, and hath ever encreaſed by bloud: God is able to raiſe up a thouſand worſhippers of himſelf out of every drop of our bloud: for though truth now ſuffers violence, yet Chriſt reigns, and no man ſhall throw him from his Throne: being called to execution, he ſaid, *I come in the name of my God, neither am I aſhamed to ſuffer theſe things for his glory, for I know whom I have beleeved: I have fought the good fight of faith, and finiſhed my courſe,* &c. then praying, *Into thy hands Lord I commend my ſpirit*, he received the Crown of Martyrdom.

Chriſto. Chober.

His excellent ſpeech.

His Martyrdom.

John Shultis was next, who on the Scaffold, ſaid, *Why art thou ſo ſad O my ſoul? Hope thou in God for thou ſhalt yet praiſe him:* &c. The righteous ſeem to die in the eyes of fools, but indeed they go to their reſt: Lord Jeſus thou haſt promiſed that whoſo comes to thee, thou wilt not caſt off: Behold I now come, look on me, pity me, pardon my ſins, and receive my ſoul to thy ſelf: then kneeling down, he ſaid, *Come, come, Lord Jeſus, and doe not tarry*, and ſo he was beheaded.

John Shultis.

His Martyrdom.

The

Maxim. Hoſtialeck.

The next was *Maximillian Hoſtialeck*, a learned, and pious man: after his condemnation he was ſadder then the reſt, and being asked by the Miniſter the reaſon of it, he ſaid, The ſins of my youth doe now come into my minde: for though I know that nothing remains to condemn them which are in Chriſt Jeſus: yet I know that God exerciſeth juſtice as well as mercy towards his own: Being called to death he ſaid, *Look upon me O Lord my God, and lighten mine eyes leſt I ſleep the ſleep of death; and leſt mine enemies ſay, We have prevailed.* Afterwards repeating the words of *Simeon, Now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation*, he was beheaded.

His Martyrdom.

John Kutnaur.

His ſpeech to the Jeſuites.

The next was *John Kutnaur*, who when the Jeſuites began to ſpeak to them, he ſaid, Pray you trouble not our conſciences, we are ſufficiently furniſhed againſt the fear of death, we need none of your help: and when they would have proceeded, he ſaid, Why do you create unprofitable labour to your ſelves, and trouble to us? Then ſaid they one to another, they are hard rocks, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be removed: to whom he anſwered, *You ſay true, Chriſt is an hard rock, and we are firmly fixed on him.* Afterwards he ſaid to his fellow-Martyrs, I underſtand that I muſt be hanged, but whether by the neck, middle, or feet, I know not, nor care not, this only is my grief that my bloud may not be mingled with yours, that we might be made one ſacrifice to God: When he was called forth to Execution, he was beſprinkled with the tears of his friends, to whom he ſaid, *Play the men, brethren, and refrain from weeping, I go before, but it is but a ſhort time, and we ſhall meet in the heavenly glory*: When he was upon the ladder, he ſaid, I have plotted no Treaſon, committed no murder, I have done nothing worthy of death; but I die becauſe I have been faithfull to the Goſpel, and my countrey: O God pardon my enemies, for they know not what they do: but thou O Chriſt have pity on me, for I commit my ſoul unto thee, and ſo he ſlept in the Lord.

His ſpeech at death.

His Martyrdom.

Sim. Suſſickey.

The next was *Simeon Suſſickey*, who when he ſaw the Jeſuites coming, he ſaid to his companions: Theſe birds of prey are flying hither, but they ſhall not feed on theſe carcaſſes, but return hungry; For God hath promiſed to preſerve his own as the apple of his eye, and therefore he will not ſuffer us to be ſeduced. The laſt night he had a great conflict with the fleſh, becauſe the Scripture ſaith, *Curſed is every one that hangeth on a tree:* but when the Miniſter told him that that curſe was taken away by the death of Chriſt, he was well ſatisfied: he went to his death praying and ſinging, and being hanged next to *Kutnaur* which was his ſon in law: after he was dead, he turned towards him, and ſo near that their mouths touched each other: ſo that their enemies ſaid, *Theſe were ſuch obſtinate Rebels that they ceaſe not to plot after death.*

Tentation.

His Martyrdom.

Nath. Wodnianskey.

His ſpeech to the Jeſuites.

The next was *Nathaneel Wodnianſky*, who when the Jeſuites ſollicited him to Apoſtacy, he ſaid to them: *You take away our lives under pretence of Rebellion, and not content with that, you ſeek to deſtroy our ſouls? Glut your ſelves with the ſight of our bloud, and be ſatisfied with that,*

but

but we ſhall leave a ſting in your conſciences: Afterwards his own ſon ſaying to him, *My Father, if hope of life ſhould be profered you, upon condition of Apoſtacy, I pray you be mindefull of keeping your faith to Chriſt:* he anſwered, *It is very acceptable to me my ſon, to be exhorted to conſtancy by you, but what makes you to ſuſpect me? I rather adviſe and exhort you to follow your fathers ſteps, and to exhort your brethren, ſiſters, and children, to that conſtancy whereof I ſhall leave you an example:* and ſo he patiently ended his life upon the Gallows.

His counſel to his ſon.

His Martyrdom.

The next was *Wenceſlaus Gisbitzky*, to whom were given great hopes of life: but the Miniſter fearing Satans ſtratagems, adviſed him to take heed of ſecurity, and to prepare himſelf for the encounter of death: Upon the Scaffold, ſeeing his hopes fruſtrate, he fell on his knees, and ſaid: We are proſtrate before thee, O eternal Father, do not forſake us, have pity on us through Jeſus Chriſt: We would ſay more, but we are not able to expreſſe it: Into thy hands doe we commend our ſouls, perfect that which thou haſt begun to work in us. Render to us our inheritance that we may ſing *Holy, Holy, Holy*, &c. and ſo in the midſt of his prayers he ended his life.

Wen. Gisbitzky

His prayer.

His Martyrdom.

There was alſo one *Martin Fruen* an eminent Citizen of *Prague*, who being taken in his own houſe, was ſcoffed at by the ſouldiers, beaten with their fiſts, and afterward cruelly tortured, and ſo burnt in the privy parts, that for ſix moneths he was troubled with moſt grievous pain: he was ſhut up in priſon from all company, and at laſt was found dead in the Caſtle ditch under the Tower.

Martin Fruen.

He is murthered.

Preſently after the execution of theſe holy Martyrs, all their goods were confiſcate, as alſo of thoſe that were driven into baniſhment. Then was a Proclamation publiſhed, wherein a generall pardon of all crimes was offered to all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, only their goods were confiſcated, either in whole or in part, which muſt be brought into his Majeſties Treaſury, to pay his debts, which were contracted by this neceſſary war: beſides which they were to make a confeſſion of their faults in a form preſcribed before Cardinall *Lichtenſtein*, who was *Cæſars* Viceroy, and if any did not appear, he ſhould loſe this favour.

Their goods confiſcated.

Recantation preſcribed.

Hence it was that the enemies publikely boaſted that none were puniſhed but ſuch as were convicted by their own confeſſion. Then by Edict all were forbidden to diminiſh, or waſte their goods, by ſelling of them, or conveying them over to others: and if any man ſhould ſend away his goods to another place, all ſhould be loſt: and whoſoever received ſuch goods, ſhould pay ſo much of his own to the Emperour.

The twentieth Artifice.

Yet the merry Judges turned all this to a jeſt, ſaying to divers that pleaded their innocency from having any hand in bringing in *Frederick*, *That though they had not actuall ſins, yet they were infected with the Original ſin of hereſie and wealth, and therefore could not be exempted from puniſhment.*

Then did they proceed to take from the Proteſtants all their Caſtles,

The Proteſtants beggered.

Towns, and Villages, whereby they were deprived of their livelihoods, and driven into ſtrange places: Some were forced to caſt themſelves upon their Popiſh friends, others to become ſervants to their own deſtroiers.

Their debts and money ſeized on.

Afterwards all their perſonall Eſtates were ſequeſtred, ſcarce leaving ſo much as a garment to them to cover their nakedneſſe: And leſt any man ſhould have money at uſe, they commanded all to bring in all their bonds, upon pain of loſing all their debts, if they concealed the leaſt: And when any conſiderable ſum was brought in, the Kings Treaſurers were at hand, who proteſting that the Emperour had need of it to defray his charges of war, took it away, giving to the party a note that ſo much was due to him from the Emperour, which yet was never repaied.

The ſouldiers get moſt.

And thus the Proteſtants being commanded to depart the Kingdom, the Popiſh party divided their confiſcated goods and lands amongſt themſelves: and as it lay commodious for any of them, they added this or that Village, Town, Caſtle, or Lordſhip to their own, but the greateſt part fell to ſtrangers ſhares, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, or *Germans* which were Commanders in the Imperiall Army, inſtead of their pay. If any Widows or Orphans had lands or goods not taken away, their popiſh neighbours would either circumvent them by craft, or weary them out by quartering ſouldiers upon them, and ſo enforce them to ſell them their lands, at what prices themſelves liſted to make thereof, and yet afterwards not paying that neither.

The one and twentieth Artifice. *Charles de Zerotine.* Another *Obediah.*

Then did the Emperour call for the ancient Charters of the Kingdom, which he immediatly rent, and threw into the fire.

The Miniſters being all baniſhed, the noble Lord *Charles de Zerotine*, did yet not only retain his houſhold-Chaplain, but he ſuſtained alſo many others privately in their Caves with bread and water: and not fearing man, he did not only give liberty to his own ſubjects, but to divers others in neighbouring places to reſort to the holy exerciſes which were performed in his Caſtle.

The two and twentieth Artifice. Proteſtant Tutors baniſhed.

Then did the enemies by a new Edict publiſh, that all ſuch Barons, Noblemen, and Citizens, as kept any Proteſtant Tutor for their children, ſhould preſently diſmiſſe him: otherwiſe he ſhould be taken and puniſhed.

Then by another Edict all the Proteſtants were caſt out of protection of the Laws, and were to have no benefit by them.

Succeſſe makes the enemies proud.

The enemies being every day puffed up with their ſucceſſes and victories, made a Decree that all the Proteſtant Noblemen ſhould preſently depart out of the Kingdom, and the Emperour publiſhed a Proclamation, that to prevent all diviſions which were dangerous to the Kingdom, and Magiſtrates, therefore he was reſolved no longer to tollerate any of the inferiour, much leſſe of the ſuperiour eſtates of either ſex, who was infected with hereticall errours: And withall he granted to the ſuperiour ſtates the term of ſix moneths, to learn the holy Roman Catholick faith: and for that end he appointed Commiſ-

ſioners

ſioners of Reformation to inſtruct them, requiring them to be obedient to his will, and to be diligently inſtructed by them, otherwiſe they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſtay in the Kingdom, much leſſe to poſſeſſe their goods: and therefore he required all thoſe which at the end of that term of ſix moneths did not turn Catholicks, immediately to depart the Kingdom, and never to return again.

The Proteſtants all baniſhed.

Hereupon they which loved Religion at their hearts, did preſently ſeparate themſelves by baniſhment: Others ſollicited *Cæſar* by petitions, either to change the decree, or to grant them a longer time: Others there were that thinking to deceive the Emperour and Pope, did buy falſe teſtimonies of the Prieſts, that they had been at Confeſſion, and communicated in one kinde, and ſo made ſhew of a diſſembled Apoſtacy, thereby to avoid baniſhment.

Falſe teſtimonies bought.

Then was the fore-named Act extended unto widows, and the Proteſtants children were commanded to be delivered to the care and inſtruction of Catholicks, or elſe to be ſhut up in Monaſteries: and this cauſed extream grief and groans, when Noble-mens ſons, and daughters, even maids that were marriageable, were pulled from their parents, and friends, and thruſt into Jeſuites Colleges, or Monks Cels: their Goods being taken alſo from them, and committed to Papiſts.

Proteſtants children taken from them.

The cunning craftineſſe of thoſe ſeducing Reformers, deceived many unwary perſons, whileſt they told them that they might hold their former opinions; only for order ſake they muſt acknowledge the Roman Biſhop to be the viſible head of the Church: Hereby the ſimpler ſort, thinking that they were not conſtrained to any other faith, but what they had formerly learned, thought that they might with a ſafe conſcience promiſe that outward obedience. And if they ſaw any one of more Nobility then ordinary, they preſently ſuggeſted to them how much it grieved *Cæſar* that thoſe ancient families which had formerly been the ornaments and props of the Kingdom, ſhould caſt themſelves out into baniſhment, through their unadviſedneſſe, when they might remain and flouriſh under the favour both of God and *Cæſar*: and this ruined many of the Proteſtant Nobility, who preferred their earthly before the heavenly countrey.

Popiſh ſubtilty

Tentation. Many ſeduced.

Yet above a hundred Families, leaving their inheritances, and all their poſſeſſions, went away: Amongſt theſe was the Lord *de Zerotine*, who might have lived in his countrey if he would have deprived himſelf of the worſhip of God, by the loſſe of his Miniſter, or if he would have uſed it covertly, yet he rather choſe affliction with the people of God, then to continue the enjoyments of his earthly poſſeſſions.

Lord *de Zerotine* goeth into exile.

And whereas many of theſe Proteſtants were gone into *Sileſia*, and *Luſatia*, the Emperour ſet forth a Proclamation, wherein he proteſted that it was not his intention to remove them out of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and to ſuffer them in the incorporated Provinces, and therefore he commanded them to depart from thence alſo, or elſe they ſhould be

A cruel Edict.

brought to puniſhment: requiring them alſo to ſend back their children which they had carried with them, upon penalty of loſing all the goods which any of them could demand in his countrey.

Proteſtants wives baniſhed from their husbands.

Preſently after he publiſhed another Edict wherein he required all the Proteſtant wives of the Catholicks, either to reform, or to go into baniſhment: But when many of the chief Officers of the Kingdom had Proteſtant wives, and they would not endure that they ſhould be thus divorced from them: he ſet forth another Edict, whereby they were tolerated till the death of their husbands, and then they ſhould be excluded from their inheritances, and ſent into baniſhment: In the mean time that they ſhould abſent themſelves from all feſtivall and nuptiall ſolemnities, or elſe ſhould take the loweſt place after the Catholicks.

The exiles fought after.

And whereas ſome of the Proteſtants did privately return, or ſtay to make the beſt of that little that did remain unto them: Proclamation was ſent out that all ſuch ſhould be apprehended and impriſoned: and to warn all ſuch as had harbored any of them, upon their allegiance, to appear before the chief Officers in the Caſtle of *Prague*: requiring that if any knew where any of them lay hid, they ſhould ſecretly and ſuddenly attach them, and bring them to priſon.

The three and twentieth Artifice. Laws repealed

Then did the Emperour repeal and diſannull diverſe of the ancient Statutes of the Kingdom, that made moſt for the peoples Liberties, as concerning their free Election of a King, *&c.* that he might the better every where oppreſſe them.

The four and twentieth Artifice.

Then in all the free Cities men of baſe and mean quality were appointed to determine all buſineſſes, and to be the chief Officers, and to theſe were added ſome of the chief of the ſouldiery, the better to procure ſubjection.

Theſe Cities alſo they impoveriſhed by taxes and contributions, which continued diverſe years, and were extorted by the Souldiers power.

Then Maſſe-Prieſts were put into the places of godly Miniſters, and people were compelled to frequent the Maſſe: Marriages were forbidden, except amongſt the Catholicks: Such as turned Apoſtates were promoted to all places of Magiſtracy in the Cities, though men of no judgement, nor experience.

Apoſtates promoted.

The five and twentieth Artifice.

Then were theſe Articles given to the Captains of Diſtreſſes.

1. That whoſoever is not of the Kings Religion, all traffick and commerce ſhall be debarred him.

2. Whoſoever ſhall ſuffer private Preaching, Baptiſm, or Matrimony in his houſe, ſhall pay a great Fine, or ſuffer ſix moneths impriſonment: but if he harbour a Preacher, he ſhall loſe goods and Life.

3. If any ſhall work upon Catholick-holidaies, he ſhall be impriſoned, and pay ten Florences.

4. It ſhall not be lawfull for any Non-Catholick to make a Will: if he do, it ſhall be null.

5. No

5. No youth ſhall be bound Apprentice, or learn any Art or Trade, unleſſe he learn the Catholick Religion.

6. The poor people in Hoſpitals except they be converted by ſuch a day, ſhall be turned out, *&c.*

After the taking of the City of *Prague,* Papiſts were examined upon oath to declare what they knew or heard, that the Proteſtants had ſpoken or done againſt *Cæſar.* Then was an Act publiſhed to the reſt of the Citizens, that though they had forfeited their whole eſtates, yet they ſhould not be wholly ſequeſtred, but every one ſhould contribute part of his Eſtate to ſupport the Army: then were men required upon oath to diſcover what their Eſtates were: according to which they were injoyned to pay a ranſome to obtain a pardon: then was all trading inhibited to ſuch as were not Catholicks.

In the City of *Kutterberg* were abundance of ſilver mines, and the Inhabitants generally zealous profeſſors: hereupon ſo ſoon as they began to be moleſted for Religion, the Kings Revenue began to diminiſh, moſt of the workmen giving over the work: The King ſeeing this, he farms his Revenues to the Citizens for ten years, promiſing that in the interim they ſhould not be troubled with ſouldiers, nor for their Religion: and hereto he ſet his hand and ſeal: But Satan envying their peace and liberty, ſtirs up the Jeſuites, to move the King to break his Covenant within four moneths after: and the ſouldiers were ſent thither again, and they began again to be queſtioned about their religion: the Citizens aſtoniſhed at this manifeſt breach of Covenant, humbly petition that no violence might be offered to them, which would overthrow the mettall-works: But in ſtead of anſwer, the Maior and chief Aldermen had twenty Muſquetiers apiece put into their houſes upon free quarter, till they had ſhriven themſelves to a Prieſt: the Souldiers domineered exceedingly, waſting theſe mens eſtates by their profuſeneſſe, and abuſing them divers other waies at their pleaſure: yet the patience of the one overcame the tyrannicall behaviour of the other: Theſe godly men ſo long as they had it, provided for the ſouldiers, but when all was gone, ſome of them withdrew themſelves from danger by flight: others reſigned their houſes and goods to theſe domineering villains: delivering the keys to them, and departing.

The Proteſtants in the ſilver Mines had a promiſe of favour. Popiſh perfidiouſneſs.

Souldiers quartered upon them.

When yet this prevailed not, the task of reforming that City was committed to *Don Martin,* who accompanied with a Troop of Curiaſſiers, and himſelf brandiſhing a naked ſword, entred into the City, the Citizens trembling at his coming, hearing of the cruelty which he had exerciſed in other places, whereupon that very night multitudes of them betook themſelves to flight, thinking to hide themſelves in neighbour villages, this cauſed *Don Martin* to get an Edict that none ſhould harbour exiles upon a great penalty.

Don. Martins cruelty.

The year after a Senate at *Kutterberg* was elected out of the Apoſtates: the Major being a baſe and illiterate perſon: ſo that all the Citizens being ſtill oppreſſed with the ſouldiers, either fled with their wives and children, leaving all behinde them, or elſe were fain to

submit their necks to the Antichristian yoak.

The *Bolislavians* persecuted.

The next City whither these reformers went, was *Bolislavia*, where the Orthodox Religion had continued for two hundred years, and it was the Principall seat of the Brethren. The Ministers being ejected, they placed in their rooms two crafty Friers, that by all means sought to pervert the people, but when this prevailed not, they brought in three companies of souldiers to quarter upon them. Then were some of the Citizens banished, others cast into prison, and three of the principall were sequestred to strike a terrour into the rest; the cause pretended was, because they said, as was alledged, *That none had power to command their consciences*, &c.

Constancy.

But when yet the Citizens remained constant, they were all warned to appear in the Court, and being come, they were shut up in severall rooms, and called out and examined one by one. The first was the Town-clerk, a weak and timorous man, and therefore they had set a ruffian in a corner, with a sword in his hand, whom the fearfull man seeing, was so terrified, that he promised to turn Catholick;

Apostacy.

they so rejoyced at this beginning, that they dismissed all the rest, bad them consider of it, and do as the Town-clerk had set them an example.

Amongst these there were two Burgomasters, learned men, who exhorted their fellow Citizens not to be affrighted with these imaginary terrors.

Afterwards one of them being called for, was partly with threats, and partly with flatteries so wearied out, that at last he took time to consider of it: The other being called for, and an old man proposing the others example to him, he spit in his face, saying, *Traytor, Is this your constancy?*

Constancy.

And so both he, and the rest of the Citizens remained as unmoveable as a Rock.

Recovery.

The first Burgomaster considering what he had done, and being ashamed of it, came and gave them such a positive answer, as that with the rest he was sent to prison.

One *Bartholmew Lang* told them to their faces, that he had rather die by the sword, then deny his faith; whereupon with divers others he was thrust into a stinking dungeon, where they kept them prisoners for seventeen weeks, their houses in the mean time being possessed by the barbarous souldiers.

One of these godly persons died in prison: And about that time

Bethlem Gabor.

Bethlem Gabor warring with the Emperour, and Count *Mansfield* entring *Silesia* with the King of *Denmarks* Army, these Tyrants were

Gods providence.

struck with such a terrour, that presently Proclamations came forth, that it was not his Majesties pleasure that any man should be forced to the faith, by violent means; by which Proclamation the inhabitants of *Bolislavia* had some respit.

But the year after, when *Gabor* was retired, and the King of *Denmark* beaten out of *Silesia*, their tyranny again revived, and a new Proclamation came forth to inhibit the Protestants all Trade and Commerce, and to command them to abjure their heresie under pain of severest and inevitable punishment. Hereupon some were banished,

others

others voluntarily went into exile, others were denied traffique, the Friers taking away ſuch commodities as they ſet to ſale, ſo that the Citizens which ſtayed, were forced to take the mark of the Beaſt, that they might buy and ſell. A new perſecution.

In the City of *Litomeric*, Anno 1517. there was an unanimous agreement amongſt the Citizens, that none ſhould be made free amongſt them, but ſuch as profeſſed the reformed Religion; and that whoſoever ſhould move for the nulling of this Act ſhould be disfranchiſed; this continued inviolate for a hundred years, till two Jeſuites ſued to be made free men of the City, which being denied, they entred their complaint in the Chancery, whither ſome of the principall Aldermen were ſummoned, and kept for nine weeks ſpace, till by threats they had obtained from them to make theſe two men free. Five moneths after one of them is made an Alderman, that ſo they might have their ſpies in every place; there were alſo cunning ſeducers ſent thither to withdraw the people from their Religion. In *Litomeric*. Popiſh ſubtilty

But when this prevailed not, *Anno* 1625. they took the names of every Citizen, commanding them conſtantly to come to the Maſſe, and every one to ſhew his name to the Sexton, that they might know that all were there preſent, or elſe for every omiſſion they ſhould forfeit five pound.

Then bringing in more ſouldiers, they commanded all the inhabitants to be preſent at their idolatrous Proceſſion, and becauſe the Recorder came not, they ſent a whole company of ſouldiers to plunder his houſe, who alſo abuſed and threatned his wife.

The year after they brought in more ſouldiers, quartering them in the principal mens houſes, in ſome ten, in ſome twenty, and in others thirty, who abuſed them fearfully, but through Gods aſſiſtance they bore it with ſuch admirable patience, that the enemies were weary with plaguing them, and began to be more moderate; yet they publiſhed an order, that whoſoever would not turn Catholick, ſhould with their wives and children, depart the City and Kingdom by a certain day, whereupon many of them removed into *Miſnia*. Patience in perſecution.

At the City of *Radecium* they drave away the Miniſters, and placed there a merry Archdeacon, who proteſted that all violent means were diſpleaſing to him, and therefore he entertained the Citizens with jeſts and merry ſpeeches, and would draw them to Taverns and Gameing houſes: But when, after four years triall, he found that he had not converted any one of them by theſe means, he brought in ſouldiers for his help: Then did he aſſemble the people, requiring them to go in Proceſſion with him, but when none would follow, the ſouldiers ruſhed in amongſt them with their drawn ſwords; whereupon the people ran, ſome one way, ſome another, others were forced to follow the Proceſſion whether they would or no, and ſome for refuſing were ſlain. In *Radecium*. Tentation reſiſted. Popiſh cruelty.

Then was a whole Regiment of ſouldiers ſent thither, with expreſſe charge not to depart, till the City was reformed. The Archdeacon, taking

taking ſome of theſe, went to a Phyſitian that had been lame for ſome years, and asketh him whether he would become a Catholick; which he ſtoutly refuſed, ſaying, that he had rather his half rotten carkaſſe ſhould be drawn through the fields, and torn in pieces, then to do any thing againſt his conſcience. Then were all the inhabitants called together, the City gates ſhut, and the people grievouſly threatned if they would not turn, and ſuch as refuſed were thruſt into priſons, and ſouldiers were ſent to their houſes, who raged and domineered over their wives and children; whereupon they ran to their husbands with tears and intreaties, and prevailed with many of them to deſire time to be given them to learn the Romiſh religion, only twenty eight of them, together with their wives and children forſook their earthly Eſtate, and went into baniſhment to preſerve their conſciences clear.

Conſtancy.

Humane infirmity.

Conſtancy.

At *Bidſove.*

Don Martin went alſo to *Bidſove,* ten miles from *Prague,* attended with his ſouldiers, and aſſembling the Citizens, he made an Oration to them to turn Catholicks, they anſwered, that they could not unlearn that in an hour, which they had been learning all their life; this ſo enraged *Martin,* that he aſſaulted the man that anſwered for all the reſt, with a club, beating him extreamly, and then he commanded the chief Officer to carry him out of the City, not ſuffering of him ſo much as to viſit his houſe before his departure: This ſo terrified the reſt, that they promiſed to be taught within a certain time; and whereas ſome of them thought to ſave themſelves by flight, ſending their wives and ſome of their goods privately before, with whom went alſo ſome godly widows; *Martin* having intelligence of it, ſent ſome ſouldiers after them, that ſtript them of their goods, and brought them back, and caſt them into fetters, refuſing to releaſe them, till both they and their husbands turned Catholicks.

Popiſh cruelty.

At *Zaticum,* another City, famous for Religion, the Miniſter being baniſhed, Friers were put into his place, who being aſſiſted with ſouldiers, uſed to cane thoſe that would not bow to the Hoſt, and becauſe the Maior and ſome of the Aldermen were abſent at a ſolemn Proceſſion, they fined them. Then came thither *Don Martin,* and proclaimed, that whoſoever had any Bibles, or other Evangelicall books, if they brought them not in preſently, they ſhould be fined at a hundred Florences, or ſuffer five weeks impriſonment. As alſo whoſoever refuſed to come to Maſſe, ſhould pay five Florences, and three pounds of wax: All the books that were ſo brought, he burnt them without the wals; and for ſuch as ſtill ſtood out, he quartered Troopers upon them, which extorted mony from them day by day: Hereupon many forſook their houſes, and betook themſelves to the hardſhip of a baniſhed life. Then did he proclaim that without his leave none ſhould go out of the gates upon pain of death: The next day he arreſted the Maior, and would not releaſe him, but upon the promiſe of Apoſtacy. Two of the Aldermen he bound with iron chains for refuſing to adore the Hoſt, and for fourteen daies together tormented

At *Zaticum.*

Bibles burnt.

Don. Martins cruelty.

them

them grievouſly, till he had forced their conſent to the like Apoſtacy. Then aſſembling the whole Senate, he commands them preſently to ſubmit to *Cæſars* will, to go to auricular confeſſion, and to communicate in one kinde, promiſing that ſuch as obeyed ſhould be eaſed of ſouldiers, that the others ſhould have their burthens doubled, requiring every one in order to anſwer for himſelf, whether he would promiſe to perform this within three weeks: One of them modeſtly pleading to be excuſed, in regard of his conſcience: the furious beaſt fell upon him, beat him about the head, and abuſed him with curſed words, ſaying, *Thou art an unworthy knave to be in this place, I will have thee bound hand and foot, and caſt into a deep dungeon, and when thou haſt vomited out thy wicked ſoul, I will deliver thee to the hangman to be buried,* &c. Then he cals to his ſouldiers for chains and fetters, with which they bound his hands and feet, and put an iron coller about his neck, with a thick chain, and ſo brought him to the Dungeon, where he was tormented for three weeks, neither wife nor children being ſuffered to come to him, and fed with bread and water; the Jeſuites alſo were daily moleſting him: Then was he ſentenced to death, which he choſe before Apoſtacy. Then ſaid one of the Jeſuites, he is poſſeſſed with the devil, and therefore he commanded him to be bound more ſtraitly, whereby at laſt he was forced to go to auricular confeſſion, but by that means getting out of the Priſon, he fled into *Miſnia* to eſcape their tyranny.

Exile denied to the Proteſtants.

All the beſt Citizens did deſire baniſhment, but the City gates were kept ſtrictly, leaſt any ſhould get out, or carry out their houſhold ſtuff; whereupon many eſcaped by the mines of the wall, and amongſt theſe, a Lords wife, leaving all her rich houſholdſtuff behinde her, crept out at the common ſewer, to follow her husband into baniſhment.

Many of the exiles in *Miſnia*, having ſpent all that little which they carried with them, were forced to ſeek alms in *Bohemia*, where being betrayed, they were caſt into priſon, and ſo tormented, till ſome of them were almoſt diſtracted, and then they were ſent away to other places; ſome of theſe were perſons of good quality.

At *Tuſta*.

At *Tuſta* a chief Officer of the Kingdom ſollicited the Citizens to turn Catholicks, which they refuſing, he complained of it to the Jeſuites at *Prague*, whereupon *Don Martin* is ſent thither, who entring the City, ſends his ſouldiers into the Senators houſes, licenſing them to abuſe them at their pleaſure, ſo that in a ſhort time many were forced to Apoſtaſie. Then did that other Officer ſet a great fine upon the City, becauſe they turned Catholicks for another mans ſake, and would not do it for his: And thus the poor Proteſtants were abuſed on every hand to ſatisfie the luſts of theſe Tyrants.

Apoſtacy.

At *Rokizan*.

Then did another Noble man, with a band of ſouldiers, go to the City of *Rokizan*, and tyrannically abuſe them for their Religion, forbearing no kinde of inſolency that they could think of: Amongſt other projects this was one; He cauſed all the Citizens to write their names

Popiſh ſubtilty

in three books: In the firſt ſuch as were already Catholicks (which were but ſix late Apoſtates) In the ſecond the names of ſuch as would become Apoſtates within a fortnight, which were very few: In the third ſuch as abſolutely refuſed, and ſo were oppoſite to God and *Cæſar*, and in this were almoſt all the names, which ſo enraged him, that he reſolved to uſe all manner of cruelties, ſaying, that they deſerved the croſſe, the wheel, yea and hell it ſelf.

Conſtancy.

Then did he command all the Citizens to be at Church next day, to receive the Sacrament in one kinde; but when, coming to Church, he found few or none, he runs through the ſtreets, and into the houſes, driving all that he met with to the Church with his ſtick. When he came thither again, he eſpied one *John Fœlix* a chief Citizen, but a *Calviniſt*, he therefore fell upon him with a knotty club, beating him about the head, ſhoulders and hands, till he was all gore bloud, and then he ſaid to him, *Get thee hence thou beaſt, with thy curſed Calvin-bloud.* Then did he rage againſt the other Citizens, curſing them, beating ſome, and ſpitting in the faces of others; and from one of the grave Citizens he pulled off his beard, and ſtrewed it on the floor.

John Fœlix.

Barbarous cruelty.

After this he again ſent word to *Fœlix*, that except he changed his minde by the morrow, he would act a new tragedy with him, but that night he eſcaped, leaving behinde him his dear wife and children, and an aged mother of eighty years old. Then did the Earl impriſon his wife, and ſequeſtred his eſtate, and enforced the reſt of the Citizens to ſubſcribe that they did freely, and with all readineſſe of minde, imbrace the Catholick religion.

Fœlix eſcapes.

One *Martinitz* was appointed to reform the City of *Slana*, who ſubſtituted one *Hansburſky* an Apoſtate, to ſee this work done. This man, that he might ingratiate himſelf with the Jeſuites, appointed a ſolemn Proceſſion, and either by fraud or force, brought to it moſt of the Citizens: Amongſt others, he required one *John Blyſſa* to accompany him, but he refuſed, ſaying, *As oft as I have received the Lords Supper, ſo oft have I obliged my ſelf to God, and againſt theſe abominations:* Then ſaid the other, Thou ſhalt not reſiſt the Emperours pleaſure: But ſaid he, In thoſe things which belong to *Cæſar*, I will not, but here Gods buſineſſe is in hand: Then ſaid the other, Thou ſhalt be forced to it: God, replied he, ſeeks willing, not forced worſhippers; whereupon he was preſently committed to priſon, for nine weeks, and ſo was another godly Citizen, and fined, and then together with his wife, driven out of the City.

At *Slana.*

John Blyſſa.

Baniſhed.

Afterwards alſo was *Blyſſa* and his wife baniſhed, for procuring his childe to be Baptized by a Proteſtant Miniſter privately, and his eſtate was ſequeſtred, having nothing left him to ſupport him in his baniſhment.

Then by divers kindes of torments he compelled ſome to a forced obedience; as he did fifty men whom he ſhut up in a narrow room, where they could neither ſtand, ſit, nor lie, nor have leave to go forth

to eaſe nature: So that after three daies enduring of this pain and ſtink, they were forced to promiſe to learn the *Roman* religion.

The like dealing he uſed to divers women in his own chamber: but ſo ſoon as they could, moſt of them went into voluntary baniſhment.

At *Prachatice*. Prodigious cruelties.

The City of *Prachatice* they entred by force, and ſlew the Maior, who was bringing to them the keys,-together with a thouſand ſix hundred men, women and children, ſparing none but ſuch as fled, or hid themſelves in ſecret places: The karcaſſes they left unburied for divers daies, all dirty, and ſhamefully naked. Afterwards when the City began again to be inhabited, the Commiſſioners of Reformation came thither, promiſing them that if they would turn Catholicks, they ſhould have their Liberties reſtored to them, but if they refuſed, they ſhould be reſtrained from all trading, and when this prevailed not, they thruſt men and women, young and old into priſons, where they miſerably afflicted them for four whole moneths.

The like cruelty they uſed to all other Cities, where they ſhewed and uſed all manner of impoſtures, deceits, tyrannies and impudent practices, till they had rooted out the reformed Religion, and ſet up their idolatrous and ſuperſtitious worſhip in the ſtead of it.

The twenty ſixth Artifice.

The godly Miniſters being generally removed, the next deſign of the enemies was to take all Bibles, and other profitable books out of the peoples hands, that ſo the heat of Religion might in time grow cold: The Friers alſo which were placed in the Churches, did not preſently thunder, but dealt fairly, beſeeching, and confirming the truth of their Religion with oaths, and dreadfull curſings of themſelves, promiſing alſo the Emperours favour, and the eaſing of their burthens; yea they ſought by works of charity to oblige the poorer ſort to them.

Popiſh ſubtilty

One Frier promiſed a buſhell of Wheat to every one that would come to Confeſſion; but when his Garners began to waſte, he gave but half the meaſure, whereupon one flang away in anger, ſaying, *What, Is my ſoul viler then the reſt?* But when they perceived that they gained but few by their Fox-like ſubtilty, they returned to their Woliſh cruelty, compelling men to come to Maſſe, and taking the names of all ſuch as abſented themſelves; if any went to private religious meetings, they were fined, impriſoned and whipt.

Popiſh profaneneſſe. Chriſtians ſtript.

Some godly perſons being met together with a Miniſter, in a private Chappel, two Colonels, with ſome troops came upon them, encompaſſed the Church, ruſht in with their drawn ſwords, took the Miniſter from the Communion-table, ſtript off his clothes, and ſent him away to priſon, then they caſt the bread upon the earth, poured out the wine, and trampled upon it: Then they fell upon the people, ſtripping men and women naked, it being froſt and ſnow, ſo that many of them died; ſome were wounded, others ſo affrighted that they fell into diſeaſes: Modeſty forbids to tell how they uſed the women, even in the Church.

Popiſh uncleanneſſe.

Then came out an Edict that whoſoever refuſed to turn Papiſt, whether men or women, young or old, bond or free, their names ſhould be returned to the Councel of State, who would give inſtructions what ſhould be done with their perſons and eſtates.

The twenty ſeventh Artifice.

Marriage, Buriall and Baptiſm were forbidden to the Proteſtants, and if any did it privatly, they were impriſoned, and not diſmiſſed without Apoſtaſie, or a great fine. Then was all trading inhibited, or means of getting their living, and at laſt buying of food, ſo that the poor people being oppreſſed with hunger and want, were either forced to fly, or to Apoſtatize.

Prodigious cruelties.

The countrymen they fetched out of their houſes, yea out of their beds, by troops of ſouldiers, driving them like beaſts before them in the ſharpeſt cold, and filled the common priſons, towers, cellers, ſtables, yea and hogſties with them, where they were killed with hunger, cold and thirſt.

A godly Chirurgion, with others, was caſt into a place full of ſnakes. Another company was thruſt into a ſtable, and all the windows ſtopt up, that they were almoſt ſtifled for want of breath. In ſome places they ſhut them up in privies, that they might be poiſoned with the ſtink. In ſome places they made holes, and knockt them full of iron ſpikes, wherein thoſe that were ſhut, could neither ſit nor ſtand, but bending and crooked: It was not poſſible that any man could endure this poſture above two or three hours, their ſinews in the mean time trembling, and their members quivering, and their hearts ready to faint with anguiſh; ſo that ſome were forced to promiſe to turn Catholicks, others that refuſed were brought back to torture.

Then they deviſed a priſon upon the water, very narrow, and not above a cubit and an half in length, wherein the priſoner could by no means lay himſelf at length, and if he turned himſelf unawares, he muſt fall into the water.

The twenty eighth Artifice

Another deſign was, firſt to aſſault men of greateſt authority, to make them an example to the reſt.

At *Minion*.

In the Town of *Minion* the Commiſſioner demanded of the people a poſitive anſwer, whether they would turn Catholicks: And one of them in the name of the reſt ſaying, that conſcience neither would nor could be forced, he was preſently laid upon the ground and beaten, and ſtill denying to turn Catholick, when he could hardly ſpeak, he was torn in pieces; The reſt affrighted at this terrible ſpectacle promiſed obedience if time were given them.

In another place the Senators refuſing to turn Apoſtates, the chiefeſt of them was made to ride the wooden horſe, in the market-place, for ſix hours ſpace, though he was very ancient, ſo that he was lame and half dead, when he was taken off.

Popiſh malice.

When any deſired to die, rather then to forſake their Religion, it was anſwered, that the Emperour did not thirſt after their bloud, but rather after the welfare of their ſouls: To others they ſaid, *Oh, you affect the glory of Martyrdom, but you are baſe knaves, and are unwor-*

Death denied them.

unworthy to have any thing to glory in.

There were many who would have died in the maintenance of their Chriſtian faith, but there were none that would inflict death upon them; for theſe cruel Tyrants brought up in the devils ſchool, would not kill the body but the ſoul, and therefore they ſought by lingring and continuall puniſhments to bring them firſt to ſtagger, and then to deny the truth.

When any man deſired to be convinced by Scripture, they anſwered with ſcoffs and jears, accuſing the Scripture of imperfection, of obſcurity, of ambiguity, ſaying that it was the Fountain of Hereſie, the Sanctuary of Hereticks, and that Laymen had nothing to do with it: They called the Bible *Wiblia*, which in the *Bohemian* language, ſignifies vomit. They took away all Orthodox books from the people, that thereby they might be the more eaſily led into error. Blaſphemy.

In ſome places they ſhut up the people in the Church, and forced them to receive in one kinde; and if they would not fall down to the Hoſt, they uſed to beat their legs with clubs, till they fell down: Some they impriſoned and racked ſeverall times, to force them to auricular confeſſion. Of others they ſet open their mouths with gags, and thruſt the Hoſt down their throats. In other places they forced the people, not only to abjure the Cup, but to throw it down, and to ſpit upon it, and tread it under foot. Prodigious wickedneſſe.

If any to avoid this Tyranny fled into the woods and ſecret places, hunger drave them out again, whereby they became a prey to their adverſaries; if they went to neighbouring places, ſome or other would betray them.

Edicts alſo were publiſhed, forbidding all to entertain ſuch as fled, upon pain of forfeiting a hundred pieces of ſilver for every nights entertainment. Yet theſe miſerable people could not go out of the Kingdom, not being acquainted with any other language: beſides, they were told that ere long the like tragedy ſhould be acted every where.

Four men of *Koßenberg* continuing conſtant after long impriſonment, they were firſt expoſed to cold for five weeks together in the depth of winter: Then for nine daies they were pined with hunger, they having only a ſmall portion of bread that kept life and ſoul together, and drinking their own urine, and when they were threatned harder uſage, if they turned not, they anſwered, *We willingly imbrace all afflictions of famine, hanging, burning, or any thing, rather then we would ſin againſt God.* Thereupon, only twice a week there was given them a mouthfull of bread, and a draught of water. Then were they parted aſunder, one thruſt into the ſink of the priſon, another into a furnace, and none permitted to viſit them; and when nothing would prevail, they ſet a fine upon them, and baniſhed them. Conſtancy.

Others were kept in priſons and bonds till they died. One was kept in a filthy priſon till his feet rotted off, and yet he paſſed away the time with ſinging of Pſalms, as if he enjoyed all manner of delights. Comfort in afflictions.

Another man being tired out with impriſonment, promiſed to turn Catholick, and was releaſed, but preſently (as himſelf wrote afterwards) God chaſtened him for this his fault, holding his conſcience captive for an whole year together, ſo that he could have no hope in Gods mercy: Yet he recalled to minde former ſinners, who upon their repentance obtained mercy of God: Thereupon he cried unto God a whole year together, night and day watering his bed with his tears, becauſe he thought himſelf damned; but at laſt God (ſaith he) ſent his Angel to me, and I ſaw his glory brighter then the ſun, and I had Gods Spirit beſtowed upon me, *&c.* After which he was apprehended, beheaded and quartered.

Danger of Apoſtacy.

The pictures of *John Huſſe* and *Jerom* of *Prague* they defaced; all the Bibles that they could meet with, they burned; the graves of the Miniſters they opened, took out their bones and burnt them.

Bibles burnt.

The Statues of King *Frederick* they beat in pieces, and trampled them under their feet. One man they fined at five hundred Dollars, for giving his ſon the name of *Frederick.*

Before theſe calamities befell the *Bohemians,* God gave them warning by ſundry Prodigies. In ſeverall places divers ſuns were ſeen together. At *Prague* the ſun ſeemed to dart out bals of fire: Alſo a flying Dragon, flaming horribly, was ſeen throughout all *Bohemia* and *Sileſia.* Alſo a ſpring flowed with bloud for an whole moneth together. In another place a Fiſh-pond was wholly turned into bloud for the ſpace of three daies.

Prodigies.

A great flock of Crows and Daws, fought together for a whole daies ſpace, whereby multitudes of them were ſlain.

At *Prague* it rained brimſtone, and the Image of the crucifix being ſet up, was ſtruck down with a thunderbolt. The gates of ſome Cities opened of their own accord. Many Bibles being thrown into a great fire, were untouched, only the margin a little ſcorched.

Many Apoſtates tormented by the ſting of conſcience, cried out, *They were damned.* Some to avoid theſe terrors hanged themſelves; others drowned themſelves. Some died in fearfull deſpair, others died ſuddenly: One as he was about to abjure, was ſtricken dumb, and being carried home was poſſeſſed with a great trembling all over, and gnawing his own tongue, he died miſerably.

Gods judgement on Apoſtates.

Dr *Knapper* a great perſecutor was ſlain by the appointment of his wife an adultereſſe, for which ſhe was afterwards hanged. Another vomited out his ungodly ſoul with bloud. Another ran mad, and caſt himſelf down from the top of his houſe, and ſo roaring fearfully, he breathed his laſt. Another ſhot himſelf to death with his own Piſtoll. Another ran mad, fell into ſuch a diſeaſe, that none could come near him for ſtink, and at laſt was choaked with vomiting up abundance of bloud. Another being taken with a ſudden diſeaſe, waxed as black as a cole, uttered his ſpeech like the barking of a dog, and within three daies died with terrible pains. Another, by the breaking of a great gun, was torn all to pieces. Another had a terrible diſeaſe

Gods judgement on perſecutors.

ſeaſe in his throat, his tongue rotted, many holes were eaten in his throat, whereout his food and medicines came, ſo that he died miſerably.

Collected out of a Book called Hiſtoria Perſecutionum Eccleſiæ Bohem. *written by ſome Bohemian exiles.*

HAving thus given you a brief Narrative of the Perſecutions of the Church in *Bohemia*, from the firſt planting of the Goſpel amongſt them, to our preſent times: Before I proceed any further, let us a little look back to ſee how God fought for them, againſt their Popiſh adverſaries, and thereby after a wonderfull manner plagued their perſecutors. Much may be read hereof in my *ſecond Part*, in the Life of *Ziſca*; but after his death, there was a great fear, and ſorrow ſeized on his Army, and the ſouldiers being divided amongſt themſelves, one part of them choſe for their Captain *Procopius Magnus*, who ſtill retained the name of *Thaborites*: The other part, thinking none worthy to ſucceed *Ziſca*, named themſelves the *Orphanes*, by reaſon of the loſſe of their Captain; yet whenſoever their Popiſh adverſaries came againſt them, they both joined together to defend themſelves and the liberty of the Goſpel in *Bohemia*.

The Pope ſtirs up perſecution.

About this time Pope *Martin* perceiving the Goſpel and the Profeſſors of it to increaſe daily in *Bohemia*, he ſent the Cardinall of *Wincheſter*, an *Engliſh* man, into *Germany*, to ſtirre up the Emperour and *German* Princes to make warre againſt the *Bohemians*. Hereupon three Armies were levied, one under the Duke of *Saxony*; the ſecond under the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, the third under *Otho* Archbiſhop of *Trevers*: Theſe three Armies entred *Bohemia* three waies, and at laſt joining all into one, beſieged the City of *Miſna*, which but the night before was won from the Papiſts by one *Prichicho*, a learned and zealous Proteſtant, and therefore the Popiſh Armies reſolved to take that place before they marched any further: But ſo ſoon as news came that the Proteſtants had raiſed an Army, and were haſting to the relief of *Miſna*, they ſpeedily fled before they ever ſaw an enemy, leaving all their Engines of warre, and a great booty behinde them.

Gods judgements on perſecutors.

The Popiſh Army flies.

The Cardinall meeting them in their flight, uſed all the arguments that poſſibly he could to the Nobles and Captains, to turn them back again, magnifying their number and proweſſe, and vilifying their enemies, but when nothing would prevail, himſelf was fain to accompany them in the flight. Preſently the *Bohemians* purſuing, fell upon their rereward, which made their flight much more fearfull and diſordered then it was before, neither did they leave flying till the *Bohemians* left purſuing of them.

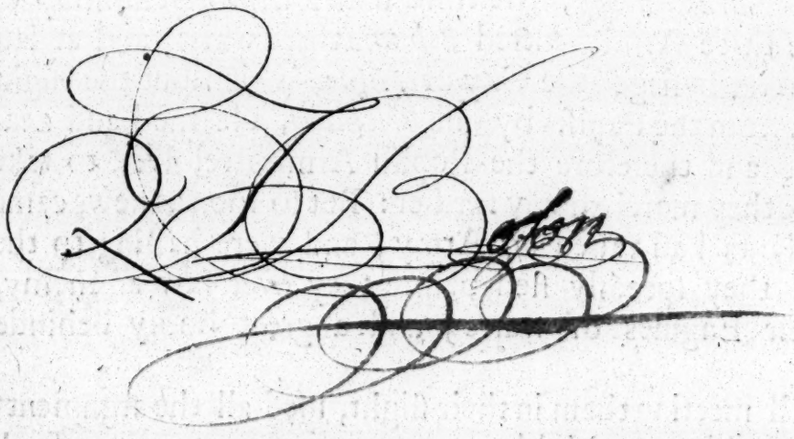
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A new Army raiſed.

The Emperour hearing of this ſhamefull flight, went to *Noremberg*, and by the aſſiſtance of the Cardinall, a new Army was raiſed under the Command of *Frederick* Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, which entred *Bohemia* one way, and another great Army under *Albert* Arch-Duke of *Auſtria*, which entred another way. In theſe two Armies were all the chiefeſt Nobles and Biſhops in *Germany*, being above fourty thouſand horſemen, beſides foot.

They fly when none purſues.

The *Bohemians* as ſoon as they heard of their enemies approach, gathered their Hoſt with all ſpeed to encounter them: But God marvelouſly fought for them, for before the *Bohemians* came near them, the Popiſh Army was ſtruck with ſuch a marvellous ſudden fear, that they began moſt ſhamefully to run away; the Cardinall wondering at it, went up and down to the Captains, exhorting and encouraging of them, telling them that they were to fight for their Lives, Honour, Religion, and the ſalvation of ſouls, *&c.* but notwithſtanding all that he could ſay and do, the Enſignes were ſuddenly ſnatched up, and every man ran headlong away, ſo that the Cardinall was forced to do the like: The Proteſtants encouraged hereby, ſpeedily purſued them, and obtained a very great booty. This ſo aſtoniſhed both the Pope and Emperour, that afterwards they ſought rather by ſubtilty to entrap them, then by force to compell them to forſake their Religion, as we have ſeen in the foregoing ſtory.



THE

Chap. XXVI.

The Perſecution of the Church in Spaine, *which began* Anno Chriſti, 1540.

Anno. 1540. there was one *Francis Romane*, ſent by the *Spaniſh* Merchants of *Antwerp*, to *Breme* to take up ſome mony that was due to them; where, being at a Sermon (through the marvelous working of Gods Spirit) he was ſo effectually wrought upon, that after the Sermon he went to the Preacher, and repeated the contents of his whole Sermon to him, and then betaking himſelf to the ſearching of the Scriptures, and conferring with learned men, in a ſhort ſpace he had attained to a great meaſure of knowledge in the word of life; which the Miniſter obſerving, and withall finding him of a fervent ſpirit, he directed and exhorted him to circumſpection in his carriage, more and more inſtructing him in the knowledge of the Goſpel, which he ſo greedily received as one that could never be ſatisfied. This made him give over ſeeking after temporall treaſure, and inſtead thereof he bought good books, by reading of which, and conference with the Miniſter, he much improved his knowledge in all the chief Articles of Religion. Then did he write letters to his country men at *Antwerp*, wherein he firſt gave thanks to God for revealing his truth to him; then did he bewaile the groſſe ignorance of his countrymen, beſeeching God to open their eyes to underſtand the word of ſalvation, and ſo promiſed ſhortly to returne to them to conferre with them about the grace of God, which he had received; and laſtly he declared his purpoſe of going into *Spaine* to acquaint his parents and friends with that wholſome Doctrine which God had communicated to him.

F. Romanes Converſion.

Zeale.

Then wrote he other letters alſo to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, opening to him the miſerable ſtate of Chriſts Church, deſiring him to tender the good thereof; eſpecially to reforme the groſſe corruptions of the Church of *Spaine*; he wrote alſo a Catechiſme, and ſome other Treatiſes in the *Spaniſh* tongue.

The Merchants at *Antwerp* having received his Letters, ſent for him, pretending much good will, but ſecretly practiſing his deſtruction: For againſt his coming, they ſuborned ſome Friers, who ſo ſoon as he was alighted from his horſe, ſeized upon him, rifled his books, and carrying him into a Merchants houſe, examined him; But he mightily confuting them, they bound him hand & foot, calling him *Lutheran*, they alſo burnt his books before his face, threatning to burn him likewiſe. Then was he ſent Priſoner to a tower ſix miles from *Antwerp*, and caſt into a deep dungeon, where he endured much miſery for eight moneths, at the end whereof, the Merchants, ſuppoſing that he would be better adviſed for the time to come, releaſed him. Then did he go to *Lovain*, where he had much conference with *Driander*, who adviſed him to continue in his calling

Subtilty.

Treachery.

Good counſel

ling of a Merchant, wherein he might have many opportunities of doing good, and for Religion, that he ſhould do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God ſhould be diminiſhed. He adviſed him alſo to take heed of an inconſiderate zeal, leaſt he ſhould do as ſome, who going beyond the bounds of their vocation, thinking to do good and to edifie, they deſtroy and do harme. For ſaid he, it is God that takes care of his Church, and will raiſe up faithful Miniſters for the ſame: neither doth he approve ſuch as raſhly intrude themſelves into that function without any calling thereto.

Note.

He goeth to the Emperour.

This advice *Francis* willingly hearkned unto, promiſing to follow the ſame. Not long after going to *Ratisbone*, where the Emperial Diet was held, having opportunity, he boldly ſtept to the Emperour, beſeeching him to deliver his country and Subjects of *Spaine* from falſe Religion, and to reſtore them to the ſincerity of Chriſts doctrine, proteſting that the Proteſtants of *Germany* were in the truth; and that the Religion of *Spaine* was greatly diſſonant to the Word of God, &c. The Emperour all this while heard him gently, promiſing him to conſider of the matter, and ſo to do therein as he truſted ſhould be for the beſt.

Francis being encouraged with this anſwer, went again to the Emperour a ſecond and third time, and ſtill received a quiet anſwer as before; yet not ſatisfied herewith, he went a fourth time, but was repulſed by ſome Spaniards about the Emperour, who were ſo incenſed againſt him, that immediatly they would have thrown him headlong into the river of *Danubius*, if the Emperour had not reſtrained them, willing that he ſhould be judged by the Laws of the Empire: Then was he caſt into priſon, till the Emperours voyage into *Africk*, at which time he, with ſome other Captives, was carried into *Spaine*, and there delivered unto the Inquiſitors, who caſt him into a dark priſon under ground; He was oft examined, loaden with many reproaches and contumelies, yet ever remained firme and unmovable, ſo that at laſt they condemned him to be burnt for an heretick. As he was led to the place of execution, they put upon him a miter of paper, painted all over with ugly devils; As he paſſed by a woodden croſſe they required him to worſhip it, to which he anſwered, that the manner of Chriſtians was not to worſhip wood: Being laid upon the pile of wood, when he firſt felt the fire, he lifted up his head towards heaven; whereupon the Inquiſitors thinking that he would recant, cauſed him to be taken down, but when they found his conſtancy, they threw him on again, where he ſlept in the Lord. Then did the Inquiſitors proclaim that he was damned, and that none ſhould pray for him, and that they were hereticks whoſoever doubted of his damnation.

Is impriſoned.

Carried into *Spaine*.

Condemned by the Inquiſitors.

Burned.

Rochus.

There was alſo dwelling at St. *Lucar* in *Spaine* one *Rochus*, a skilful graver of images: but the Lord pleaſing to enlighten him with the ſaving knowledge of his truth, he gave over making of idolatrous images, and imployed himſelf in making of ſeals: only he kept ſtanding on his ſtall an image of the Virgin *Mary*, artificially graven for a ſigne of his occupation.

An Inquiſitor paſſing by, and liking the image, asked the price of it:

Rochus

Rochus ſet him a price, but was not willing to ſel it: the Inquiſitor bade him half ſo much: the other anſwered that he could not afford it ſo, and that he had rather break it then ſell it; yea, ſaid the Inquiſitor, let me ſee that if thou dareſt? with that *Rochus* with a Chiſel cut off the noſe of the image; whereupon the Inquiſitor preſently commanded him to priſon, and within three days he was condemned to be burnt. At the place of execution he poured out his fervent prayers to Almighty God, and ſo made a bleſſed end. *Anno* 1545. Condemned.

Divers other godly perſons being by the Inquiſitors caſt into loathſome dungeons, ended their lives there.

Anno 1550. At *Validolid*, the Inquiſitors brought forth thirty Priſoners together of high and low eſtate, as alſo the Coffin of a certain noble woman with her picture lying upon it, ſhe being dead long before, to receive judgment and ſentence: for the ſolemnities whereof they had erected three great ſtages; the firſt for the Kings ſiſter, the Lady *Jane*, and his eldeſt ſonne Prince *Philip*, with other States: The ſecond for the Fathers Inquiſitors: And the third for the Priſoners; multitudes of People being aſſembled together, theſe dear ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, clothed with *Sambito's*, [a yellow cloth hanging down before and behind, powdred with red croſſes] and having burning tapers in their hands, & miters upon their heads painted with devils, and ſo they were placed in their rankes: Then was a Sermon preached, after which an Oath was adminiſtred to the Princes and Nobles by the Inquiſitors, that they ſhould favour the holy Inquiſition, and conſent to the ſame, and that they ſhould employ their uttermoſt indeavour to ſee all them executed which ſhould ſwerve from the Church of *Rome*, and adhere to the *Lutherans* without reſpect of Perſons, of what degree, quality, or condition ſoever, and that they ſhould compel their ſubjects to ſubmit to the Church of *Rome*, and to obey all its laws, &c. Then was Dr. *Cacalla* called forth, a man of excellent learning, who had often preached before the Emperour whilſt he was a Friar; but being now accounted to be the Standard-bearer to the *Lutherans*, he was called forth to hear his ſentence, which was that he ſhould be degraded, and preſently burnt, and his goods confiſcated. Thirty Chriſtians condemned. A wicked Oath. *Cacalla* condemned.

The like ſentence of condemnation was pronounced upon his brother *Francis*, a preacher alſo, who having ſpoken boldly againſt the Inquiſition, they ſo ſtopt his mouth that he could not ſpeak a word. Then *Blanch* their ſiſter received the like ſentence, and ſo did moſt of the other, only ſome few of them were condemned to ſome yeers impriſonment, and to wear their Sambito's all their life time, &c.

Then was the Coffin of the dead Lady with her picture upon it condemned likewiſe to be burnt. This good woman whilſt ſhe lived was a worthy maintainer of the Goſpel, of great integrity of life, and one that had divers aſſemblies in her houſe for the true preaching of the Word of God; wherefore her houſe was alſo ſentenced to be razed down, and a Pillar to be ſet up in the place thereof, with an inſcription ſhewing the cauſe. Popiſh malice.

Then were all theſe that were ſentenced to death, together with the

 Malice.

Coffin, delivered to the secular Magistrate, and so every one of them being set upon an Asse with their faces towards his taile, they were guarded by many souldiers to the place of execution: at which place there was for each of them a stake set up, to which every of them were bound, and so they were first strangled, and then burnt to ashes; only one of them, who had been most vehement against them, was burnt alive, and his mouth stopped that he should not speak to the People. All men marvelled at their constancy and quiet end.

Many burnt together.

At the same time also there were in prison at *Validolid* thirty seven others, which were reserved for another Tragedy and Spectacle of the bloody Inquisition. But seeing much mention is made of the Spanish Inquisition, and of the cruelty exercised thereby against the poor servants of Iesus Christ, I shall here set down the first Original, and Progresse thereof, as hereafter followeth.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Originall, Progresse, and Practice of the Spanish Inquisition.

The Spanish Inquisition.

WHen King *Ferdinand* and *Isabel* had expelled the *Turks* out of the City and Territories of *Granata*, and other places of *Spaine*, who had lived there 778. years, they set upon the Reformation of Religion, and granted the Conquered Moors liberty to stay, and to enjoy all their goods, provided that they turned Christians; and whereas also there were very many *Jews*, who had continued there since *Titus* conquered *Jerusalem*, they gave them leave to stay upon the same condition; but all such as refused, were commanded presently to depart out of *Spaine*. Yet afterwards finding that those Persons were only Christians in name, and had submitted only to save their estates, instead of providing godly Ministers with meeknesse to instruct them, and to draw them from their errours; by the advice of the *Dominican* Friers they erected the Inquisition; wherein the poor wretches in stead of instructions were robbed of all their estates, and either put to most cruel deaths, or else suffered most intolerable torments by whipping, &c. and leading the rest of their lives in ignominy & poverty; Neither was this only inflicted upon such as blasphemed Christ, but for the observation of the least *Jewish* or *Mooriſh* ceremony, or the smallest errour in the Christian Religion. But this Inquisition at first erected against *Iews* and *Moors*, was afterwards turned against the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and for the suppressing of the Gospel, and the Profession of it; and thus briefly you have the Original of it; let us now see what their practice and exercise is.

Invented by Dominicans.

As soon as information is given in against any one, though but for a very small matter, they do not presently cite the Person to appear before them

them, but they ſuborn one of their Officers, called a Familiar, to inſinuate himſelf into his company, who taking occaſion to meet the party accuſed, uſes thus to greet him; Sir, I was yeſterday by accident at my Lords Inquiſitors, who ſaid that they had occaſion to ſpeak with you about certain of their affairs, and therefore they commanded me to ſummon you to appear before them to morrow at ſuch an houre: The Party not daring to refuſe, goes to the place, ſends in word that he is come to attend them, and ſo when he is called in, they aſk him what ſuit he hath to them? and when he anſwers, that he comes upon ſummons, they inquire his name. For, ſay they, we know not whether you be the ſame man or not: but ſince you are come, if you have any thing to inform this Court of, either concerning your ſelf or any other, you may let us heare it, for the diſcharge of your own conſcience; The Parties ſafeſt way is conſtantly to deny that he hath any thing to declare to them. But if through ſimplicity he doth accuſe himſelf or any other, they rejoyce, as having attained their deſires, and ſo preſently commit him to priſon.

If nothing be confeſſed, they diſmiſſe him, pretending that for the preſent they know not whether he be the Party or no: after his departure they let him alone for ſome ſpace, and then ſend for him again, exhorting him that if he know, or hath heard any thing that concernes their holy Court, to diſcloſe it to them; For (ſay they) we know that you have had dealing with ſome perſons ſuſpected in Religion, and therefore remember your ſelf well, if you confeſſe you ſhall fare the better, and you ſhall but do therein as a good Chriſtian ought to do. If ſtill he refuſe, they threaten, and ſo diſmiſſe him. Subtilty.

Yet they have always one or other to keep him company, to creep into his boſome, and grope his conſcience: who under the colour of friendſhip ſhall viſit him daily, and have an eye to all his dealings, obſerve what company he keepeth, with whom he confers, &c. So that without Gods ſpecial aſſiſtance, it is not poſſible to eſcape their ſnares; The Inquiſitors alſo if they meet him, ſpeak courteouſly to him, promiſe to befriend him, &c. and all to make him more careleſſe of himſelfe, that they may undo him before he be aware. But if the Party be a ſtranger, or one that is like to make an eſcape; or that they hope to gain any thing by his confeſſion, they preſently clap him up in priſon: in which priſon great numbers die, either ſtarved with hunger, or by extremity of racking of them, &c. Their dealing with ſtrangers.

If any one that is accuſed chance to make an eſcape, they have many devices to find and fetch him again. They have ſtore of ſearchers, to whom beſides the common ſignes, they give his lively picture, whereby they may eaſily know him: An Italian at *Rome* having wounded an Apparator, fled to *Sivil*: the Familiars were ſent to ſeek him, and when they had found him, though they had his counterfeit, yet by reaſon that he had altered his habit, they were doubtful whether it was he or no, the rather becauſe he had changed his name, whereupon they followed him only upon ſuſpicion: but one day as he was walking, and earneſtly Their Familiars.

talking with some Gentlemen, two of these Familiars suddenly called him by his old name: The Party earnest in talk and not minding it, looked behind him, and made answer, whereupon they presently apprehended him, clapt him in irons for a long time, then whipt him, and condemned him to the Gallies during his life. So soon as any is arrested by the Familiars, they take from him all the keyes of his locks or chests whatsoever, and then they take an Inventory of all his goods, leaving them with some man that will undertake to be accountable for them: but in the sequestring and rifling the houses, if they have any gold, silver, or Jewels, these Familiars, which usually are bawds, theeves, shifters, and the vilest of the People, will be sure to filch some of it; and the reason of this sequestration is, that if the Party be condemned, the holy Inquisition may enjoy his whole estate.

Sequestration.

As soon as the Prisoner is entred within the first gate of the Prison, the Jailor asketh him if he have a knife about him, or mony, or ring, or Jewels; and if a woman, whether she hath knives, rings, chains, bracelets, or other ornaments, and all these the Jailor strips them of as his fee: And this is done that the poor Prisoners may have nothing to relieve themselves with, during their imprisonment; They search them also to see whether they have any writing or book about them, which likewise they take from them: then they shut them up in a Cabin, like to a little-ease, where they have little room for cleanlinesse, and but little light.

Stript of all in prison.

Some are thus kept all alone for two or three moneths, some as long as they live, others have company, as the Lords Inquisitors please. When the Party hath been in prison a week or two, the Jailor perswades him to petition for a day of hearing, telling him the sooner the better, and that it will much further his cause, and bring it to some good effect, &c. whereas it were farre better for him to stay till he be called for; for then he hath nothing to do but to answer their objections: But the poor Prisoner, not knowing this mystery, is usually ruled by his Keeper, intreating him to stand his friend to procure him a day of hearing, whose suit is easily heard, and the Prisoner is brought into the Consistory. Then do the Inquisitors ask him, what is his request? the Prisoner answereth that he would gladly have his matter heard; then they labour by threatning him with worse usage if he conceal the truth, to confesse the thing whereof he is accused, and if they can but draw him to this, they have their desires; for usually they draw more from him then they could have proved against him: Then they advise him to let it come from himself, promising that if he acknowledge his faults, he shall presently be released, and sent home: If yet he stand mute, they then charge him to disburthen his conscience, and in the mean time to return to his prison, till he hath better bethought himself, and then he may sue for a new day of hearing, and so they dismisse him.

Subtilty.

How Inquisitors deal with the Prisoners.

Then after some days they call for him again, asking him if he be yet determined to confesse ought? but whether he plead his innocency, or confesse some little, they still urge him to disburthen his conscience, perswading

ſwading him that they adviſe him for the beſt, and in love and compaſſion to him; but if he now refuſe the favour proffered, he ſhall find them afterwards ſharp Iuſtices, &c. and ſo ſend him back again to priſon.

The third time he is called for, they uſe the like ſubtilty to draw him to confeſſion telling him that if he refuſe, they muſt uſe extremity, and do what they can by law; by which word they mean extream tormenting and mangling of him; Then if the Party confeſſe any thing; Nay, ſay they, we are not yet ſatisfied, we have not all you can ſay, you keep back ſomething on purpoſe, and ſo they remand him to priſon.

Having thus excruciated him day by day, if they can yet get nothing out of him, they then require an oath of him, and hold a Crucifix or Croſſe before him, whereby the poor Chriſtian muſt at laſt needs ſhew himſelf: for knowing that he ought to ſwear by God alone, who hath reſerved this honour to himſelf, he muſt refuſe the oath; which if he do, then they read a large indictment againſt him, wherein they lay to his charge things that no man ever accuſed him of, and which, it may be, himſelf never thought of; and this they do to amaze him, and ſo to try if he will confeſſe any of theſe miſdemeanours, or if they can trip him in his anſwers, and ſo catch him in their net. Then they put him to anſwer to every article particularly *ex tempore*, without any time of deliberation: Then they give him pen, ink, and paper, requiring him to ſet down his anſwer in writing, to ſee if they can find any difference betwixt his former anſwer and this: and if the Party chance to confeſſe ought, then they enquire of whom he learned it, and whether he hath ſpoken of it before others, and who they are, and hereby many are brought into trouble; for whether they liked it or not, they are ſure to be queſtioned, becauſe they did not come and declare it to the fathers the Inquiſitors. Then pretending to ſhew him favour, they appoint him an Advocate to blind the Peoples eyes, as if they proceeded according to the rules of Juſtice; but this Advocate dares not tell his Client any point of law, that may do him good, for fear of angring the Inquiſitors; neither may he ſpeak privately with his Client, but either before an Inquiſitor or a Notary.

Two or three days after the Party hath had the Copy of his accuſation, he is called into the Court, where his Advocate is, as if he intended to defend his cauſe; but indeed he dare ſay nothing to the purpoſe for fear of angring the Inquiſitors; only he cheers up his Client, and bids him tell the truth in any caſe as the only way to prevaile in that Court, and then is the Priſoner ſent back again; who hopes that now his cauſe will be heard, and his buſineſſe diſpatched, whereas uſually theſe good fathers let him lie two, three, or foure years in priſon, without ever calling for him again; and if through loathſomneſſe and intolerableneſſe of the priſon any ſue to come to hearing, it may be with much adoe he obtains it, but uſually that favour is denied him: yet at length when they pleaſe, they call for him to hear the depoſitions of the witneſſes againſt him: which yet is not done till the poor Priſoner by his grievous impriſonment is brought ſo low, as that they think he will rather chooſe death

then

then such a life, and therefore will be willing to tell all, that so he may be rid out of his misery. Then between rebuking and a gentle admonition, they tell him, that though he hath stood out so long, yet at length they would have him wiser to confesse the truth, but if he yet refuse to be his own accuser, then the Fiscal produceth the depositions, which are delivered to the Prisoner, but they are drawn up so intricately and ambiguously, that he knows not what to make of them, and this they do to conceal the witnesses, least he should except against them, and to set him on guessing, that so if he chance to reckon up any others to whom he spake any thing about any of those matters, they may thereby get more grists to their mill. For they presently outlaw such Persons as favourers of hereticks, for suffering an heretick to sow such pestilent seeds amongst them, without complaining thereof to the Inquisitors.

The Keeper of the Prison also is examined what he hath seen and observed of him in the Prison, and his testimony is as good as two witnesses to take away the Prisoners life.

They have also Promoters to bring in accusations, who are admitted, though frantick Bedlams, or the veriest Varlets that be: and in their informations, if they chance to want words of weight, the Inquisitors will help them out and prompt them word by word. Then after three or foure days the Prisoner is called again to put in his answer to the depositions; but in the interim his Advocate never comes at him to assist or direct him, but he is left to himself without all help, save of God alone. His answer being viewed, he is remanded to prison again with this *Item*, that if he confesse not the truth, they will extort it out of him by extremity.

After two or three moneths more, he is called for once again, and required to speak what he hath for himself, or else they must draw to an end: and if he still shrink not, but stand firme in his own Justification, they proceed to other dealings, in comparison of which all their former proceedings are not only sufferable, but seem very reasonable and full of gentlenesse. For their future actions farre exceed all barbarousnesse, the devil himself being not able to go beyond them in their monstrous tyranny: For not long after the Prisoner is called before the Inquisitors, who tell him that they have deeply considered his whole case, and found out that he doth not declare the whole truth, and therefore they are resolved that he shall be racked, that by force they may draw from him what by faire means he will not acknowledge: and therefore they advise him rather to do it voluntarily, and thereby to avoid the paine and peril that yet attends him; yet whether he confesse or not confesse all is one, for to the Rack he must go; Then is he led into the place where the Rack standeth, which is a deep and dark dungeon under ground, with many a door to passe through ere a man come to it, because the shreeks and cries of the tormented should not be heard: then the Inquisitors set themselves upon a scaffold hard by the Rack, and the torches being lighted, the Executioner comes in, all arraied from top to toe in a sute of black canvas, his head is covered with a long black hood

They proceed to the Rack.

hood that covereth alſo his face, having only two peep-holes for his eyes: which ſight doth more affright the poor ſoul, to ſee one in the likeneſſe of the devil to be his tormentor. The Lords being ſet in their places, they begin again to exhort him to ſpeak the truth freely and voluntarily: Then with ſharp words they command him to be ſtripped ſtark naked, yea though the modeſteſt maid or chaſteſt Matron in the City: whoſe grief in regard of the Rack is not half ſo great as to be ſeen naked in the preſence of ſuch manner of perſons: For theſe wicked villains without any regard of honeſty, will not by any Prayers of godly Matrons or chaſt Maidens forbear one jot of that barbarous impudence: as if a ſhirt or ſmock could hinder the violence of the Rack from ſufficiently tormenting them.

Their privy parts are only covered with linnen.

The Party being thus ſtripped, the Inquiſitors ſignifie to the Tormentor, how they would have him or her ordered. The firſt kind of torment is the Ieobit or Pully; but firſt one comes behind him, and binds his hands with a cord eight or ten times about, the Inquiſitors calling upon him to ſtrain each harder then other; they cauſe alſo his thumbs to be bound extream hard with a ſmall line, and ſo both hands and thumbs are faſtened to a Pully, which hangs on the Jeobit: then they put great and heavy bolts on his heels, and hang upon thoſe bolts, between his feet certain weights of iron, and ſo hoiſe him or her up from the ground, and whilſt the poor wretch hangs in this plight, they begin to exhort him again to accuſe himſelf, and as many others as he knows of; Then they command him to be hoiſed up higher to the very beam till his head touch the Pully. Having hung thus a good while, they command him to be let down, and twice ſo much weight to be faſtned to his heels, and ſo hoiſed up again, and one inch higher if it may be: Then they command the hangman to let him up and down, that the weights of the iron hanging at his heels may rent every joynt in his body aſunder. With which intolerable pains if the Party ſhreek or cry out, they roare out as loud to him to confeſſe the truth, or elſe he ſhall come down with a vengeance. Then they bid the hangman ſuddenly to ſlip the rope, that he may fall down with a ſway, and in the mid-way to ſtop; then give him the *Strappado*, which being aſſoon done, it rends all his body out of joynt, armes, ſhoulders, back, legs, &c. by reaſon of the ſudden jerk, and the weights hanging at his legs. If he yet remain conſtant, they adde more weight to his heels the third time, and the poor wretch already half dead is hoiſted up the third time, and to encreaſe his miſery, they raile upon him, calling him Dog, and Heretick, telling him that he is like there to make his end. And if the poor creature in his pangs call upon Chriſt, intreating that he would vouchſafe to aid and aſſiſt him, thus miſerably tormented for his ſake; Then they fall to mocking and deriding him, ſaying, why calleſt thou on Jeſus Chriſt? let Jeſus Chriſt alone and tell us the truth; what a crying out upon Chriſt makeſt thou? &c. But if the Party deſire to be let down, promiſing to tell ſomewhat; thats the ready way to make him to be worſe uſed, for now they think that he begins only to broach the matter: for when he hath

The jeobit.

Inhumane cruelty.

Railings.

Scoffs.

done they command him to be haled up again, and to be let down as before: so that usually these torments are exercised upon him for three houres together. Then they ask the Jailor if his other torments are ready, to affright the poor soul; the Jailor answereth that they are ready, but he hath not brought them with him: then the Inquisitors bid him to bring them against the morrow; for say they, we will try other ways to get the truth out of this fellow: and so turning to him that lies in miserable pain, having all his joynts out; How now, Sirra, say they, how like you this gear? have you enough of it yet? Well, see that you call your wits to you against to morrow, or look to die then, for what you have yet felt is but a flea-biting in comparison of what is behind; and so they depart.

Threates.

Then the Jailor plays the bone-setter so well as he can, setting his joynts, and so carries him back to prison, or drags him by the armes or legs most pittifully; If they mean to rack him no more, after two or three days they send for him again, and cause him to be brought by the Rack, where the hangman stands in the likenesse of a divel as before, the more to affright him. When he comes before the Inquisitors they fall a perswading him to confesse the truth at last: and if he confesse any thing, he may chance goe to the Rack again, whereby they hope to extort more; and when indeed they intend to rack the Party again, then at three days end, when the ach in his joynts is most grievous and painful to him, they send for him, requiring him to declare all his heresies, and to peach all such as he hath had conference with, about them, and all such as he knows to be of that mind: or else he must prepare himself for the Rack; and if he continue constant, he is again stripped of his cloths, and hoisted up with weights at his heels as before, besides which, as he hangs at the Pully, they bind his thighs together, and legs about the calf with a small strong cord, and with a short piece of wood they twist the cord till it be shrunk so deep in the flesh that its past sight, which is an extream and terrible torment, worse then any that he hath yet endured, and in this plight they let the poor soul lie two or three houres: the Inquisitors in the mean time not ceasing to exhort, perswade, threaten and scoffe at him.

An other cruel torment.

Yea sometimes they proceed to another kind of torture called the *Asselli*, which is after this manner; There is a piece of timber somewhat hollowed on the top like a trough, about the middle whereof there is a sharp barre going a crosse, whereon a mans back resteth that it cannot go to the bottom: its also placed so that his heels shall lie higher then his head: then is the naked Party laid thereon: his armes, thighs and legs bound with strong small cords, and wrested with short truncheons, till the cords pierce almost to the very bone. Then they take a thick fine lawn cloth, laying it over the Parties mouth as he lies upright on his back, so that it may stop his nostrils also; then taking a quantity of water, they poure it in a long stream like a threed, which falling from on high drives the cloth down into his throat, which puts the poor wretch into as great an Agony as any endure in the pains of death, for in this torture he hath

The trough.

Divelliſh cruelty.

hath not liberty to draw his breath, the water ſtopping his mouth and the cloth his noſtrils, ſo that when the cloth is drawn out of the bottom of his throat, it draws forth blood with it, and a man would think that it tore out his very bowels. This is iterated as oft as the Inquiſitors pleaſe, and yet they threaten him with worſe torments if he confeſſe not; and ſo he is returned to his priſon again.

Yet many times after he hath lain there a moneth or two, he is brought again to the rack and uſed as before, yea ſometimes five or ſix times, even as oft as they pleaſe, for their luſt is a law. And yet they have another torment with fire, which is no whit inferiour to the former; They take a Pan of burning charcole, and ſet it juſt over againſt the ſoles of the Parties feet, juſt before he goes to the Rack, and that the fire may have the more force upon them, they baſt them with lard or bacon. But if all the extremity of torments will not force him to confeſſe what they deſire, nor to deny the truth, they uſe other means by ſubtil interrogatories, and frequent queſtionings to draw him into ſome ſnare or other: Yea, if yet they cannot prevaile, then ſome one of the Inquiſitors comes to him in private, and ſhews himſelf much affected with his miſery, weeps with him, comforts him, gives him advice, ſeems to impart ſuch a ſecret to him as he would ſcarce impart to his father, or deareſt friend alive: and this they uſe moſt with women, whereas theſe are but faire baits upon deadly hooks, whereby they ſeek to deſtroy them; whereof we have this example.

Torment with fire.

Subtilty.

At *Sivil* there were apprehended, a godly Matron, two of her daughters, and her Neece, who all of them underwent the forementioned torments with manly courage and Chriſtian conſtancy, becauſe they would not betray each other, nor other godly Perſons in that city. Then one of the Inquiſitors ſent for the youngeſt maid oft to his chamber, pretended much compaſſion towards her, ſpake much to comfort her, told her what a grief it was to him to ſee her torments; then uſed familiar and pleaſant communication to her, then told her that he would adviſe her the beſt way to free her ſelf, mother and ſiſter from theſe troubles: That he would undertake the ordering of their buſineſſe; and then perſwaded her to diſcloſe the whole truth to him, and he bound himſelf with an oath that he would ſtop all further proceedings againſt them, and procure their diſmiſſion. Having thus outwitted the poor maid, who gave too much credit to him, ſhe told him of ſome points of Religion which they had wont to confer of amongſt themſelves, and ſo when he had gotten out of her what poſſibly he could, like a perfidious Villain, contrary to his vows, promiſes, and oath, he cauſed her to be racked again to get more out of her, yea they put her alſo to the intolerable pain of the trough, and through extremity of pangs and torments they at laſt extorted from her a betraying of her own Mother, Siſters, and divers others, which were immediately apprehended, tortured, and at laſt burnt with fire. But when they were brought in great pomp upon the Scaffold, and had the ſentence of death paſſed upon them, this maid went to her Aunt, who had inſtructed her in the principles of Religion

A woman, and her two daughters, and neece.

A Judas.

Perjury.

ligion, and boldly without change of countenance, gave her hearty thanks for that great benefit which she had received by her means, intreating her to pardon her for what she had offended her at any time, for that she was now to depart out of this life. Her Aunt comforted her stoutly, bid her be of good cheere, for that now ere long they should be with Christ. This woman was openly whipt, and kept in prison during her life, the rest were all presently burned.

Another device that they have is this: when they think that Prisoners which are together do talk together of Religion, exhorting & comforting one another as they have occasion or opportunity, the Inquisitors commit to prison under a colour a crafty knave whom they cal a Flie: who after two or three days will cunningly insinuate himself into the bosomes of the other Prisoners, and then pretending a great deal of zeal to Religion, he will proffer discourse to them, and by degrees get out of their mouths something whereof he may accuse them. Then doth he move for a day of hearing, and so getting to the Inquisitors, he peaches the Prisoners, who shall be sure afterwards to hear of it to their smart. Yea these flies, as soon as they are out of one prison, for the hope of gain will be content presently to be put into another, and then into a third, where they will lie in chains, as the other Prisoners do, enduring hunger, cold, stink, and the loathsomnesse of prison, and all to betray others. And this mans accusation is as strong and valid as the testimony of any other witnesse whatsoever. Other Flies also there be that serve the holy Inquisition abroad, slily insinuating themselves into the companies of the common people, who are suspected to be *Lutherans*, and when they can pump any thing out of them, they presently betray them. They have yet this other device, when they can catch any man that is noted for Religion, or a Minister that hath instructed others, after he hath been in prison a while, they give it out that upon the Rack he hath discovered all his disciples, and acquaintance, and they suborn others to averr that they heard it, and this they do to draw the simple people to come of their own accord, and to confesse their faults to the Inquisitors, and to crave pardon, whereupon they promise them favour.

Flie.

The Inquisitors and their Officers use to call their Prisoners Dogs and Hereticks: and indeed they use them much worse then most men do their dogs. For first, the place where usually each of them is laid, by reason of the straitnesse, ill air, and dampnesse of the earth is liker a grave then a prison: and if it be a loft, in the hot weather, it is like an hot Oven or Fornace: and in each of these holes usually two or three are thronged together, so that they have no more room then to lie down in; in one corner is a stool of easement, and a pitcher of water to quench their thirsts. In these Cels they have no light, but what comes in at the Key-hole, or some small crany: other some there are much worse, not being long enough for a man to lie in, so that such as are put into them, never likely come out till they be half rotted away, or die of a consumption.

Their cruel prisons.

Their

Their diet is anſwerable to their lodging: the rich pay large fees to the holy houſe, and every Priſoner is rated as the Inquiſitors pleaſe: but ſuch as are poor, the King allows them three pence a day, out of which the Steward, Landreſſe, and ſome other neceſſary charges are deducted, ſo that one half of it comes not to the Priſoners ſhare; and if any be moved with compaſſion to relieve them, it is counted ſuch an hainous offence, that it will coſt him a ſcourging till blood come at leaſt.

It once happened that there was a Keeper appointed for their priſon, in the Caſtle of *Triana* in *Sivil*, that was of a courteous diſpoſition by nature, who uſed the Priſoners well, and cloſely, for fear of the Inquiſitors, ſhewed them ſome favour: at which time there was a godly Matron and her two daughters committed to priſon, which being put into ſeveral rooms, had a great deſire to ſee each other for their mutual comfort in their diſtreſſes; whereupon they beſought the Keeper to ſuffer them to come together, if it were but for one quarter of an hour: the Keeper yielded, and ſo they were together about half an houre, and then returned to their former priſons. Within a few days after, theſe women being racked in a terrible manner, the Keeper fearing leſt they would confeſſe that little favour which he had ſhewed them, of his own accord went to the Inquiſitors, confeſſed his fact, and craved pardon; but they deemed this ſo hainous an offence, that they preſently commanded him to be haled to priſon, where by reaſon of the extremity ſhewed him, he fell mad. Yet this procured him no favour: for after he had been a whole year in a vile priſon, they brought him upon their triumphing ſtage, with a *Sambenito* upon him, and a rope about his neck, and there they cenſured him to be whipt about the City, and to have two hundred ſtripes, and then ro ſerve in the Gallies for ſix years. The next day one of his mad fits coming upon him, as he was ſet on an Aſſes back to be ſcourged, he threw himſelf off, ſnatched a ſword out of the Officers hand, and had ſlain him, if the People had not immediately laid hold on him; whereupon he was bound faſter on the Aſſes back, had his two hundred ſtripes, and was for this offence condemned foure years longer to the Gallies.

All pitty denied them.

Another Keeper at another time had a maid, who ſeeing how miſerably the Priſoners were uſed, pittying their diſtreſſed condition, who were hunger-ſtarved and almoſt pined, ſhe would ſometimes ſpeak to them at the grate, exhort and comfort them as well as ſhe could, and ſometimes would help them to ſome good and wholeſom food: yea, by her means the Priſoners came to underſtand one anothers condition, which was a great comfort to them. But this at laſt coming to the Inquiſitors ears, they enjoyned her to wear the *Sambenito*, to be whipped about the ſtreets, to receive two hundred ſtripes, and to be baniſhed the City for ten years, with this writing on her head, *A favourer, and aider of Hereticks*. And whereas all other ſort of perſons in priſon and bondage are allowed to recreate and refreſh themſelves with ſinging at their pleaſure, theſe poor ſouls are forbidden this ſmall ſolace in their great miſery: for if any of them ſing a Pſalm, or openly recite any portion of

A maid whipt for ſhewing them favour.

The priſoners denied leave to ſing pſalmes.

Scripture, the Inquisitors take it very hainously, and presently send to them, requiring them to be silent, upon the pain of Excommunication: and if the Prisoner make light of this warning, he shall have a bit set on his tongue to teach him obedience: and this they do, both to deprive the poor souls of all kind of solace, and to keep other Prisoners from knowing how their friends do: So that it often fals out that a man and his friend, the Father and Son, yea the husband and wife shall be in one prison-house two or three years together, and not know of each others being there till they meet upon the scaffold upon the great day of triumph.

Their hospital.

By reason of this cruel usage many of the Prisoners die, some, of their torments, others, of the stink of the prison, and others, of diseases contracted by hunger, cold, ill diet, &c. They have also an Hospital, unto which they remove such as fall sick in their prisons, where yet they are not dealt more gently with in any thing, save that they have Physick allowed them for their healths sake: But none are suffered to come to them but the Physician, and the servants of the Hospital: And as soon as the Patient is on the mending hand, he is carried back to the place whence he came.

Cruel mercy.

If the Prisoner be half naked, or want something to lie on, and thereupon pray the Inquisitor that his necessity may be considered: The answer which he receivs is this; *Well, now the weather is warme, you may live full well without either cloaths or couch*; And if it be winter time, his answer is: *True, it hath been a great frost of late, but now the cold is come down again, and it will be more seasonable weather. Care you for the garments wherewith all you should cloth your soule, which consisteth in uttering the truth, and discharging your conscience before this holy house*: And if the Prisoner desire to have some good book, or the holy Bible to enable him to passe that troublesome and careful time to some profit; The Inquisitor answers him, that the true book is to speak the truth, and to discharge his conscience to that holy Court, and that he ought to be occupied in laying open his wounds to their Lordships, who are ready to give him a plaister: whereby it appears that all their care and desire is, that the poor Prisoner may have nothing to look on or think on but his present miserable state, that the grief thereof grating upon him, may force him to satisfie their requests.

Their condemnation.

The last act of the Tragedy remaineth, wherein both Parties are pleased and have their desire; the Inquisitors in obtaining their prey, the Prisoners in finding some end of their miserable usage; but two or three days before the solemnity they use severally to call before them, all such whose estates are confiscated, examining them what lands or goods they have, where they lie, charging them upon great penalties not to conceal one jot, telling them, that if any thing be afterwards found, felony shall be laid to their charge, and he with whom it is found, shall pay soundly for it, and when all is confessed, they are returned to prison again.

The night before the Festival, they cause all the Prisoners to be brought

brought into a large roome, where they are informed of the ſeveral kinds of pennances that they are to do the next day: The next morning very early, the Familiars come and attire the Priſoners in their ſeveral habits, in which they are to appear before the people: Some in *Sambenito's*, which is a long garment painted all over with ugly devils: on his head he hath an high-crown'd hat whereon a man is painted burning in the fire, with many divels about him, plying him with fire and fagots. Beſides, their tongues have a cleft piece of wood put upon them, which nips, and pincheth them that they cannot ſpeak; they have about their necks, cords, and their hands faſt bound behind them. On this ſort come theſe conſtant Martyrs diſguiſed, firſt to the ſtage, and then to the ſtake; and in the like ſort do all the reſt come forth, arraied as the other, and ſet forth with the like notes of infamy, either more or leſſe, as the Inquiſitors pleaſe to diſgrace them in the ſight of the people. On each hand of every Priſoner goeth a Familiar all armed to guard him: as alſo two Friars with every one that is to die, who perſwade him tooth and nail to deny, that doctrine that formerly he hath profeſſed, now at their going out of this world; which wicked importunity is a great grief to the poor ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt. Their habits.

The Inquiſitors alſo paſſe in great pomp from the Caſtle of *Triana* to their ſcaffold: And when all are ſet in their places, a Sermon begins, framed on purpoſe in commendations of the holy houſe, and in confutation, of ſuch Hereticks as are preſently to ſuffer: but the greateſt part is ſpent in ſlanderous reproaches, wherewith they vidlifie and diſgrace the truth, and the Profeſſors of it. The Sermon being ended, the ſentences againſt the Priſoners are read; Firſt, againſt ſuch as have eaſieſt puniſhments, and ſo in order to the greater; Which ſentences are commonly theſe, Death without mercy; Whipping in ſuch extremity that the Perſons ſeldome eſcape with their lives; Condemnation to the Gally; Forfeiture of all their eſtates, &c.

Then doth the chief Inquiſitor abſolve, all ſuch as have forſaken Chriſt, and are come home to the Church of *Rome*, from all the errours for which they ſhewed themſelves penitent; but though hereby they are abſolved from the fault, yet not from the puniſhment, for notwithſtanding their Recantation, they muſt abide the puniſhment without mercy.

And whereas multitudes of people reſort to this ſpectacle, ſome coming twenty Leagues to ſee it; The Inquiſitors have this trick to uphold their Kingdome, they cauſe all the people preſent, to take an oath to live and die in the ſervice of the Church of *Rome*, hazarding both life and goods againſt any that ſhall oppoſe it; as alſo to their power, to uphold and maintain the holy Inquiſition, and to defend all the officers thereof, &c. A wicked oath.

Then if there be any amongſt the Priſoners to be degraded, they proceed after this manner. Firſt, they apparel him in his Maſſing robes, then they deſpoil him again of every part thereof; then are his hands, lips, and the Crown of his head ſcraped with a piece of glaſſe, or a ſharp knife Degradation.

knife till they bleed again, to ſcrape of the holy oyle, wherewith he was annointed at his ordination. In the end of their ſentence which is pronounced upon ſuch as are to be burned: they uſe this abominable hypocriſie: They bequeath him to the ſecular power, with this humble requeſt to them, to ſhew the Priſoner as much favour as may be, and neither to break any bone, nor pierce the skin of his body: This ſhews their great impudence, that having already given ſentence on him to be burned, they yet ſhould pretend ſuch mercy and clemency towards him, which all along themſelves have uſed with ſuch extream cruelty.

Hypocriſie.

They uſe alſo this trick further, that in reading the crimes for which he is condemned, they do not only miſreport ſuch things, as he confeſſed upon his examination, but they devilliſhly father upon him ſuch things as he never ſpake, or thought of in all his life: and this they do to diſgrace him, and to make him and his opinions more abhorred of all men, and to encreaſe their own eſtimation and credit, as being neceſſary officers to rid the world of ſuch peſtilent perſons; and all this while the Priſoners tongue hath a cleft piece of wood upon it to his intolerable pain and grief, that he cannot anſwer for himſelf, nor gainſay that they charge him with.

All theſe things being finiſhed, the Magiſtrate takes them into his hand, and conveys them preſently to the place of execution, with divers inſtruments of Satan about them, calling and crying to them to forſake the truth; and when they cannot prevail, after the Priſoner is tied to the ſtake, they break his neck in a trice, and then they report amongſt the common people that they recanted their hereſies at the laſt houre and ſo came home to the Church of *Rome*, and therefore they felt no pain in the fire at all, which made them take it ſo patiently.

Abominable lies.

Such as are not condemned to die, are carried back to priſon, and the next day brought out to be whipt, after which ſome of them are ſent to the Gallies, others kept in priſon all their life time: but all have this ſpecial charge given them, that they never ſpeak of any thing that they have heard, ſeen, or felt, during their impriſonment in the Inquiſition; for if the contrary be ever proved againſt them, and that they utter any of their ſecrets, they ſhall be taken for perſons relapſed, and be puniſhed with greateſt ſeverity, their judgment being death without Redemption, and hereby they keep in all their Knavery and Tyranny cloſe and ſecret to themſelves: And if any of them be releaſed becauſe their faults were but ſmall, they are yet ſo careful leſt their cruelty ſhould come to light, that they inhibit them the company or conference with any other, then ſuch as they ſhall appoint and allow them; neither will they ſuffer them to write to any friend, except they firſt have the peruſing of their letters.

Their cruelty concealed.

Sometimes alſo, after they have impriſoned men in ſuch a miſerable ſtate, for a year or two, and can extort nothing out of them by their torments, nor prove any thing againſt them by witneſſe, ſo that they muſt neceſſarily diſmiſſe them, they then call them into the Court, and begin to flatter them, and tell them what a good opinion they have of them, and

that

that they are reſolved to ſend them home, for the which fatherly favour extended towards them in ſaving their lives and goods, they are to account themſelves much beholding to their Lordſhips, &c. And ſo at laſt they diſmiſſe him with ſpecial charge of ſilence: and when he is gone, they have ſpecial ſpies abroad to ſee how he takes the matter; and if they find that he complains of his puniſhments, or diſcloſes their ſecrets, they preſently commence a new ſuit againſt him. On a time the Inquiſitors at *Sivill* apprehended a noble Lady; the cauſe was, for that a Siſter of hers a very vertuous Virgin, who was afterwards burned for Religion, had confeſſed in the extremity of her torments, that ſhe had ſometimes had conference with this her ſiſter about matters of Religion: This Lady when ſhe was firſt apprehended, was gone with child about ſix moneths, in reſpect whereof they did not ſhut her up ſo cloſe at firſt, nor deal ſo ſeverely with her as they did with others; But within foure days after ſhe was brought to bed, they took the child from her; and the ſeventh day after, they ſhut her up in cloſe priſon, and uſed her in all things as they did other Priſoners; the only worldly comfort that ſhe had in her miſery, was, that they lodged her with a vertuous maiden that was her fellow-Priſoner for a time, but afterwards burned at the ſtake: This maid whilſt they were together, was carried to the rack, and ſo ſore ſtrained and torn thereon, that ſhe was almoſt pulled in pieces, then was ſhe brought back and thrown upon a bed of flags, that ſerved them both to lie on; the good Lady was not able to help her, yet ſhewed ſingular tokens of love and compaſſion towards her.

Flattery.

A Lady impriſoned.

Their cruel uſage of her.

The maid was ſcarce recovered when the Lady was carried out to be ſerved with the ſame ſauce, and was ſo terribly tormented in the trough, that by reaſon of the ſtrait ſtraining of the ſtrings, piercing to the very bones of her armes, thighs and ſhins, ſhe was brought back half dead to her priſon, the blood guſhing out of her mouth abundantly, which ſhewed that ſomething was broken within her: but after eight days the Lord delivered her from theſe cruel Tygers by taking her mercifully to himſelf.

They torment her in the trough.

She dyed.

Upon one of their days of triumph there was brought out one *John Pontio*, of a noble Family, a zealous Profeſſor of the truth, and one of an holy and blameleſſe life, and well learned; he was eminent alſo in works of charity, in which he had ſpent a great part of his eſtate: Being apprehended for the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, he was caſt into Priſon, where he manfully maintained the truth in the midſt of all their cruel dealings with him; At laſt they caſt into priſon to him one of their Flyes, who by his ſubtilty and craft, ſo wrought upon him that he drew from him a promiſe to yield obedience to the Romiſh Church. But though God ſuffered him to fall a while to ſhew him his frailty, yet afterwards in much mercy he raiſed him up again with double ſtrength to that which he had before, and before his execution he manfully defended the truth againſt a ſubtil Friar: The things which he was condemned for were theſe: That he ſhould ſay, that from his heart he abhorred the idolatry which was committed in worſhipping the Hoſt: That he removed his houſhold from place to place, that he might ſhun

John Pontio.

Humaine frailty.

Recovery.

coming to the Masse: That the Justification of a Christian resteth only in the merits of Jesus Christ apprehended by faith, &c. That there was no Purgatory: That the Popes pardons were of no value, &c. *And for my self,* (saith he) *I am not only willing but desirous to die, and ready to suffer any punishment for the truth which I have professed: I esteem not of this world nor the treasures of it more then for my neeessary uses, and the rest to bestow in the Propagation and maintenance of the Gospel: And I beseech God daily upon my knees for my wife and children, that they may all continue in this quarrel even to the death.* And when he came to his execution, he patiently and comfortably slept in the Lord.

His speech at death.

John Gonsalvo.

At the same time there was also brought forth one *John Gonsalvo*, formerly a Priest, but by his diligent study of the Scripture it pleased God to reveal his truth to him, so that he became a zealous Preacher of it, labouring in all his Sermons to beat into mens minds the true way, and means of our Justification to consist in Christ alone, and in stedfast faith in him: for which he was apprehended and cast into prison, where he endured all their cruelty with a Christian courage: At last with two of his Sisters he was condemned: His mother and one of his brothers were also imprisoned with him for the truth, and executed shortly after: When he with his sisters went out at the Castle gate, having his tongue at liberty, he began to sing the 106. Psalm before all the People, who had oft heard him make many godly Sermons: He also condemned all hypocrites as the worst sort of People: Whereupon they stocked his tongue: Upon the stage he never changed countenance, nor was at all daunted. When they all came to the stake, they had their tongues loosed, and were commanded to say their Creed, which they did cheerfully: when they came to those words, *The Holy Catholique Church*: They were commanded to adde, *Of Rome*, but that they all refused: whereupon their necks were broken in a trice: and then't was noised abroad that they had added those words, and died, confessing the Church of *Rome* to be the true Catholick Church.

Tormented in prison.

with a cleft stick.

There was in *Sivil* a private Congregation of Gods People, most of which the Inquisitors consumed in the fire, as they could discover any of them; amongst others that were apprehended, they took foure women, famous above the rest for their holy and godly conversation, but especially the youngest of them, who was not above one and twenty years old, and by her diligent and frequent reading of Scriptures, and by conference with godly and learned men, had attained to a very great measure of knowledge: so that whilst she was in prison, she non-plus'd and put to shame many of those Friars that came to seduce her.

A Church in *Sivil.*

Another of these women was a grave Matron, whose house was a School of vertue, and a place where the Saints used to meet, & serve God day and night; but the time being come wherein they were ripe for God, they, together with other of their neighbours, were apprehended and cast into prison, where they were kept in dark dungeons, and forced to endure all the cruel and extream torments which are before mentioned: At last they were condemned, and brought forth to the scaffold a-

Some of them cast into prison

mongst

mongſt other Priſoners: The young maid eſpecially came with a merry and cheerful countenance, as it were triumphing over the Inquiſitors, and having her tongue at liberty, ſhe began to ſing Pſalms to God, whereupon the Inquiſitors cauſed her tongue to be nipped by ſetting a Barnacle upon it: After ſentence read, they were carried to the place of execution, where with much conſtancy and courage they ended their lives: Yet the Inquiſitors not ſatisfied herewith, cauſed the houſe of the Matron where the Church uſed to meet, to be pulled down, and the ground to be laid waſte, and a pillar to be erected upon it with an inſcription ſhewing the cauſe. There was alſo apprehended another worthy member of the ſame Congregation called *Ferdinando*; he was of a fervent ſpirit, and very zealous in doing good: A young man, but for integrity of life very famous: He had ſpent eight years in educating of youth, and had endeavoured to ſow the ſeeds of Piety in the hearts of his ſchollers, as much as lay in him to do in a time of ſo great perſecution and tyranny; being at the laſt apprehended for a *Lutheran*, he was caſt into priſon, and terribly tormented upon the *Jeobit*, and in the *Trough*, whereby he was ſo ſhaken in every joynt, that when he was taken down, he was not able to move any part of his body: yet did thoſe cruel tormentors draw him by the heels into his priſon, as if he had been a dead dog: But notwithſtanding all his torments, he anſwered the Inquiſitors very ſtoutly, and would not yield to them one jot. During his impriſonment God uſed him as an inſtrument to recal and confirm a Monk, who had been caſt into priſon for confeſſing the Goſpel openly: But by means of the Inquiſitors flatteries and fair promiſes he had ſomewhat relented: Gods Providence ſo ordering it, that *Ferdinando* was caſt into the ſame priſon, and finding the Monks wavering, he rebuked him ſharply; and afterwards having drawn him to a ſight of, and ſorrow for his ſin, he at laſt ſtrengthned him in the promiſes of free grace and mercy; Hereupon the Monk deſired a day of hearing, where before the Inquiſitors, he ſolemnly renounced his recantation, deſiring that his former confeſſion might ſtand, whereupon the ſentence of death paſſed againſt them both: after which the Inquiſitors asked *Ferdinando* whether he would revoke his former hereſies; to which he anſwered, That he had profeſſed nothing but what was agreeable to the pure and perfect Word of God, and ought to be the Profeſſion of every Chriſtian man, and therefore he would ſtick to it to the death: Then did they clap a Barnacle upon his tongue, and ſo they were burned together.

A cleft ſtick.

Their death.

Malice.

Ferdinando.

His torments.

A ſpecial Providence.

Humane infirmitie.

Recovery.

Execution.

There was alſo one *Juliano* called *The little*, becauſe he was of a ſmall and weak body, who going into *Germany*, was there converſant with divers learned and godly men, by which means he attained to the knowledge of the truth, & became a zealous Profeſſor of it: and earneſtly longing after the ſalvation of his Countrymen, he undertook a very dangerous work, which was to convey two great dry fats full of Bibles printed in *Spaniſh* into his own countrey: In this attempt he had much cauſe of fear, the Inquiſitors had ſo ſtopped every port, and kept ſuch ſtrict watch, to prevent the coming in of all ſuch commodities, but through

Juliano.

Zeale.

A ſpecial Providence.

through Gods mighty protection, he brought his burden safely thither, and, which was almost miraculous, he conveyed them safe into *Sivil*, notwithstanding the busie searchers and catch-poles that watched in every corner. These Bibles being dispersed, were most joyfully and thankfully received, and through Gods blessing wrought wonderfully amongst Gods People to ripen them against the time of harvest. But at last the matter broke out by the means of a false brother, who going to the Inquisitors played the *Judas*, and betrayed the whole Church to them. So that there were taken at *Sivil* at one time, eight hundred Christians, whereof twenty of them were afterwards roasted at one fire.

A false brother

Twenty burnt.

Amongst these, this *Juliano* was one of the first that was apprehended and sent to prison, where he lay without any company laden with irons above three years; yet was his constancy so great and wonderful that the tormentors themselves were sooner wearied in inflicting, then he in suffering torments; and notwithstanding his weak and wearyish body, he yet remained undaunted in mind in undergoing all their tyrannies, so that he never departed from the rack more dejected then he came to it; neither threatnings, nor pains, nor torments made him shrink or yield one jot to them: but when he was drawn back to his prison, he would tell his fellows how he had conquered and confounded his enemies, saying, *They depart vanquished, they depart vanquished; The wolves flie with shame, they flie with shame.*

Juliano's torments and constancy.

In the day of their triumph, when he was brought out to be apparelled (with his other fellow Prisoners) in all their shameful habits, he exhorted them with a cheerful countenance, saying: *My Brethren, be of good cheere, this is the houre wherein we must be faithful witnesses unto God and his truth before men, as becomes the true servants and souldiers of Christ, and ere long we shall have him to witnesse with us again: and within a few houres we shall triumph with him in heaven for ever*; But hereupon they presently clapt a Barnacle upon his tongue that he should speak no more, and so he was led to his execution: but though he could not speak, yet by his countenance and gestures he shewed his cheerful and quiet mind: Then kneeling down, he kissed the step whereon he stood, and being tied to the stake, he endeavoured by his looks and gestures to encourage his fellow Martyrs in their sufferings, and so they quietly and patiently resigned up their spirits unto God.

His death.

There was also *John Leon*, a Tailor by Trade, who out of a blind devotion to serve God, resolved to enter into a Monastery, but by Gods Providence it so fell out that he entred into a cloister at *Sivil*, wherein most of the Monks were well affected to the true Religion, amongst whom in two or three years space, he was so grounded in the principles of Religion, that he resolved to leave that kind of life, which accordingly he did, and went into the countrey, yet after a time he had a great mind to conferre with his former Schoolmasters: but when he came back to the Cloister; he found that they were all fled into *Germany*, hereupon he resolved to follow them, and through many dangers and perils, it pleased

John Leon.

pleaſed God at laſt after a long and tedious journey, to bring him ſafe to *Franckfurt*, where he met with ſome of his old acquaintance, and with them he travelled to *Geneva*: About which time Queen *Mary* ſuddenly dying, and Queen *Elizabeth* of bleſſed memory ſucceeding her, the *Engliſh* Exiles that lived in thoſe parts were called home: whereupon divers *Spaniards* that ſojourned at *Geneva*, thinking *England* a fitter place for their Congregation, reſolved to accompany the Engliſh men; and for this end they diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral companies that they might travel with the more ſafety: The Inquiſitors took the departure of theſe Monks ſo ill, that not ſparing any coſt, they ſent their Flies abroad to apprehend them, who way-laid them, eſpecially at *Collen*, *Franckfurt*, *Antwerp*, and in all the ways that led from *Geneva*. This *Iohn Leon* had got him a companion, with whom he travelled towards *England*, who being diſcovered at *Argentine*, were dogged into *Zealand*, and as they were ready to take ſhip, they were apprehended. *John Leon* took his arreſt very compoſedly, never changing countenance at it: They were preſently carried back into the town, where they were miſerably racked to diſcover their fellows, and not long after were ſhipped for *Spain*, having great irons, wrought like a net, that covered both head and face, within which alſo was another piece of iron made like a tongue, which being thruſt into their mouths took away their ſpeech; they were alſo loaden with other engins and fetters of iron, where with they were bound hand and foot, and in theſe continual pains and torments they lay a ſhipboard till they came into *Spain*, and then *John Leon* was ſent to *Sivil*, and his companion to *Validolid*, where afterwards in defence of the truth, he ſuffered Martyrdome: But *Iohn* remained long in priſon, where he taſted of the Inquiſitors tyranny, ſuffering both hunger and cold, and enduring all their torments one after another, and at laſt was brought out in their ſolemn ſhew, arrayed after their uſual manner; It was a ſad ſight to ſee ſuch a ghoſt as he was, his hair ſo grown, his body ſo lean, that he had nothing but skin and bones left on him, and his pain much encreaſed by having a Barnacle upon his tongue: After ſentence of death pronounced upon him, they ſet his tongue at liberty hoping that he would have recanted, but he made a ſtout and godly Confeſſion of his faith, and ſo quietly ended his life in the flames. There was alſo burned at the ſame time a godly Virgin, that had formerly been a Nun, but being through Gods grace converted, ſhe left her cloiſter, and joyned her ſelf to the Church of Chriſt: Being apprehended by the Inquiſitors ſhe was intreated as others had been before her: and at laſt was brought out to the ſcaffold, where with a manly courage ſhe put the Inquiſitors to a foul foil, not only conſtantly affirming the truth, but ſharply rebuking thoſe Fathers, calling them dumb dogs, a generation of vipers, &c. being brought to the ſtake, with a cheerful countenance ſhe underwent the pains of death, and ſo quietly ſlept in the Lord.

Leon goeth towards *England*.

Is apprehended.

Sent to *Spaine*.

Tormented.

Martyred.

A maids ſufferings and martyrdom.

There was alſo one *Chriſtopher Loſada*, a Phyſician, a learned man and very well ſtudied in the Scriptures, as alſo of a very holy converſation, inſomuch as he was choſen Super-intendent of the Church of Chriſt

Chriſtopher Loſada.

in *Sivil*, which at this time was very great, though disperſed into corners: At laſt he was apprehended by the Inquiſitors, before whom he made a good Confeſſion of his faith, for which he endured hard and ſharp impriſonment, with moſt cruel tormenrs, and the open infamy of their ſolemn ſhew, and laſtly was adjudged to the fire: As he ſtood at the ſtake, the Barnacle being taken from his tongue, he diſputed notably with ſome Monks that came to ſeduce him, and when they ſpake Latin that the common People might not underſtand them, *Loſada* alſo began to ſpeak in Latin ſo copiouſly and eloquently, as was ſtrange to hear that he ſhould have his wits ſo freſh when he was ready to be burned: after which he patiently reſigned up his ſpirit unto God in the fire.

His conſtancy.

Death.

Arias.

There was alſo in *Sivil* one *Arias*, a man of a ſharp wit and well-ſtudied in Divinity, but withal of a crafty wit and inconſtant nature; which vices he yet covered with a cloke of Religion, whereby he deceived many: About this time there were alſo in that city two ſorts of Preachers, and both had a great number of Auditors: The one taught School-Divinity, and were continually calling upon their hearers to often faſtings, mortification, ſelf-denial, frequency of Prayer, humility, &c. But themſelves practiſed nothing leſſe then theſe things: and indeed all their Religion conſiſted in works and bodily exerciſes, as running to Maſſes, hallowed places, ſhrift, &c. The other ſort dealt more ſincerely with the holy Scriptures: out of which they declared what was true righteouſneſſe, and perfect holineſſe: by means whereof that City above all others in *Spain*, bore the name for juſt and true dealing; and it pleaſed God that the brightneſſe of this light did diſcover all the counterfeit holineſſe, and Pharaſaical devotion of the other Party; The chief Labourers in this harveſt were *Conſtantino*, *Ægidius* and *Varquius*, all Doctors, & ſober, wiſe and learned men; who by this kind of preaching procured to themſelves many enemies; but above all others, *Arias* was the moſt ſpiteful and malicious, yet he carried it ſo cunningly, that he ſtill kept up his reputation with theſe men; but was it not long before he diſcovered himſelf: and that upon this occaſion; there was one *Ruzius* a learned man queſtioned before the Inquiſitors, for ſomething that he had delivered in a Sermon about the Controverſies in Religion; The Inquiſitors appointed him a day of hearing; and two or three days before, *Arias* met him, ſaluted him courteouſly, and diſcourſed familiarly with him, then did he pump out of him all thoſe Arguments wherewith he intended to defend himſelf before the Inquiſitors: When the day came, and *Ruzius* appeared, *Arias* went on that ſide where his opponents were, which much amated *Ruzius*, and in the diſputation, *Arias* being prepared, did ſo wittily enervate all his Arguments, that *Ruzius* had nothing to ſay for himſelf, and ſo was fain to yield the cauſe, and *Arias* went away with the honour of the field, though he got it by treachery. Yet did this *Arias*, being of Saint *Iſidores* Monaſtery, preach ſo practically, that a great light began to dawn in that dark place; for the whole ſcope of his Sermons was to overthrow all their Profeſſion; he taught them

He turns perſecutor.

them that ſinging and ſaying of their Prayers day and night was no ſervice of God, that the holy Scriptures were to be read and ſtudied with diligence, whence alone the true ſervice of God could be drawn, and which alone teach us the true obedience to his Will, to the obtaining whereof we muſt uſe Prayer as a means, proceeding as well from a ſenſe and feeling of our own infirmities, as grounded upon a perfect truſt and confidence in God.

By laying theſe foundations, through Gods bleſſing, he began to make them out of love with their Monkiſh Superſtition, and much provoked them to the ſtudy of the holy Scriptures. Beſides alſo his Sermons, he read daily a lecture upon *Solomons Proverbs* very learnedly, and made application thereof with good judgment aud diſcretion; alſo in his private conference he did much good. The Lord alſo ſo ordered it in his wiſedome that he met with Schollers that were very tractable, ſuch as were not greatly wedded to their Superſtitions. And ſuch was the force and might of Gods Election, that theſe few good ſeeds ſo fructified, that in the end they brought forth a great increaſe of Godlineſſe. For divers of the Monks, that hereby had their conſciences awakened and cleared to ſee their former hypocriſie and idolatry, ſought out for further inſtructions, and, through Gods mercy, they light upon thoſe Preachers which taught the truth with more ſincerity: of whom they learned the Principles of pure and perfect Religion, ſo that by degrees they left that evil opinion which they had formerly conceived againſt the *Lutherans*, and were deſirous to read their books: And God miraculouſly provided for them, that they had all ſorts of books brought them that were extant at that time, either in *Geneva* or *Germany*: whereby it came to paſſe that there were very few in all that cloiſter but they had ſome taſte of true Religion and Godlineſſe, ſo that inſtead of mumbling their mattens, they brought in Divinity-lectures, &c. Vain faſting was turned into Chriſtian ſobriety, neither were any taught to be Monkiſh, but to be ſincerely and truly religious.

A ſpecial Providence.

But conſidering that when this ſhould be once known they could not live in any ſafety, they reſolved amongſt themſelves to forſake their neſt, and to flie into *Germany*, where they might enjoy more ſafety of their lives, and freedom of their conſciences; But how to get thither was all the difficulty; If one or two ſhould go firſt, the reſt would be expoſed to danger: if many ſhould go together, a thouſand to one but they would be taken again, being to travel from the furtheſt part of *Spaine* into *Germany*: yet upon debate they concluded, that they muſt all either ſpeedily depart or ſhortly be apprehended by the Inquiſitors, who now had got ſome inkling of the matter; And God ſeeing them in this diſtreſſe, ſhewed them a means how, under an honeſt pretence, a dozen of them might depart together within a moneth, and each betake himſelf a ſeveral way towards *Geneva*, where they appointed, by Gods aſſiſtance, all to meet within a twelve moneth; The reſt which were but young novices were left behind, who yet not long after were ſo ſtreng-

strengthned by God, that they endured the brunt of persecution when it came, three of them being burned, and divers others diversly punished.

The aforementioned servants of Jesus Christ forsook that place where they lived in honour, ease and plenty, and by undertaking, for Christs sake a voluntary exile, exposed themselves to shame, ignominy, wants, yea and were in continual danger of their lives also: And under God, *Arias* was a great means of this, who by his ministry had first inlightned them with the knowledge of the truth: for which he was often complained of to the Inquisitors, and was convented before them, where he so cunningly answered the matter, that he was still discharged; But his last apprehension, through the mercy of God, brought forth in him the fruits of true repentance; for he did so deeply and unfainedly bewail, and repent of his former withholding of the truth in unrighteousnesse, that whereas he used to be exceeding fearful of the Rack, he being brought to it and upon it, with a marvellous constancy withstood the enemies of Gods truth, and took up the Inquisitors roundly: withall telling them that he was heartily sorry, and did most earnestly repent him, for that he had wittingly and willingly in their presence impugned the truth against the godly defenders of the same: Many other sharp rebukes he gave to the Inquisitors so often as he came to his answer: But at last he was brought forth arraied in their accustomed manner upon their day of triumph, at which time he also made a notable Profession of his faith, and so was led from the stage to the stake with a merry and cheerful countenance, where, by the notable example of his repentance at his death, he made satisfaction to the Church of Christ for all his former unfaithful and hypocritical dealing with them, and so quietly slept in the Lord.

Arias his Recovery.

His Courage.

His Martyrdom.

The Life of Doctor Ægydio.

Scriptures contemned.

Grosse ignorance.

DR. *Ægidio*, who is before mentioned, was brought up in the University of *Alcala*, where he took all his degrees, and was a hard Student in School-divinity: but the study of the holy Scriptures was there so neglected and contemned, that if any one read it, he was in contempt and scorn called a good Bibler; Afterwards being publick Reader of Divinity in that University, he grew famous all over *Christendome*, and was sent for to *Sivil* to be Divinity-Reader in the Cathedral Church, where he was so highly esteemed, that soon after he was chosen *Sub-Deane*, yet did he not attempt to preach openly, nor had once so much as opened the Bible to read and study the Scriptures: And therefore the first time that he came into the Pulpit, contrary to all mens expectations, he was found so unfit for such a function, that he grew out of conceit with himself, and was contemned by others, insomuch as they fell to repent themselves, the one for admitting him so unadvisedly, the other for taking upon him that office

so

ſo arrogantly: But having paſſed over ſome time, it ſo fell out that he met with a plain man, which gave him ſuch inſtructions, that after a few hours conference he learned by him what the office & duty of a Preacher was, and by what means he might attain thereto; and, through Gods bleſſing, his advice was ſo effectual, that now Dr. *Ægidio* was quite altered and become a new man, thinking all his former life and labour ill ſpent, and therefore he reſolved to ſtear another courſe; He alſo fell into acquaintance with Doctor *Conſtantio*, a man excellently well learned, by whoſe conference and advice he profited marvellouſly in his ſtudies, fell to the reading of good Authors, and grew to profound knowledge in the holy Scriptures: ſo that after a time, he began to preach as learnedly, godly, and zealouſly, as he had before done coldly, fooliſhly, and unskilfully: Then did his hearers find the marvellous force of that doctrine, which was taught them by theſe three worthy men, *Ægidio*, *Conſtantino*, and *Varquia*, ſo that the more they crept out of their former ignorance and grew in knowledge, the more they eſteemed and honoured them. Miniſters honoured.

Hereupon there were daily complaints made againſt them to the Inquiſitors, eſpecially againſt Doctor *Ægidio*, who did more openly then the reſt inveigh againſt the adverſaries of the truth. But it ſo fell out by Gods Providence, that juſt at the ſame time the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, in reſpect of his ſingular learning and integrity of life, elected him to the Biſhoprick of *Dortois*: Then did thoſe hypocritical Inquiſitors beſtir themſelves on all hands, citing him to come before them, where articles were exhibited againſt him, and thereupon they caſt him into priſon, and examined him. But the Emperour who had elected him to the Biſhoprick, and the whole Chapter of the Cathedral Church in *Sivil*, became very earneſt Sutors to the Inquiſitors in his behalf. *Ægidio* choſen Biſhop. He is perſecuted. Impriſoned.

It fell out alſo that juſt at the ſame time, whilſt *Ægidio* was in priſon, three of his greateſt adverſaries amongſt the Inquiſitors, and the prime enemies againſt the truth, ſickned, and died ſhortly one after another, whereby he was releaſed, and lived foure or five years after: at the end whereof he was ſent upon an Embaſſie, in which journey he viſited the brethren that profeſſed the truth in *Validolid*, and much comforted and confirmed them, but in his return home, his aged body being ſore ſhaken in that long journey, having not been uſed to travel of a long while before, he ſickned, and within a few days departed out of this troubleſome life to everlaſting reſt. Gods judgement on Perſecutors. Releaſed.

But within three years after, the new Inquiſitors thinking that the former had dealt too gently with him, digged him out of his grave, and buried in his place a puppet of ſtraw, then they brought his corps upon the Scaffold, and uſed it in the ſame ſort as they would have uſed himſelf if he had been alive.

The Life of Doctor Conſtantino.

DOctor *Conſtantino* of whom mention hath been made before, was a moſt famous Divine, and indued by God with ſuch rare abilities, as the like were hardly found in that age; he was a man of a very pleaſant wit and wondrous facetious, which he eſpecially uſed againſt the hypocritical Monks and Friars, and though he lived in a barbarous age, wherein all good learning was almoſt loſt, yet by his wit and induſtry he attained to a great deal of skill both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, and was alſo an excellent Oratour: and ſtudied the Scriptures ſo hard, that he grew very exquiſite therein; He was alſo ſo eloquent in his own language, that all his Auditors were brought into a gteat admiration of him; He was very diſcreet in all his doings, which parts he attained to, both by his ſtudy and long practice and experience, but eſpecially by profound knowledge in the holy Scriptures.

His excellent vertues.

Whenſoever he preached, there was ſo great reſort to his Sermons, that three or foure houres before he began, there was ſcarce a place in the Church to be gotten. He was far from covetouſneſſe and ambition, inſomuch as having a good Cannonſhip in the Church of *Toledo* proffered him, he refuſed it, together with diverſe other Preferments. In his Miniſtry in *Sivil* he did ſo plainly ſet forth, and ſo ſharply rebuke thoſe huckſters that ſold indulgences, pardons, &c. That they were much incenſed againſt him, fearing that he would prove a plague to the whole generation of them, ſo that they hated him deadly, yet could find nothing whereof to accuſe him, but what would redound to their own ſhame.

Zeale.

But for all this he neglected not to preach the truth faithfully, though he knew that they lay at catch, waiting for an opportunity to enſnare him; And it was the ſingular Providence of God that that City ſhould enjoy ſuch preaching, when there were ſo many powerful and malicious enemies to oppoſe it. For at this time *Varquio* read upon the Goſpel according to *Matthew*, and upon the *Pſalms*: *Ægidio* preached daily, and *Conſtantine*, though not ſo often, yet to as great fruit and edification, thus continuing till God ſent ſtorms to try each mans faith; In the midſt of which tempeſt *Varquio* died, and *Conſtantine* was ſent for by the Emperour to be his houſhold Chaplain: only *Ægidio* was left alone, like a Lamb amongſt wolves, to be the object of their fury, of whoſe end we have heard before, after whoſe death *Conſtantine* left the Emperours Court, and returned to *Sivil*, where he preached the Goſpel with as much zeale as ever he did before: Then was he choſen to preach every other day in the Cathedral, which he refuſed, becauſe of a great fit of ſickneſſe which had made him very weak, but he was forced to undertake it, though he was ſo weak a creature, that ſometimes he was fain to be carried to Church, and by reaſon of his faintneſſe was

He goes to the Emperour.

His return to *Sivil*.

His weaknes.

neceſſi-

neceſſitated once or twice in a Sermon to drink a draught of wine to refreſh himſelf. About this time there was one *Scobario*, a man famous for life and learning, choſen by the Magiſtrates of the City to the Government of the Colledge of children, who out of his zeal to promote the Goſpel converted his ſtipend, to the erecting of a Divinity-lecture in the Cathedral Church, and *Conſtantine* having recovered his health was choſen to read it; who peformed it excellently well, beginning with the *Proverbs*, *Eccleſiaſtes*, and the *Canticles*, which having paſſed through very learnedly, he began upon the book of *Iob*, and proceeded to expound more then half of it. But ſome evil ſpirit envying the Progreſſe of the Goſpel in that City, under a pretence of fervent zeal, cauſed him to forſake this courſe, and encombred him ſo many ways, that he was never cleer of thoſe troubles to his dying day.

Choſen Divinity-Lecturer.

For not long after he was brought before the Inquiſitors, and had many things laid to his charge; yet by his quick and ready anſwers he eaſily avoided them, and they could not by any means bring him to make an open Proteſtation of his faith, by which all their hope was to circumvent him; and ſo he might have eſcaped, had not God by a ſpecial Providence compelled him as it were briefly and plainly to confeſſe his faith; The occaſion was this.

There was one *Iſabel Martin* apprehended, in whoſe houſe *Conſtantine* had hid ſome ſpecial books for fear of the Inquiſitors: This womans goods being ſequeſtred, her Son conveyed divers cheſts of her beſt goods away to another place; This coming to the Inquiſitors ears by means of an unfaithfull ſervant, they ſent their Officer immediatly to demand thoſe cheſts: the womans ſon ſuppoſing that the Officer came for *Conſtantines* books, ſaid unto him, I know what you come for, and therefore if you will promiſe me upon your honeſt word to depart quietly, I will bring you to them: the Officer ſuppoſing that he meant the cheſts, promiſed him ſo to do: Then did he carry him into a ſecret place, and plucking forth a ſtone or two in the wall, ſhewed him *Conſtantines* Jewels, of paper indeed; but farre more precious then gold or Pearle; the Officer aſtoniſhed to find that which he looked not for, told him that he came for no ſuch thing, but for certain cheſts of his mothers goods, which he had purloined from the Sequeſtrators, and that notwithſtanding his promiſe, he muſt carry both him and his books to the Inquiſitors: Thus came *Conſtantines* writings into the Inquiſitors hands, out of which they quickly found matter enough againſt him. Then did they ſend for him before them, and demanded if he knew his own hand; he ſhifted it off at the firſt, but afterwards perceiving that it was the Will of God that he ſhould bear witneſſe to the truth, he confeſſed it to be his own writing, proteſting openly that all things therein contained were full of truth and ſincerity; Therefore, ſaid he, trouble your ſelves no further in ſeeking Witneſſes againſt me, ſeeing you have ſo plain and apert a Confeſſion of my judgment and faith, but deal with

A ſtrange Providence.

Courage.

Impriſoned.

me as you ſhall pleaſe; Then was he caſt into priſon, and kept there two whole years, where partly by occaſion of his corrupt diet, but chiefly of grief to ſee ſuch havock made of the poor Church of Chriſt, which himſelf and his brethren had with ſo great pains and care planted and watered, he began firſt to be crazy, and then not being able to endure the extream heat of the Sun, which made his priſon like an hot-houſe, he was forced to ſtrip himſelf to his very ſhirt, wherein he lay day and night, by occaſion whereof he fell into the bloody flux, and within fifteen days died in the ſtinking priſon, rendring up his ſoul to Chriſt, for promoting of whoſe glory he had oft times manfully adventured it.

His death.

He never indeed felt thoſe cruel torments which the Inquiſitors inflict upon others, but it was not becauſe they regarded ſuch a man of eminency as he was, but becauſe they intended to delay his puniſhment by keeping him long in priſon, not expecting that he ſhould ſo ſuddenly have been taken out of their hands. Yet did theſe Imps of Satan ſpread abroad a report, that before his death, upon the Rack he had confeſſed to them who were his diſciples; and this they did to make men come in and accuſe themſelves, upon hope to find the more favour with the Inquiſitors; They reported alſo that he opened one of his veins with a broken glaſſe whereof he died, that ſo he might avoid the ſhame and puniſhment of his hereſies. And againſt the day of their ſolemn triumph, his corps was taken out of his grave, and ſet in a pulpit, with one hand reſting on the desk, and holding up the other, juſt as he uſed to do when he preached: Then they paſſed ſentence upon him, and ſo afterwards cauſed him to be burned.

His Corps burned.

Thus we have ſeen in ſome few examples the rage of theſe bloody Inquiſitors againſt the poor Saints and Servants of Jeſus Chriſt, whereof a great number were cruelly murthered in a few years ſpace in that one City of *Sivil*, whereby we may partly gueſſe how great numbers have ſuffered in all other places, ſince the light of the glorious Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt brake forth untill this day under their cruel and bloody tyranny.

Collected out of a book called *The Diſcovery of the Spaniſh Inquiſition*, &c. Firſt written in *Latin* by *Reynold Gonſalvius Montanus*, and afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh.

The Perſecution of Nicholas Burton Engliſhman, *by the Inquiſitors in* Spain, An. 1560.

Nicholas Burton.

THis *Burton* was a Citizen of *London*, who being about his merchandiſe at *Cadiz in Spain*, there came to his lodging one of the Familiars, deſiring to take lading to *London* in the ſhip which

Burton

Burton had fraited, and this he did, that he might learn where his goods were; Preſently after came a Serjeant who apprehended *Burton*, and carried him away to the Inquiſitors, who, though they could charge him with nothing ſpoken or written againſt them ſince he came to *Spain*, yet they ſent him to the filthy common priſon, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongſt thieves: In which time he ſo inſtructed the poor Priſoners in the Word of God, that in ſhort ſpace he had well reclaimed many of thoſe ignorant and ſuperſtitious ſouls: which being known to the Inquiſitors, they preſently removed him, laden with irons, from thence to *Sivil*, and put him into the more cruel priſon in the Caſtle of *Triana*, where the Inquiſitors proceeded againſt him after their accuſtomed cruel manner, by racking, &c. Neither could he get leave to write to, or ſpeak with any of his Countrymen: Afterwards they brought him forth with many other godly perſons upon their publick day of triumph, in his *Sambito* painted all over with ugly devils tormenting a ſoul in flames of fire, and with a Barnacle upon his tongue, where he received ſentence of death, and ſo with the reſt was carried to the place of execution to be burnt, and he endured the flames with ſo much patience and cheerfulneſſe of countenance, that his Popiſh adverſaries ſaid, that the Devil had his ſoul before he came to the fire, whereby his ſenſe of feeling was taken away: They alſo ſequeſtred all his goods, which could never be recovered out of their hands, though great means were uſed for the ſame. This was in Queen *Maries* days.

Gods Providence.

He is ſent to *Sivil*.

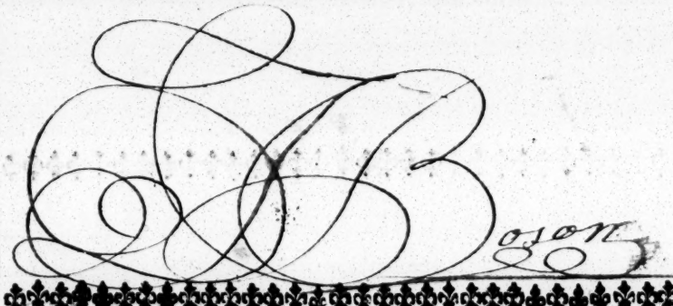
Condemned.

There was burned with him at the ſame time another Engliſhman: and not long after two more, called *John Baker* and *William Burgate*: And about the ſame time *William Burges*, Maſter of an Engliſh ſhip was burned there alſo: and *William Hooker*, a youth of about ſixteen, was there ſtoned to death for the bold Profeſſion of his faith.

John Baker.
Will. Burgate.
Will. Burges.
Will. Hooker.



Here place the ſeventh Figure.



Chap. XXVIII.

The Perſecution of the Church of Chriſt in Italy, *which began,* Anno Chriſti, 1546.

There was one *Encenas* or *Driander* a *Spaniard*, born in *Bruges*, who in his youth was ſent by his ſuperſtitious Parents to be educated in *Rome*, where in proceſſe of time, through Gods mercy, he came to the knowledge of the truth, and thereupon manifeſting his diſlikes of the impure doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, was betrayed by ſome of his own Countrymen and houſhold friends, and by them carried before the Cardinals, who committed him to ſtrait priſon: and afterwards being called forth to declare his judgment in matters of Religion, he gave a notable teſtimony to the truth, before the Cardinals and the Popes whole retinue, whereupon they cried out upon him that he ſhould be burned; yet the Cardinals proffered him life, if he would wear the *Sambito*: but he conſtantly refuſed to wear any other badge, ſave the badge of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which was to ſeal his Profeſſion with his bloud: whereupon he was condemned to the fire, and ſuffered Martyrdome with great patience and conſtancy. His brother *Francis Encenas*, a very learned and godly man as any was in *Spain*, being in the Emperours Court at *Bruxels*, offered to *Charles* the fifth the New Teſtament tranſlated into *Spaniſh*, for which he was caſt into priſon where he remained in great miſery for the ſpace of fifteen moneths, looking for nothing but preſent death: but at laſt, through the marvellous Providence of God, at eight a clock at night he found the priſon doors ſtanding wide open, and a ſecret motion in his mind to make an eſcape, whereupon going out of priſon with a leaſurely pace, he went without interruption, and ſo from thence went ſtrait into *Germany*.

Encenas.

Treachery.

Courage.

Conſtancy. *Francis Encenas.*

A ſpecial Providence.

Anno 1550. There was at *Ferrara* one *Faninus*, who by reading of good books was, through Gods grace, converted to the knowledge of the truth, wherein he found ſuch ſweetneſſe, that by conſtant reading, meditation and prayer, he grew ſo expert in the Scriptures, that he was able to inſtruct others: and though he durſt not go out of the bounds of his calling to preach openly, yet by conference and private exhortations he did good to many: This coming to the knowledge of the Popes Clients, they apprehended and committed him to priſon, where by the earneſt ſollicitations of his wife and children, and other friends, he was ſo overcome, that he renounced the truth, and ſo was diſmiſſed out of priſon. But it was not long before the Lord met with him: ſo that falling into horrible torture of conſcience, he was neer unto utter deſpair, for his Apoſtacy, and for preferring the love of his kindred and friends before the ſervice of Jeſus Chriſt, neither could he poſſibly by any means be free from theſe terrours, before he had fully

Faninus.

Humane infirmitie.

Danger of Apoſtacy.

Recovery after his fall.

A Propheſie.

A ſpecial Providence.

Tentation.

Reſiſted.

fully reſolved to adventure his life more faithfully in the ſervice of the Lord. Wherefore being thus inflamed with an holy zeal, he went about all the countrey, doing much good whereſoever he came, whereupon he was again apprehended, and caſt into priſon, and condemned to be burnt: but he told his Judges that his time was not yet come, and ſo it fell out; for ſhortly after he was removed to *Ferrara*, where he continued in priſon two years; Then was he again condemned by the Popes Inquiſitors; and yet his time being not come, he remained a good while after in priſon: in which time many godly people came to viſit him, which cauſed the Pope to command him to be kept more ſtrictly: Then was he kept cloſe Priſoner for eighteen moneths, wherein he endured many and great torments: After this, he was brought into another priſon, where were many Nobles, great Lords and Captains for ſtirring up ſedition, who when they firſt heard him ſpeak, ſet him at naught and derided him: and ſome of the graveſt of them, ſuppoſing it to be but a melancholy humour, exhorted him to leave his opinion, &c. *Faninus* gave them thanks for their friendly good will, but withal modeſtly and plainly he declared to them, that the doctrine which he profeſſed was no humour nor opinion of mans braine, but the pure truth of God held forth in his Word, which truth he was fully reſolved never to deny, &c. With which inſtructions they were, through the mercy of God, clean altered in their carriage and judgment, highly admiring and honouring him now, whom a little before they derided and contemned; Then did he proceed ſtill to impart the Word of grace to them, declaring, that though he knew himſelf to be a miſerable ſinner, yet through faith in Ieſus Chriſt and his grace, he was fully perſwaded that his ſins were forgiven, aſſuring them likewiſe that if they did repent and beleeve on our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, they alſo ſhould have their ſins remitted unto them.

There were in that priſon alſo ſome that having formerly lived very delicately, could not now endure the hardſhip of priſon, to whom he adminiſtred much comfort in this their diſtreſſe, inſomuch as they rejoyced in theſe their ſufferings, by which they had learned a better kind of liberty then ever they had before.

His Kinsfolk hearing of his impriſonment, his wife and ſiſter came to him, pitifully weeping and intreating him to conſider and remember his poor family, &c. To whom he anſwered, that his Lord and Maſter had commanded him not to deny his truth for his families ſake: and that it was too much that once for their ſakes he had fallen into that Cowardiſe, which they knew of: Therefore he deſired them to leave him, and not to ſollicit him any further in that kind, for he knew that his end now drew neer, and ſo he commended them to the Lord.

Preſently after the Pope ſent a command that *Faninus* ſhould be executed, whereof when an officer brought him word, he much rejoyced at it, thanking the Meſſenger: Then did he begin to make a

long

long exhortation to his fellow-priſoners about the felicity of the life to come.

He had life proffered him if he would recant, and he was put in mind what a ſad condition he would leave his wife and children in; whereupon he anſwered that he had committed them to an Overſeer that would ſufficiently care for them, and being asked who that was? he anſwered, Even the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, a faithful Keeper of all that are commited to him; the next day he was removed into the common priſon, and delivered to the ſecular Magiſtrate.

Proffer of life refuſed.

Faith.

In all his words, geſtures and countenance, he ſhewed ſuch modeſty, conſtancy, and tranquillity of mind, that they which before extreamly hated him, and thought that he had a divel, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him: yea with ſuch grace and ſweetneſſe he ſpake of the Word of God, that many of the Magiſtrates wives which heard him, could not abſtain from weeping: yea the Executioner himſelf wept.

As he was going to execution, one that ſaw him ſo merry and cheerful, asked him what was the reaſon of it, whenas Chriſt before his death ſweat blood and water? To whom he anſwered, that Chriſt ſuſtained all the ſorrows and conflicts with hell and death due to us, that by his ſufferings we might be freed from the ſorrow and feare of them all.

Comfort in death.

Note.

At the place of execution after he had made his moſt earneſt prayers to the Lord, he meekly and patiently went to the ſtake, where he was firſt ſtrangled, and afterwards burned; And during the time of his burning there came a moſt fragrant and odoriferous ſmell to the Spectators, the ſweetneſſe whereof did ſo delight and refreſh their ſenſes, as his words would have done, if they had heard him ſpeak.

A ſpecial Providence.

There was alſo one *Dominicus*, ſometimes a ſouldier under *Charles* the fifth in *Germany*, where he received the firſt taſte of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, after which by his conference with learned men he much increaſed in knowledge, inſomuch as he was able to inſtruct others; whereupon he returned into *Italy*, and in the City of *Naples*, he taught the Word of God to many, *Anno* 1550. From thence he went to *Placentia*, where he inſtructed the People alſo in many of the fundamentals of Religion, promiſing that he would next ſpeak to them of Antichriſt, whom he would paint out in his colours; but when he came the next day, he was apprehended by the Magiſtrate, whom he readily obeyed, ſaying, that he wondred the devil had let him alone ſo long: and being asked whether he would renounce his doctrine, he anſwered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own but the doctrine of Chriſt, which alſo he was ready to ſeale with his blood, giving hearty thanks to God for accounting him worthy to ſuffer for his name. Then was he committed to a filthy and ſtinking priſon, where he remained ſome moneths, and was often ſollicited to revoke his opinions, or elſe he muſt ſuffer death: but, through Gods mercy, nothing could remove him from his conſtancy: being therefore condemned

Dominicus.

Apprehended.

Conſtancy.

Thanks for ſufferings.

to death, he was brought forth into the market-place, where he most heartily prayed for his enemies, instructed the People, and then was hanged, resting in peace in the Lord.

In Saint *Angelo*, there was an house of *Augustine Friars*, to whom there often resorted a Friar from the City of *Pavia*, who was a man very expert in the Scriptures, and of godly conversation, by whose labours not only divers of the Friars, but other Townsmen were brought to the knowledge and love of Gods Word; and amongst the rest one *Galiacius Trecius*, a Gentleman of good quality very wealthy and bountiful to the poor, was wrought upon to embrace the truth, and was afterward much confirmed and strengthened by *Calius Secundus*, who being persecuted from *Pavia*, came to this place. After some time *Galiacius* having much profited in knowledge, was inflamed with a godly zeal to promote and propagate the knowledge of the truth unto others; But a light shining in such darkness could not be long hid: Insomuch as *Anno* 1551. he was apprehended and carried before the Bishop, by whom he was kept in bands, having only a pad of straw to lie on; and though his wife sent him a good bed and sheets, yet did the Bishops officers keep them from him, dividing it as a booty amongst themselves.

Galeacius Trecius.

Cruelty.

Thrice he was brought before the Commissioners, where he boldly rendred a reason of his faith, answering all their interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture and constancy of mind as astonished all that heard him: yet afterwards at the importunity of his friends and kindred, he was by much perswasion brought to assent to certain Popish points. But, through the mercy of God, he was after a while, brought to such repentance and bewailing of this fact, that afterwards he became more valiant in the defence of Christs quarrel; neither did he desire any thing more then to have occasion to recover again by confession that which he had lost by denial: affirming that as he never had felt more joy of heart then when he constantly professed the truth, so he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, then when he turned from the same by dissimulation: Professing to his Christian friends, that death was much more sweet to him with testimony to the truth, then life with the least denial of it, and violation of a good conscience thereby. So that afterwards, through Gods mercy, he was so full of comfort, that divers which talked with him, continued all day without meat or drink, and if they might, would have stayed all night too, they were so delighted with him.

Humane infirmity.
Recovery.

Note.

Joy unspeakable.

Galeacius thus waiting for some occasion to manifest his Recovery, it so fell out that the Inquisitors came into the prison to him, supposing that now he would have confirmed what before he had granted unto them, requiring him so to do. But *Galeacius* on the contrary retracted that, and boldly asserted the truth with more courage then he did before: and hereby his mind was greatly refreshed, and his adversaries went away ashamed: yet did they condemn and deliver him to the secular Judge to be burned; Then was he brought forth in the

mor-

morning to the market-place, and bound to a stake, where he was left till noon to be a gazing stock to all the people: during which time many came to him, exhorting him to recant, and not so wilfully to cast away himself, and thereby to undo his loving wife and young children, &c. But nothing could alter the firme mind of this constant Martyr, and therefore at length fire was put to him, and so he quietly slept in the Lord. Tentation resisted.

A little before his execution, he hearing that there was a controversie between the Bishop and Major of the city, which of them should be at cost to buy wood for his burning, he sent to them to end that quarrel, for that he himself would be at the cost of it, out of his own goods. Note.

The Life of John Mollius.

THere was at *Rome* one *Iohn Mollius*, who at twelve years old was placed by his Parents in the house of the *Gray-friars*, where being of an excellent wit, in a short time he so profited both in the knowledge of the Arts and Tongues, that at eighteen years old he was made a Priest: Then was he sent to study at *Ferrara*, where he so profited in six years time, that he was made Doctor and Reader of Divinity in that University, and by his Sophistry shewed himself an utter enemy to the Gospel. From thence he went to *Brixia*, and the year following to *Millaine*, where he read openly; Then by *Francis Sforce* he was brought to the University of *Papia*, to be the Philosophy Professor, where he remained foure years; Then was he called to the University of *Bononia*; about which time it pleased God so to inlighten him with the knowledge of his truth, that he began secretly to expound *The Epistle of* Paul *to the Romanes* to a few, but presently his Auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the Church, where the number of his Auditors daily increased, and withal, they shewed such fervency of mind, that most of them came with pen and ink to write what they heard, taking great care to come so early that they might have room to hear him. This was *Anno* 1538. Hereupon *Cardinal Campeius* set up one *Cornelius*, an arrogant Babler, to expound the same Epistle, who cryed up the Pope and his traditions; as *Iohn* on the contrary commended and extolled Christ, and his merits to the People: But *Cornelius* his Auditors quickly decreased, and the others increased exceedingly: This angred *Cornelius* insomuch as, by *Cardinal Campeius* his advice, they came to an open disputation, and when they could not agree, as *Iohn* was returning home in a narrow place where his friends could not come to his rescue, he was apprehended and clapt up in prison; but this caused such stir in the city, that *Cornelius* was faine to hide himself; Then did the Bishop send word to *Iohn* in prison, that he must either recant or be burnt: To the first

His education.

His enmity to the truth.

Conversion.

Zeale.

His apprehension.

Constancy.

His Releaſe.

Courage.

His appearing at *Rome*.

Note.

His return to *Bonony*.

A ſpecial Providence.

He is again apprehended.

His Releaſe.

Love to Chriſt

Manifold afflictions.

Conſtancy.

His Martyrdome.

he anſwered that he would by no means condiſcend, only it grieved him that he ſhould be condemned, & his cauſe not heard; yet by the mediation of a friend he was releaſed out of priſon, upon condition that within three moneths he ſhould appear at *Rome*: ſome of his friends diſſwaded him from going to *Rome*, adviſing him rather to go into *Germany*, and they would give him mony to bear his charges; but he refuſed, ſaying, that he muſt preach the Goſpel at *Rome* alſo.

When he came thither, he requeſted of the Pope that he might have a publick hearing, but that was denied him, and he was commanded to write his opinion: which accordingly he did, About Original ſin, Juſtification by faith only, Free-will, Purgatory, &c. All which he confirmed by the Authority of Scripture and Fathers, and ſo exhibited it to the Pope, who referred it to ſome Cardinals: and they diſputed with him three days upon thoſe points, but could not confute them; then was he anſwered, that it was truth which he ſaid, yet not meet for the times; and therefore he was commanded to abſtain from preaching, and to returne to *Bonony* to be the Philoſophy Profeſſor.

When he came back, all men longed to hear how he had ſped, and in the Pulpit he openly declared the whole proceedings to them, giving God thanks for his ſafe return.

But this ſo offended the Cardinal, that by order from the Pope, he was removed from *Bononia* to *Naples*: There alſo his doctrine was ſo diſtaſted by the Viceroy, that he laid wait to take away his life; yet through Gods mercy he eſcaped, and wandred up and down *Italy*, preaching the Goſpel of Chriſt whereſoever he came: At laſt he was called back to *Bonony*, where privately he expounded *Pauls* Epiſtles, which could not be long concealed; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to *Faventia*, where he was caſt into a filthy ſtinking priſon, and lay there foure years, no man being ſuffered to come to him: yet at laſt by the mediation of ſome friends he was again releaſed, and went to *Ravenna*, where he preached the Goſpel of Chriſt with ſuch affections, that he never ſpake of Jeſus Chriſt, but tears dropped from his eyes.

After a ſhort time he was again caſt into priſon; but foure perſons of quality proffering to be his Bail, through Gods mercy, he was releaſed; after which ſo many flocked to him, that his adverſaries conſulted to kill him, leſt his doctrine ſhould ſpread further: and apprehending him, they ſent him bound to *Rome*, where again he was caſt into priſon for eighteen moneths, in which time he was often aſſaulted, ſometimes with flatteries and fair promiſes, ſometimes with terrible threats: but his conſtancy could not be ſhaken by either; whereupon he with ſome others were brought forth to receive the ſentence of condemnation, at which time with great earneſtneſſe, he confirmed his former doctrine, affirmed the Pope to be Antichriſt, &c. citing them to appear before the Tribunal of Chriſt.

Being condemned and carried to the place of execution, he exhorted the

the People to have no Saviours but Chriſt alone, the only Mediatour betvvixt God and man, and ſo he vvas firſt hanged and then burned. This vvas *Anno Chriſti*, 1553.

The year after, *Francis Gamba* born in *Lombardy*, having, through Gods grace, received the knovvledge of the Goſpel, vvent to *Geneva*, vvhere he vvas much confirmed in the truth, and received the Sacrament with them; then returning into his own country he was apprehended and caſt into priſon, whither many Nobles, Doctors and Prieſts reſorted to him, labouring by all means to diſſwade him from his opinions; But he diſputing with them, conſtantly affirmed that what he held was conſonant to the Word of God, and the evident doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, and neceſſary for all men to beleeve if they would be ſaved: Aſſuring them that rather then he would be found falſe to Chriſt and his Word, he was there ready to ſhed his blood: He was long aſſailed by the intreaties of his friends and threatnings of his enemies, but could by no means be diſcouraged, yea he gave thanks to God for accounting him worthy to ſuffer rebukes and death for the teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt: and ſo by order of the Senate of *Millain* he was had forth to execution. *Francis Gamba* Conſtancy. Tentations reſiſted.

He went with a great deal of cheerfulneſſe; and when a Croſſe was brought him by a Friar, he ſaid, that his mind was ſo repleniſhed with joy and comfort in Chriſt, that he needed neither his Croſſe nor him: then becauſe he declared many comfortable things to the people, his tongue was bored through, and he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt, undergoing death with admirable patience and conſtancy.- Comfort at death.

Anno 1555. There was one *Algerius* a Student in *Padua*, a young man of excellent learning, who having attained to the knowledge of the truth, ceaſed not by inſtruction and example to inform others that he might bring them to the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt; for this he was accuſed of hereſie to the Pope; by whoſe command he was apprehended and caſt into priſon at *Venice*, where he lay long; during which time he wrote an excellent letter to the afflicted Saints, wherein, amongſt many other excellent expreſſions, he thus writeth; *I cannot but impart unto you ſome portion of my delectations and joys which I feel and find: I have found hony in the intrals of a Lion; Who will believe that in the dark dungeon I ſhould find a Paradiſe of pleaſure? In a place of ſorrow and death, dwels tranquillity and hope of life: In an infernal Cave, I have joy of ſoul: where others weep, I rejoyce: where others ſhake and tremble, there is ſtrength and boldneſſe, &c. All theſe things the ſweet hand of the Lord doth miniſter to me: Behold he that was once far from me, is now preſent with me: whom I could ſcarce feel before, now I ſee more apparently: whom once I ſaw afarre off, I now behold neer at hand: whom once I hungred for, he now approaches and reaches his hand to me: he doth comfort me, and fils me with gladneſſe: he drives away all ſorrow, ſtrengthens, encourageth, heals, refreſheth and advanceth me: O how good is the Lord, who ſuffers not his ſervants to be tempted above their ſtrength! Oh how eaſie and ſweet is his yoke,* &c. *Algerius.* Joy in afflictions.

&c. learn therfore how amiable and merciful the Lord is, who visiteth his servants in tentations, and disdains not to keep them company in such vile and stinking dungeons, &c. And in conclusion he subscribes his letter, *From the delectable Orchard of the Leonine prison, &c.* After this the Pope sent for him to *Rome*, where, by manifold perswasions and allurements, he was enticed to desert and deny the truth, which not prevailing, he was adjudged to be burnt a live, which death he most constantly endured to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

Note.

Tenet not resisted.

John Aloysius. *Anno* 1559. *John Aloysius*, being sent from *Geneva* to be a Pastor in *Calabria*, was thence sent for by the Pope to *Rome*, where he suffered Martyrdome.

James Bovellus. Also *James Bovellus* a godly Minister in the same place, aud at the same time, was sent for by the Pope, by whom he was sent to *Messina*, and there martyred.

Persecution raised by the Pope. Pope *Pius* the fourth raised an hot persecution against the People of God in all the territories of the Church of *Rome*, whereby many constant Christians suffered Martyrdome. Yea this persecution was so hot in the kingdome of *Naples*, that many Noble men with their wives, and divers others there were slain. *Anno* 1560.

Horrible Cruelty. A Papist writing to a Noble Lord about the cruelty shewed to some Christians, hath these expressions: *When I think upon it, I verily quake and tremble: for their manner of putting to death may fitly be resembled to the slaughter of Calves and sheep; for eighty eight of them being thrust up together in one house as in a sheepfold, the Executioner cometh in, taketh one and blindfoldeth him, and so leads him forth to a larger place adjoyning; where commanding him to kneel down, he cuts his throat: and leaving him half dead, he takes his Butchers knife and mufler all gore blood; and goeth back to the rest, and so leading one after another, he dispatches them all: How sad this spectacle was, I leave to your Lordship to judge, for my own part I cannot but weep to think of it; neither was there any of the Spectators which seeing one to die, could endure to behold another: But truly so humbly and patiently they went to their death, as is almost incredible to beleeve: All the aged Persons went to death more cheerfully, the younger were something more timerous: I tremble and shake to remember how the Executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody mufler in his hand, and his armes all gore blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them one after another by the hand, and so dispatching them all, no otherwise then as a Butcher doth kill his Calves and sheep.* This was in *Calabria*, *Anno Christi* 1560.

Patience of the Saints.

Persecution raised by the Pope in Venice.

THe City of *Venice* was a long while free from the cruel Inquisition, whereby the face of a Church was discerned there, from the

the year 1530. to the year 1542. yea and multitudes of good Chriſtians flocked thither from other parts, which ſo provoked the devil to envy, that he ſtirred up the Pope to ſend Inquiſitors which erected an Inquiſition in that city, and for divers years the Pope ſent them mony to diſtribute amongſt their Flies, and ſuch perſons as would betray the faithful to them: By this means many of the worthy ſervants of Ieſus Chriſt were apprehended, impriſoned, and after a while ſent to *Rome* to be there butchered.

Then was a new-found manner of death inflicted upon divers others, never till then heard of, whereby they were drowned in the bottome of the ſea; The manner of it was thus, after any of them had received the ſentence of death by the Inquiſitors, an iron chain was faſtned about their middle, with a very heavy ſtone tied thereto, then were they laid upon a plank between two boats, and ſo rowed to an appointed place in the ſea, where the boats parting aſunder, the Martyrs were preſently ſunk into the bottome of the ſea and drowned. Yet notwithſtanding this cruelty, many godly Perſons ceaſed not to aſſemble together in a place appointed for that purpoſe, where they talked and diſcourſed of heavenly matters for their ſpiritual edification, and to make collections for the relief of the poor amongſt them. And *Anno* 1566. They called to them a Miniſter of the Goſpel, and conſtituted a Church, where they injoyed all the Ordinances with much comfort: but ſome falſe brethren creeping in amongſt them, after a while betrayed them; then were many apprehended, caſt into the ſea and drowned: Others were ſent to *Rome*, where they were caſt into priſon till they rotted and died there.

Amongſt others that were condemned to be drowned at *Venice*, was one Mr. *Anthony Ricetto*: to whom after his condemnation, his ſonne, a youth about twelve years old came, beſeeching him with tears to yield, that his life might be ſaved, and himſelf not left fatherleſſe: To whom he anſwered, A good Chriſtian is bound to foregoe children, goods, yea and life it ſelf for the maintenance of Gods honour and glory: *For which cauſe* (ſaid he) *I am now reſolved to lay down my life, the Lord aſſiſting me.* *Anthony Ricetto.* Tentation reſiſted.

The Lords of *Venice* offered to reſtore to him his Patrimony, which was partly morgaged and partly ſold, if he would ſubmit to the Church of *Rome*; but he reſolutely refuſed that condition. Not long after came a Captain to him, and told him of one *Francis Sega* his priſon-fellow that was reſolved to recant: To whom he anſwered, *What tell you me of* Sega? *I am reſolved to perform my vows to the Lord my God:* Then was he carried forth bound to the boats, aud by the way a Prieſt preſented him with a woodden Croſſe, exhorting him to recant, &c. But he on the contrary perſwaded him and others to come out of the ſnare of the devil, and to cleave to Ieſus Chriſt, and to live, not according to the fleſh, but according to the ſpirit; For, ſaid he, otherwiſe your unbelief will bring you into the lake of fire that never ſhall be quenched. When he came to the place where he was to ſuffer, the Captain faſtned the chain Conſtancy.

chain and ſtone to him, whereupon lifting up his eyes to heaven, he ſaid, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do. Lord Jeſus into thy hands do I commend my ſpirit*; and ſo in the ſea he ended his life.

Francis Spinola

A few days after one Mr. *Francis Spinola* was apprehended and committed to priſon, and when he was brought forth before the Inquiſitors, they ſhewed him a Treatiſe about the Lords Supper, demanding whether he was the Author of it, which he acknowledged, avouching that the doctrine that was contained therein was agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Then was he return'd to his priſon, where the aforementioned *Sega* was, who waiting for his coming, as he paſſed by, ſaluted him by his name, after which they conferred together about the doctrine of the Goſpel; and *Sega* having heard that *Spinola* had ſtood ſtoutly in the Confeſſion of the truth, he was much comforted, ſaying, that God had reſerved him for ſuch a time as this to make him Partaker of ſo great conſolation. Shortly after the Jailor told *Sega* that he was to die one houre within night, at the hearing whereof he intreated *Spinola* to pray with him, and after prayer he ſaid that his ſoul was heavy unto death. *Spinola* anſwered, F*ear not, for it will not be long before your ſoul ſhall partake of thoſe joys which ſhall endure for ever.* At the appointed time he was fetched out of the dungeon, where he took his leave of *Spinola* and the other Priſoners: As he went into the boat a Friar perſwaded him to return to the Church of *Rome*; *Sega* anſwered, that he was already in the way to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and ſo paſſing on he called upon the name of God: He ſeemed to be a little amazed at the faſtning of the chaine and ſtone to his body, yet preſently recollecting his ſpirits, he took it patiently, and ſo commending his ſoul into the hands of God, he quietly ſlept in the Lord.

Sega.

Sega's Martyrdome.

Spinola being again called before the Inquiſitors, he boldly reproved the Popes Legate, and the other Iudges, for that contrary to their conſciences they perſecuted the truth of God, calling them the off-ſpring of the Phariſees, &c.

The third time that he was called before them, they asked him if he would not recant his errours: he anſwered that the doctrine which he maintained was not erroneous, but the ſame truth which Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles taught, and for which all the Martyrs both in former and latter times did willingly lay down their lives and endured the pains of death. Yet after all this, *Spinola* by the crafty perſwaſions of ſome ſeeming friends, began to ſtrike ſaile and to faint; but through Gods goodneſſe he ſoon recovered again, and being called before the Iudges he openly confirmed the truth, and ſo had ſentence paſſed upon him that he ſhould be drowned as an Heretick. To which he anſwered, *I am no Heretick but the Servant of Jeſus Chriſt*; at which words the Popes Legat commanded him ſilence, and told him that he lyed; The night after he was conveyed into the ſea, and there drowned, praiſing and bleſſing God with invincible conſtancy.

Humane infirmity.

Recovery.

Spinola's Martyrdome.

An Engliſhman at *Rome*.

Anno 1595. There was at *Rome* a young Engliſhman, who going into

into a Church, and ſeeing their groſſe idolatry, was ſo inflamed with zeal that he could not endure the ſight of thoſe horrible impieties, and therefore he went out into the Church porch, and as the Proceſſion paſſed by him, he waited till the Biſhop came that bear the Hoſt, and then ſtepping forwards he plucked it out of his hands, threw it to the ground, ſaying aloud, *Ye wretched Idolaters, do ye fall down to a morſell of bread?* This ſo provoked the People that they had almoſt torn him in pieces, and yet they ſpared him and ſent him to priſon. An heroical act.

Complaint being made to Pope *Clement* the eighth, he was ſo incenſed that he appointed him to be burnt the ſame day; but ſome of the Cardinals adviſed that he ſhould rather be kept in priſon, and examined by exquiſite torments to find out his abettors and ſetters on. This accordingly was put in practice, yet could they draw nothing from him but theſe words, *Such was the Will of God.* Then was he adjudged to be led from the Capitol naked to his middle, and to wear on his head the forme of a divel, his breeches to be painted over with flames of fire, and ſo to be carried all about the City, and then to be burnt alive. His cruel torments.

When he heard this ſentence, he lift up his eyes to heaven, and implored the help of Almighty God. As he paſſed through the ſtreets he was mocked and derided of all the People, but he continued his fervent Prayers to God; At laſt he ſpake ſomething againſt the filthy lives of the Cardinals, which ſo enraged them, that they cauſed him to be gagged, which cruelty he patiently endured. When he came before the Church where he caſt down the idol, the hangman cut off his right hand, and ſet it on a pole in the Cart to which he was tied; Then did two Tormentors with flaming torches ſcorch and burn his fleſh all the way as he went through the City of *Rome*, all which he bore with admirable patience; By that he came to the place where he was to be executed, his body was all over ſcorched, bliſtred and bloody, having no part free but his head; Then was he taken from the Cart, and ſeeing the Poſt to which he ſhould be tied, went of himſelf to it, and kneeling down, kiſſed the chains which ſhould bind him to it; The Friars urged him to worſhip an idol which they preſented to him, but he turning away his face ſhewed his deteſtation of it, holding on his Chriſtian courſe unto the end: and when the flames of fire ſeized on him, he bowed his head, and quietly yielded up his ſoul to God. Patience. His Martyrdome.

The ſame year there was an old godly man that had long lain in the Inquiſitors dungeons, who was at laſt brought forth and condemned; after which the Friars brought to him a Crucifix, importuning him to kiſſe and adore it; He ſeeing their impudence, ſaid unto them; *If you take not this idol out of my ſight, ye will conſtrain me to ſpit upon it*; The Friars hearing this, ſent him away immediately to the fire, where with great courage and conſtancy he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God. Idolatry deteſted.

Chap. XXIX.

The Life and Martyrdom of William Gardiner *in* Portugal, Anno Chriſti, 1552.

His going to *Lisbone*.

William Gardiner was born at *Briſtol*, and well educated, and when he was grown up, was placed with one Mr. *Paget*, a Merchant, by whom when he was twenty ſix years old, he was ſent into *Portugal* to *Lisbone*, the Regal City, to be a Factor: there he learned the country language, and became a profitable ſervant both to his Maſter and others. He was careful to keep cloſe to God, and to avoid the ſuperſtitions of that countrey, and there being diverſe good men in that city, he aſſociated himſelf with them, uſed good conference, and often bewailed to them his own weakneſſe, as being neither ſufficiently humbled for his ſins, nor yet inflamed with a love of godlineſſe as he ought: he had alſo good books which privately he made much uſe of. Now whilſt he was here abiding, it ſo fell out that a great marriage was to be ſolemnized betwixt the King of *Portugals* ſonne, and the King of *Spains* daughter. Great Preparations were made for it, and a great concourſe there was of Perſons of all Ranks that came to it; and upon the wedding day they went to Church in great pomp; and amongſt multitudes of Spectators, *William Gardiner* made one, rather for the novelty of the buſineſſe, then for any deſire that he had to ſee their Ceremonies, and going to Church early in the morning, he got a convenient place to hear and ſee in.

Zeal.

When all were come to Church, a Cardinal began to ſay Maſſe: The People ſtanding vvith great ſilence and devotion: The ſight of theſe ſuperſtitions did vvonderfully grieve the mind of *William Gardiner*, not ſo much to ſee the folly of the common People, as to ſee that the King himſelf, and ſo many ſage Nobles ſhould be led avvay vvith ſuch abominable idolatry; vvherevvith he vvas ſo exceedingly moved in his ſpirit, that he had much ado to refrain himſelf from doing ſomething vvhereby he might manifeſt his diſlike; but the great throng that he vvas in, hindred him, that he could not come neer to the Altar.

Prayer.

When all vvas ended he returned home very ſad, ſeeking out ſolitary places, vvhere falling dovvn proſtrate before God, vvith many tears he bevvailed the neglect of his duty, and ſtudied hovv he might revoke that People from their impiety and ſuperſtition. At length his mind vvas fully ſetled not to defer the matter any longer, vvherupon he renounced the vvorld, exactly made up all his accounts, both vvhat he ovved and vvhat vvas owing to him to a farthing. Then did he continue night and day in Prayer unto God and in continual meditation of the holy Scriptures, ſo that he would ſcarce take any meat by day, or ſleep by night, as one *Pendigrace* his bed-fellow teſtified.

The

The Sabbath following Maſſe was to be celebrated with the like ſolemnity; Whereupon *William Gardiner* went early in the morning handſomely apparelled to Church, ſetting himſelf neer to the Altar; the King and States came; *Gardiner* with a New Teſtament in his hand, ſtood near the Altar, privately reading of it all the while. A Cardinal began the Maſſe, conſecrated the Hoſt, lifted it up on high, ſhewed his God to the People, they adored it: yet *Gardiner* contained himſelf all this while. Then the Cardinal took the Hoſt, toſſed it to and fro about the Chalice, made divers circles, &c. With that *Gardiner* ſtept to him, took the Hoſt out of his hand, and trampled it under his feet, and with his other hand overthrew the Chalice.

Groſſe idolatry

An heroical act

At firſt all that were preſent ſtood amazed; then aroſe a great tumult, and one drawing his dagger wounded *Gardiner* in his ſhoulder, and as he was about to have ſlain him, the King commanded him to forbear, whereby his life was ſaved for the preſent; the tumult being ceaſed, the King demanded of him what Countryman he was? He anſwered, *Moſt noble King, I am not aſhamed of my Countrey, I am an Engliſhman by birth and Religion, and came hither as a Merchant, and ſeeing ſo great idolatry committed in this famous Aſſembly, I neither ought nor could any longer ſuffer it: neither could I forbear doing what you have ſeen: which thing, moſt noble Prince, was not done in contempt of your Preſence, God is my witneſſe; but to ſeek the ſalvation of this People.*

His danger.

His ſpeech to he King.

The King hearing that he was an Engliſhman, & conſidering what alteration of Religion King *Edward* had made, preſently conceited that he was ſuborned by ſome body to do this in ſcorn to their Religion, wherefore he asked him who was the Author and Procurer of this act? *Gardiner* anſwered that he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conſcience; For, ſaith he, there is no man under heaven, for whoſe ſake I would put my ſelf into ſuch manifeſt danger, but that I owed this ſervice firſt to God, and then to your ſalvation: and if I have done any thing which is diſpleaſing to you, you ought to impute it to no man, but to your ſelf, who ſo irreverently uſe the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper to ſo great idolatry, &c. Whilſt he thus ſtoutly ſpake to the King, by reaſon of the loſſe of much blood by his wound, he was ready to faint. Whereupon Chirurgeons were ſent for to cure him, that he might be reſerved for further torments.

Courage.

Then were all other Engliſhmen in the City clapped up in priſon, eſpecially his bed-fellow, vvho vvas grievouſly tormented and examined more then all the reſt, and ſcarcely delivered after tvvo years impriſonment; the reſt got off ſooner.

They ſearched alſo all his writings and letters, to ſee if they could find out any confederates; then they vvent to him ſeeking by torments to extort the Author of this fact. They alſo invented a nevv kind of torment, exceeding *Phalaris* his brazen Bull; which vvas this: They made a ball of linnen cloth, vvhich vvith violence they thruſt dovvn his throat to the bottome of his ſtomack, and vvith a ſtring faſtned to it, they pulled it up again; and this they did divers times, which cauſed as bitter

He is tortured

pains as the pains of death; but when by this means they could get no confeſſion from him; they asked him if he did not repent of his vvicked fact? vvhereto he anſvvered, that he vvas ſo far from repenting, that if it vvere to do again he ſhould do it: yet vvas he ſomevvhat ſorry that it vvas done in the Kings preſence, to his diſturbance, but they vvere not to blame him for it, but the King was rather to be blamed, who having power, would not prohibit ſo great idolatry.

His cruel Martyrdome.

When they had uſed all kinds of torments, and that he was ſo weakned thereby, that he was not like to live long, they firſt cut off his right hand, then carried him into the market-place, where they cut off his other hand alſo: then faſtning a rope about his middle, with a Pully they hoiſted him up on high, and making a great fire under him, they let him down, ſo that his feet only felt the fire; and ſo often pulling him up and down, they burned him by degrees: and yet in all theſe great torments he remained conſtant, and the more terribly that he burnt the more earneſtly he prayed; When his feet were conſumed, they asked him whether he yet did not repent him of his deed? exhorting him to call upon our Lady and the Saints. He anſwered that what torments ſoever they uſed, the truth was the ſame: that which he had confeſſed in his life, he would not deny at his death; and that when Chriſt ceaſed to be our Advocate he would pray to our Lady, &c. And when they laboured to ſtop his praying to and praiſing of God, he with a loud voice rehearſed the 43 *Pſalm*: which being almoſt ended, the rope was burned in ſunder, ſo that his body fell down into the fire, where he changed his momentany pains for eternal reſt.

Conſtancy.

Gods judgment on Perſecutors.

But the Lord ſuffered not this cruelty to go altogether unpuniſhed in this life; for a ſpark of the fire wherewith he was burned, was driven by the wind into the haven, where it ſet on fire one of the Kings great ſhips, and conſumed it: The new-married Prince alſo died within half a year, and the King himſelf not long after.

The Martyrdome of a Chriſtian Jew in Conſtantinople, Anno Chriſti, 1528.

THis Iew dwelling at *Conſtantinople*, through Gods grace, was there converted, baptized, and became a good Chriſtian; which the Turks underſtanding, were vehemently exaſperated againſt him for it, fearing leſt his converſion ſhould prove very prejudicial to their *Mahumetan Religion*, and therefore they apprehended and cruelly murthered him, and for his greater infamy they caſt out his dead body into the open ſtreets, forbidding all ſtrictly to bury it. Thus his dead body lay in the ſtreets nine days, yet, through the power of God, it corrupted not at all, yea there proceeded from it a certain delectable ſent or odour, which much aſtoniſhed the Turks, ſo that at laſt they took it up, carried it out of the City, and buried it.

A ſpecial Providence.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

The Perſecution of the Church in Germany, *which began*, Anno Chriſti 1523.

THe Goſpel being ſpread abroad in *Germany*, by the means and miniſtry of *Luther*, and his fellovv-labourers, the Pope having tried all other means for the ſuppreſſing of it, and finding them ineffectual, he at laſt provokes the Emperour *Charles* the fifth by war to deſtroy the Proteſtants, and for that end gives him two hundred thouſand Crowns in mony for the maintenance of theſe wars, and ties himſelf at his own coſt to maintain twelve thouſand foot and five hundred horſe for ſix moneths; yea out of his zeal for the cauſe, he allows the Emperour the one half of the Revenue of the Clergy, and gives him leave to ſel of Abby-lands to the value of five hundred thouſand Crowns, wherupon great Preparation was made for this war both in *Germany*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*, the conſideration whereof cauſed the confederate Proteſtant Princes to raiſe a great Army alſo for their own defence; upon which occaſion they were proclaimed guilty of high treaſon by the Emperour.

The Pope ſtirs up the Emperour to perſecute the Proteſtants.

The two Armies lay neer together, and the Proteſtants offered battel to the Emperour, but he refuſed, aſſuring himſelf that they could not long continue together: The Army of the Proteſtants was commanded by the Duke of *Saxony* and the Lantgrave of *Heſſen*, who did not concur very well in their counſels; beſides they wanted both victuals and mony, ſo as they were forced to diſlodge and retire further off: the Emperour following, forced the Elector to fight with diſadvantage; and God which doth not always proſper the better cauſe, gave the victory to the Emperour, the Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* being taken Priſoners, *Anno* 1547.

Duke of *Saxony* and the *Lantgrave* taken Priſoners

Preſently after enſued a great perſecution in many places: authority armed with laws and rigour, ſtriving againſt ſimple verity: It was lamentable to hear how many poor men were troubled, both Miniſters and Chriſtians; ſome toſſed from place to place; others exiled out of their own countryes; ſome driven into woods, and forced to dwell in caves; ſome tormented upon the Rack, and ſome burned with fire and faggot; Amongſt others, two young men were burnt at *Bruxels*, *viz. Henry Voes* & *Iohn Eſch*, formerly *Auguſtine*-Friars; When they came before the Inquiſitors they were examined what they did beleeve? they anſwered, the books of the Old and New Teſtament, wherein were contained the Articles of the Creed. Then were they asked whether they did not beleeve the decrees of the Councels and Fathers: They anſwered, ſuch as were agreeing to the Scriptures, they beleeved, &c. When they were condemned, they gave thanks to God their heavenly father, which of his great goodneſſe had delivered them from that falſe and abominable Religion

A cruel perſecution.

Henry Voes.
Iohn Eſch.

Religion, making them Prieſts to himſelf, and receiving them to himſelf as a ſacrifice of a ſweet odour; They went joyfully to the place of execution, proteſting that they died for the glory of God and the doctrine of the Goſpel as true Chriſtians, and that it was the day which they had long deſired; They joyfully imbraced the ſtake, and indured patiently the torments of the fire, ſinging Pſalmes, and rehearſing the Creed in teſtimony of their faith; whereupon one ſaid to them that they ſhould take heed of glorifying themſelves ſo fooliſhly; but one of them anſwered, *God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing but in the Croſſe of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; When the fire was kindled at their feet, one of them ſaid, Methinks you do ſtraw roſes under my feet; preſently after they quietly ſlept in the Lord. *Henry* being before demanded if *Luther* had ſeduced him: he anſwered, Even ſo as Chriſt ſeduced his Apoſtles.

Comfort and joy in death.

A miracle of mercy.

Henry Sutphen.

The year after there was one *Henry Sutphen*, who having been with *Luther* came to *Antwerp*, from which he was driven for his Religion; Then did he go to *Breme*, where he was requeſted by ſome godly Citizens to preach to them, and the Citizens hearing him preach the Goſpel ſo ſincerely, they were ſo in love with his doctrine, that they requeſted him to tarry amongſt them to be their Miniſter; but the Popiſh Clergy preſently complained of him to the Magiſtrates, accuſing him of hereſies, and deſiring that he might be baniſhed the town; but not prevailing there, they complained to the archbiſhop, & ſent their Chaplains daily to his Sermons to entrap him in his words: but it pleaſed God ſo to work upon them by his Miniſtry, that moſt of them were converted, and did openly witneſſe that he taught nothing but the truth of God.

Popiſh malice,

Some that came to catch were converted

Not long after he was ſent for to *Meldorp*, to preach the Goſpel to them alſo; wherefore he thought good to try what God would work by him there; but the Citizens of *Breme* were very unwilling to part with him, becauſe the Goſpel had not as yet took much deep root amongſt them, and becauſe the perſecution was very great, &c. Yet *Sutphen* alledged that in *Diethmar* there was more need of his labours, the People being as ſheep amongſt wolves, and that with a ſafe conſcience he could not deny their requeſt, and that he did not intend utterly to forſake *Breme*, but only for a moneth or two, after which he would return to them again. So having made all things ready, he went into *Diethmar* to *Meldorp*, where he was joyfully received. But before he began to preach, the divel and his inſtruments began to fret and fume, and conſulting together they reſolved to hinder him from preaching, fearing that if the People once heard his doctrine, it would be too late to ſtop it; Hereupon they grievouſly complained to the Magiſtrates, telling them that if they ſuffered this heretick to preach, he would infect all the country as he had done at *Breme*, and that it would be a moſt grateful ſervice if they would put him to death. This ſo far prevailed with theſe ignorant men, that they reſolved that he ſhould be put to death unſeen and unheard: They wrote alſo to for-

Popiſh ſubtilty and malice.

bid

bid him to preach, whereunto he anſwered, that ſince he was come at the requeſt of the whole Pariſh to preach, he reſolved to anſwer that call, and rather to obey God then man, and that if God had determined that there he ſhould loſe his life, there was as near a way to heaven from thence as from any other place; aſſuring himſelf that ſooner or later he muſt die for the Goſpels ſake: And accordingly the next day he preached, and the People ſo liked him, that they reſolved to have him for their Preacher, and to defend him to their Power; In the afternoon he preached again, afterwards alſo he preached a third time with ſuch a ſpirit and grace, that all men admired him, praying God earneſtly that they might long enjoy ſuch a Preacher; But his enemies were not all this while idle: for going to the rulers of the country, they procured ſome of them to joyn with them, and privately raiſed five hundred men, with whom they went in the night time to *Meldorp*, brake into the houſe where *Sutphen* lay, pulled him out of his bed naked, and in their rage had almoſt pulled him to pieces: then they bound him, and asked him for what cauſe he came into *Diethmar?* he gently declared it to them, yet they led him away barefoot: ſo that his feet being pittifully cut with the ice, he deſired an horſe to ride on, for which they jeared him, ſaying, Muſt we provide an horſe for an heretick, thou ſhalt go on foot whether thou wilt or no: Afterwards they bound him with chains, and ſet him in the ſtocks: Then was he removed to another place and ſhut up in a Cupboard; The next day binding him hands, feet and neck, they carried him forth to be burned. Then a certain woman came to them, and proffered her ſelf to ſuffer one thouſand ſtripes, and to give them a great ſumme of mony if they would but reſpite his life till he had a publick hearing, but they threw her underfoot and trod upon her; They alſo fell upon *Sutphen*, cutting and mangling of him in ſeveral parts: The fire was often kindled, yet would not burn; then they fell upon him again, cutting and ſlaſhing of him, and at laſt bound him to a ladder, and threw him into the fire, and when he began to pray, one of them ſtroke him, ſaying, *Thou ſhalt firſt be burnt, and then pray and prate thy fill*, another trode upon his breaſt, and another endeavoured to ſtrangle him: another ran him through with an halberd: another ſtroke him on the breaſt with a mace till he died: and laſtly they roſted him upon the coals, and ſo he finiſhed his Martyrdome. About the ſame time many other godly perſons were thrown into the river of *Rhene* and drowned, and in the town of *Diethmar* another faithful ſervant of God ſuffered Martyrdom.

Courage.

Implacable malice.

He is condemned unheard.

Popiſh cruelty

His Martyrdome.

Many drowned.

In *Hala* a godly Preacher was ſlain by a company of cut-throats, ſet on by the Friars. And not long after the town of *Miltenburg* was taken, ſacked, many ſlain, and others impriſoned for maintaining *Caraloſtadius* to be their Preacher: Two other godly perſons were burned at *Vienna*.

Miltenburgh ſacked.

Alſo a godly Miniſter for reproving ſin in his Prince ſharply, was condemned to be hanged, and a cruel Gentleman with a troop were ſent to apprehend and hang him: The Gentleman when he came to his

A miniſter condemned to be hanged.

his houſe ſaluted him friendly; pretending that he came to make good cheer with him, for he was a good houſe-keeper, and the Gentlemen of the Country uſed oft to reſort to him; The Miniſter in a ſhort time prepared a ſumptuous banquet for them, whereof they eate freely. Dinner being ended, the Gentleman ſaid to his men, take this Prieſt our hoſt and hang him without delay: his ſervants aſtoniſhed hereat, abhorred to do the deed, ſaying, God forbid that we ſhould commit ſuch a crime, as to hang a man that hath uſed us ſo courteouſly, its a wicked act thus to render evil for good, &c. But the Gentleman ſtill provoked them to accompliſh his command: Then did the Miniſter ſay, I beſeech you ſhew not ſuch cruelty upon me, rather lead me to purge my ſelf to my Prince, before whom I doubt not to purge my ſelf from any thing wherewith I ſhall be charged, neither ſo violate yee the laws of hoſpitality which I have ſhewed to you and to other noble men, which uſed to reſort to my houſe; beſides conſider what a ſting this act will leave in your conſcience: for I have faithfully and truly taught the doctrine of the Goſpel, and thats the principal cauſe that my Prince bears me this ill will, &c. But whatſoever this good man could ſay in his own behalf, the wicked Gentleman continued reſolute, provoking his ſervants to accompliſh that which he commanded them, withal ſaying to the Miniſter, you ſhall gain nothing by your preaching in this ſort, for I am fully determined that the Princes will ſhall be fulfilled. At laſt the ſervants took the Miniſter, and with great lamentation and mourning, hanged him upon a beam in his own houſe, the Gentleman ſtanding by and looking on.

Ingratitude.

He is hanged.

Alſo about the ſame time there was a godly learned Miniſter, called Maſter *Peter Spengler* in a town called *Schlat*, who faithfully diſcharged the duty of his place, and was much beloved for his affable and courteous carriage: he was alſo a great peace-maker and very prudent in compoſing differences, well ſtudied in the Scriptures, whereby he ſaw that perſecution was at hand, the enemies of the truth beginning now to rage, and proudly to lift up their heads; yea ſhortly after he ſaw many bodies of the Saints cruelly tormented, beaten, exiled, drowned and burned; and to the end that he might not defile himſelf with fornication, he married his maid, who was one that feared God, and by whom afterwards he had many children. About this time there was a great commotion of the Boores, who went to Abbies and Monaſteries, robbing, plundering, and ſpoiling what they could not carry away; one company of them came to his houſe, whom he intertained kindly, yet they ranſacked and robbed him of all, even to his very apparel, not leaving him ſo much as a pair of ſtockings, though he laboured to convince them of their wickedneſſe; As they were going out of his houſe he fell a weeping, and ſaid to them, *I tell you that this your wickedneſſe will in the end bring much miſchiefe upon your ſelves; you pretend the Goſpel, but walk contrary to the rules of it*, &c. But for his good counſel they requited him with ſcoffes and jeers.

Peter Spengler.

The riſing of the Anabaptiſts.

He is robbed by them.

His good counſel.

It pleaſed God not long after, that this faithful Paſtor in the night time

time was taken by a company of Popiſh ſouldiers, who bound him hands & feet with a great rope, and ſo carried him away to *Friburg*: It would have grieved any heart to heare the barbarous and deſpiteful taunts and ſcoffs that they gave him; From thence they carried him to another place, where they caſt him into priſon, cruelly tormented him in his privy members, and other parts of his body, and at laſt judged him to death; As he was going to execution he ſaid, *I ſhall be an acceptable ſacrifice to my Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, who hath given me a quiet conſcience, as knowing my ſelf innocent from the crimes objected againſt me: For my death it is all one whether I die thus or no; for if you had let me alone, I muſt ſhortly have forſaken this skin, which already ſcarcely hangs to my bones. I know that I am a mortal and corruptible worme, I have long deſired my laſt day, and have oft prayed that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joyned with my Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, &c.* Then was he caſt headlong into the river: which afterwards for a certain ſpace was red as blood.

Popiſh cruelty

A Chriſtian ſpeech at his death.

A miracle.

Another godly man there was, who, after the commotion raiſed by the Anabaptiſts was quieted, was apprehended under pretence that he was one of them, and caſt into priſon, in which he was long detained, and at laſt they hoiſted him up with a cord, with a great ſtone faſtned to his feet, where they kept him ſix hours, ſo that the ſweat that dropped from his body, through pain and anguiſh, was almoſt blood: at laſt his ſtrength failing, they let him down with great violence: where he lay as a ſtock almoſt dead, only they perceived him to breath; Then did they uſe means to recover him, and gave him ſome food, after which they let him down into a deep dungeon: There he continued eighteen days, in the end whereof they took him forth, and examined him of diverſe things, which he denied: Then did they deviſe ſundry kinds of torments to force him to accuſe himſelf falſely, yet he conſtantly denied it: Afterwards they hired an hangman who left no kind of cruelty unpractiſed upon him: yet at length he was conſtrained to give over his cruelty, and pronounce the man innocent, in that he had conſtantly endured ſo many and grievous torments: Then did they again caſt him into the dungeon, and in the mean time ſuborned two falſe witneſſes againſt him, whereupon they condemned him unheard, and having let down a cord, they drew him up out of the dungeon to his execution; As he was going to it, a Friar perſwaded him to confeſſe his ſins in his eare, and he would abſolve him, and ſo he ſhould go to heaven: To whom he anſwered, *Thou wicked Friar, get thee from me, I have long ſince bewailed my ſins to God, and obtained abſolution at the hands of my Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, and therefore I have no need of thy abſolution, &c.* At the place of execution after he had made his Prayers to God, and vindicated his own innocency, his head was cut off. *Theſe were written by* Oecolampadius.

Popiſh cruelty

Falſe witneſſes

His conſtant death.

Wolgang Scuch coming to *Hippolitus* in *Lorrain*, was choſen to be their Paſtor, where through Gods bleſſing upon his Miniſtry, he mightily prevailed with the People to bring them from darkneſſe to light, ſo that they forſook their former idolatry, and aboliſhed the Maſſe,

Wolfgang Scuch.

Idolatry reformed.

and other ſuperſtitious practices from amongſt them, which much enenraged their Popiſh neighbours about them, ſo that, they complained to the Duke that they had not only fallen from the Pope, but went about to caſt off their obedience to him, and to ſhake off his authority: This ſo provoked the indignation of the Duke, that he threatned utterly to deſtroy the town with fire and ſword. *Wolfgang* being informed hereof, wrote to the Duke in moſt humble wiſe, defending his Miniſtry and the doctrine which he taught, and the whole cauſe of the Goſpel; he alſo excuſed the People as innocent and guiltleſſe, confuted the ſlanders of their malicious adverſaries, and profeſſed their ready and willing ſubjection to that authority which God had placed over them; But this Epiſtle prevailed nothing by reaſon of the virulent accuſations of their enemies; Whereupon to ſave the town from ruine, he went of his own accord to the Duke to render an account of his doctrine, thereby deriving all the *odium* and danger upon himſelf.

Popiſh rage.

He goeth to the Duke and is impriſoned.

As ſoon as he came thither he was apprehended and caſt into a ſtraight and ſtinking priſon, where he was moſt cruelly handled by the churliſh Jailor: In this plight he remained a whole year, and yet would not ſhrink from his conſtancy, though beſides his hard uſage, he had a wife and five or ſix ſmal children to care for: Then was he called to juſtifie his faith, which he did wittily and learnedly, confuting all that did oppoſe him: and though they called him *Heretick*, *Judas*, *Divel*, *&c.* yet he regarded it not, but went on confirming his doctrine by the Scriptures: But when his adverſaries could not make their part good againſt him, they took his Bible and burned it, and proceeded to condemn him to be burned, which ſentence when he heard pronounced againſt him, he ſang the 122. Pſalm. When he came to the place of his Martyrdome, they asked him if he would have his pain ſhortned, he anſwered No: for ſaith he, *God that hath been with me hitherto, I truſt will not now leave me when I have moſt need of him.* When faggots were heaped about him, he ſang the 51. *Pſalm*, and ſo continued ſinging till the flame and ſmoak took away his voice and life.

He is reviled.

His Bible burnt.

His faith.

His Martyrdome.

Shortly after the Commendator that ſate as chief Judg upon him, died ſuddenly: Alſo his fellow Iudg hearing the ſudden noiſe of ſome guns that went of at the coming of the King off *Denmark* into the town, was ſo overcome with fear that he ſuddenly fell down and died.

Gods judgements on Perſecutors.

One *Iohn Huglin* a Miniſter was burned at *Merſperg* for Religion: *Anno Chriſti* 1526.

Iohn Huglin burned.

At *Munchen* in *Bavaria* one *George Carpenter* was apprehended and caſt into priſon for his Religion, and at laſt was brought forth before the Judges, where he ſtourly defended the truth, refuſing to recant; Then came a Schoolmaſter to him, ſaying, *My friend, doſt thou not feare death? wouldſt thou not fain return to thy wife and children?* To whom he anſwered, *Were I at liberty, whether ſhould I go but to my dear wife and children?* Then ſaid the Schoolmaſter, *Recant your errours and you ſhall be ſet at liberty*: *George* anſwered, *My wife and my children are ſo dear to me, that they cannot be bought from me with all the riches and poſſeſſions of the*

George Carpenter.

Chriſt preferred before wife and children.

Duke

Duke of Bavaria: *but for the love of my* Lord God *I willingly forſake them all* When he went to execution, being again perſwaded to recant, he ſaid, *I will confeſſe Chriſt this day before the whole world, for he is my Saviour, and in him do I beleeve.* When he was bound to the ladder, ſome Chriſtian brethren deſired him, that as ſoon as he was caſt into the fire, he would give them ſome ſigne of the truth of his faith; to whom he ſaid, This ſhall be my ſigne, that ſo long as my tongue can wag I will not ceaſe to call upon the name of *Ieſus*. He never changed his countenance, but cheerfully went to the fire, and crying continually *Ieſus, Ieſus*, he joyfully yielded up his ſpirit unto God.

His ſigne. His Martyrdome.

Alſo one *Leonard Keyſer* a *Bavarian*, being a Student at *Wittenburgh*, was ſent for to come home, his father lying upon his death-bed; but ſo ſoon as he was come, he was apprehended at the command of the Biſhop; and though the Duke of *Saxony*, and his own friends ſollicited very earneſtly to the Biſhop for his life, yet he proceeded to condemn him, and delivered him over to the ſecular Magiſtrate. As he was led to the place of execution, he ſaid, *O Lord Jeſus, remain with me, ſuſtain and help me, and give me ſtrength*; When the fire was ready to be kindled, he cryed out with a loud voice, *O Jeſus, I am thine, have mercy upon me and ſave me, and ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord*.

Leonard Keyſer.

Popiſh malice.

His Martyrdome.

The Martyrdome of a godly Miniſter in Hungary.

A Cruel Biſhop in *Hungary* took a godly Miniſter for preaching the truth, and cauſed Hares, Geeſe, and Hens to be tied round about his naked body, and then ſet dogs upon him, that cruelly rent and tore whatſoever they could catch, ſo that he died therof; but God left not this cruelty unrevenged; for ſhortly after the Biſhop fell mad, and raving, died miſerably.

A Miniſter worried.

Gods judgements on Perſecutors.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Perſecutions of the Church in the Low-Countries.

IN *Holland* there was a grave widow called *Wendelmuta*, to whom it pleaſed God to reveal his truth, and ſhe became a zealous Profeſſor of it, for which ſhe was apprehended aud caſt into priſon, and afterwards brought forth at the Seſſions, where many Monks perſwaded her to recant, but could not prevail. Many alſo of her kindred and other women were ſuffered to perſwade with her, amongſt which was a noble Matron, who coming to her, ſaid, *My* Wendelmuta, *why doſt thou not keep thoſe things which thou believeſt ſecret in thy heart, that thou mayeſt prolong thy life?* To whom ſhe anſwered, *Truly you know not what you ſay; for*

Tentation.

with the heart man beleeves to righteouſneſſe, but with the tongue confeſſion is made to ſalvation. Then was ſhe condemned to be burnt to aſhes, and her goods to be confiſcated, which ſentence ſhe took patiently and quietly.

Ignorance.

At the place of her execution a Monk brought her a Croſſe, and bade her to kiſſe and worſhip her God, to whom ſhe ſaid, *I worſhip no woodden god, but only that God which is in heaven*; and ſo with a merry and joyful countenance ſhe went to the ſtake, deſiring the Executioner to knock it in faſt that it might not fall; Being bound to it ſhe ardently commended her ſoul into the hands of God; when ſhe was to be ſtrangled ſhe modeſtly cloſed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that went to ſleep; after which ſhe was burned to aſhes.

Her Martyrdome.

Anno 1529. There were two godly and learned men apprehended in *Colen*, and caſt into priſon, where they were kept a year and an half, and the ſweating ſickneſſe raging exceedingly at that time in *Germany*, the Popiſh Clergy preached that the way to pacifie Gods wrath, and to remove the plague, was to cut off Hereticks, whereupon theſe two godly men were brought out, and condemned, and preſently after burned.

Popiſh malice

Two godly men burnt.

Alſo one *Nicholas* a godly man was apprehended at *Antwerp*, bound up in a ſack, caſt into the river and drowned.

Nicholas drowned.

Alſo *Piſtorius* a learned and godly Preacher, coming from *Wittenburg* into *Holland*, preached againſt the Maſſe, Popiſh pardons, &c. Whereupon he was caſt into priſon amongſt Malefactors, whom he inſtructed, and much comforted in their diſtreſſed condition; and one of them being half naked, he gave him his gown; His father viſiting of him in priſon, encouraged him to conſtancy: At laſt he was condemned and carried forth to execution with a fools coat on his back; when he was tied to the ſtake he ſaid, *O death, where is thy victory?* and ſo he was firſt ſtrangled and then burned.

Piſtorius.

Charity.

His Martyrdome.

Another for ſpeaking againſt the Maſſe and Reliques was hanged in *Suevia.*

One hanged.

Another godly Miniſter being commanded to go to ſixteen men that were to be beheaded to counſel and comfort them at their death: when they were executed, was himſelf bidden to kneel down, and ſo they cut off his head.

A Miniſter beheaded.

Alſo *George Scherter*, a godly Miniſter, that took great pains in inſtructing his people in the knowledge of the Goſpel in a town near *Salizburg*, was apprehended and caſt into priſon, where he wrote a Confeſſion of his faith, and afterwards was condemned, firſt to be beheaded, and then burned. As he went to execution he ſaid to the Spectators. *That you may know that I die a true Chriſtian, I will give you a ſigne:* and accordingly when his head had been cut off, ſo long as whilſt a man might eat an egge, his body all the while lying upon the belly, it turned it ſelf upon the back, croſſing the right foot over the left, and the right hand over the left: by which miracle many were induced to believe the Goſpel.

George Scherter.

A Miracle.

Another

Another godly man was burned at *Dornick*.

Anno 1539. A godly miniſter not farre from *Baſil*, was murthered in his own houſe by a popiſh Prieſt, whom he had kindly entertained; many other Miniſters about that time, were, ſome drowned, ſome beheaded. Miniſters Martyrs.

Anno 1543. Notice was taken that there were divers godly perſons in *Lovain*, whereupon an Inquiſitor came from *Bruxels* thither, and having gotten a company of ſouldiers, in the night time he brake into their houſes, plucking men and women out of their beds from their children, and caſting them into priſon: Thither the Doctors of *Lovain* came, thinking either to convert them, or confound them; but the ſpirit of God aſſiſting his Saints, the other went away confounded themſelves: Then did they cruelly torment every one of them by themſelves; amongſt theſe an aged Miniſter of about ſixty years old was condemned to perpetual impriſonment in a dark, and ſtinking dungeon, where he could neither read nor write, nor might any man come to him, and he was fed only with bread and water. Popiſh cruelty

Vincit veritas.

Two were burnt alive in the fire; an aged man was beheaded: Two aged women were buried quick: others for refuſing to do pennance, were burned alſo; All which took their death very patiently and cheerfully.

The year after in the ſame Univerſity of *Lovain*, was one Maſter *Perſival*, a very learned and godly man, caſt into priſon, and becauſe he could by no means be brought to recant, he was adjudged to perpetual impriſonment, and there to be fed only with bread and water; neither would they ſuffer the Citizens to ſend any relief to him: ſhortly after he was made away in priſon. Mr. *Perſival*. Cruelty.

Alſo one *Iuſtus Inſberg* in the ſame city, for having a New Teſtament, and ſome of *Luthers* Sermons found in his houſe, was caſt into priſon, and command given that none ſhould ſpeak with him. At the ſame time there were Priſoners, in a room under him, *Ægidius* and *Encenas* mentioned before, whoſe door being left open accidentally, they went to this poor man and much confirmed and ſtrengthned him in the faith, inſomuch as when the *Lovain* Doctors came to perſwade him to recant, he before them made a bold confeſſion of his faith, from which he would not be diſſwaded, whereupon he was condemned and beheaded. *Juſtus Insberg*. A ſpecial Providence.

About the ſame time there was one *Giles Tilleman*, a Cutler at *Bruxels*, who by diligent reading of the Scriptures, through Gods grace was converted, and became very zealous for the truth; he was alſo very humble, mild, and merciful; whatſoever he could ſpare from his own neceſſity, he gave it to the poor, living by his trade himſelf; Some he refreſhed with meat, others with cloathing; to others he gave ſhooes, to others houſhold ſtuffe; to others he miniſtred godly exhortations for their edification. One poor woman being delivered of a child, and wanting a bed to lie on, he ſent her his bed; and himſelf was content to lie on the ſtraw. At laſt he was diſcovered and caſt into priſon; where *Giles Tilleman*. Converſion. Charity.

Constancy.

where much pains was taken to bring him back to Popery, but always his adversaries went away with shame; After eight months imprisonment he was sent to *Bruxels* to be judged, where he much comforted many that he found in prison there, exhorting them to constancy that they might attain the Crown, Most of his food he divided amongst them, contenting himself with some few scraps: He was so ardent in Prayer, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that often he forgat himself; and being many times called to his meat, he neither heard, nor saw them that stood by him till he was lift up by the armes.

Earnest Prayer.

Meekness.

Divers Friars coming to reduce him, he would still request them to go their ways, for he was at a point; and when they reviled him, he would not answer them again, insomuch as they reported abroad that he had a dumb devil in him. But when they spake of matters of Religion, he answered them freely, mightily confuting them by the Scriptures; Often he might have escaped, the prison-doors being set open, but he would not, that he might not bring his Keeper into trouble; Afterwards he was removed to another prison, where they sought by torments to enforce him to recant: but when all would not prevail, he was condemned to the fire; which when he heard of, he gave hearty thanks to God for that the houre was come wherein he might glorifie his name. Seeing a great pile of wood prepared for his burning, he desired that most of it might be taken away and given to the poor; for a little, said he, will serve to burn me: and seeing a poor man by that lacked shoos, he gave him his: Being tied to the stake the hangman would have strangled him, but he refused, saying, *It needs not, I fear not the fire*, and so in the midst of the flames he gave up the Ghost.

Flight refused.

Constancy.

Note.

His Martyrdome.

A great persecution.

Anno 1543. and 1544. There was a great persecution all over *Flanders*, so that there was neither town nor city in all the country, wherein some were not banished, beheaded, or condemned to perpetual imprisonment: neither was there any respect either of age or sexe: But especially at *Gaunt* many of the chief men were burned for Religion.

Also at the Emperours going to *Bruxels*, there was a terrible persecution and slaughter made of Gods People in *Brabant*, *Artois &c.* so that two hundred men and women were apprehended at one time, whereof some were drowned, some buried quick, some privily made away: others sent to perpetual prison; yea so many others were put to death, that the hands of the hangman were tired with slaying of them.

Martin converted.

Anno 1545. There was one *Martin* at *Gaunt*, a Fishmonger, who lived very dissolutely to his old age; but it pleased God by a Sermon that he heard, to bring him to the knowledge of the truth and to repentance for his former sins, whereupon he left *Gaunt*, and sought out the company of godly Christians, who used much reading of the Scriptures, by whom he was further instructed and grounded in the truth; Then after three moneths he returned to the city again, where he visi-

ted

ted the Captives in prison, comforted them in persecution, and confirmed them in the truth which were led to the fire.

The Friars seeing this, though formerly he had been very bountiful to them, yet now they conspired against him, whereby he was laid in bands, and by sharp and cruel torments they would have enforced him to recant, but not prevailing, he was condemned and his goods confiscated; as he stood at the stake, a Friar said to him, *Martin, except thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this temporal to everlasting fire*, towhom he answered, *It is not for you to judge me*; and so he quietly slept in the Lord. He is condemned. His Martyrdome.

The next day after two other men were burned, and a woman buried alive for the same cause, who joyfully and cheerfully suffered Martyrdome.

At *Delden* two Virgins of a noble stock who frequently and diligently attended Sermons, being apprehended and examined, couragiously confessed and maintained the truth, whereupon they were condemned, and the younger was first burned; In the fire she prayed so ardently for herenemies that the Judges greatly marvelled at it; Then did they exhort the elder that if she would not recant, yet at least that she would petition to have her punishment changed into beheading instead of burning, whereunto she answered, that she held no errour of which she had cause to repent, but the truth which was consonant to the Scriptures in which she trusted to persevere unto the end: And for the kind of her punishment she feared not the fire, but would rather follow the example of her dear sister, and so being put into the fire she quietly slept in the Lord. But this was marvellous, that after their death, the bodies of them both remained white, and unhurt by the fire, whereupon some Christians privily in the night buried them. Two godly Virgins. Burnt. Constancy and Courage. A Miracle.

Anno Christi, 1545. There was in *Mechlin* one *Andrew Thiessen*, who had three sons and a daughter, whom he carefully brought up in the knowledge of the truth; after which he went into *England*, and there died; Two of his sons went into *Germany* to study there, and after a time returned home again, instructing their mother, brother, and sister in the right knowledge of Christ, which being taken notice of, they were all carried before the Magistrate, and exhorted to return to the Church of *Rome* again; The younger brother and sister being not so throughly grounded in the truth by reason of their years, yielded something and so were sent home again: the mother who remained constant, was adjudged to perpetual imprisonment: the two elder brethren defended the truth stoutly against the Friars; Disputation not prevailing, they proceeded to torments, endeavouring to know of them who was their Master, and what fellows they had? they answered that their Master was Christ, who bare his Crosse before them; and for fellows they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were condemned to the fire; and at the place of execution, they began to exhort the people, whereupon bals were put into their mouths; which through vehemency in desiring to speak, they thrust out again, intreating them for the Lords sake that they might have leave to speak; and *Andrew Thiessen.* Constancy. Popish cruelty

Joy and comfort at death.

and ſo ſinging with a loud voice, they were faſtned to the ſtake, where they prayed for their Perſecutors, exhorted one another, and endured the fire patiently: One of them feeling the violence of the flame, ſaid, *O what a ſmal pain is this compared with the glory to come!* and ſo committing their ſpirits into the hands of God they finiſhed their race.

Adrian Tailor and his wife.

Anno 1545. There was a great perſecution in *Dornick*; and amongſt others there was one *Adrian Tailor* and his wife apprehended, and upon their examination, the man being ſomewhat timorous, relented ſomething, and ſo was beheaded: but the woman, being more conſtant was put into an iron grate and ſo buried alive.

Maſter *Peter Bruly*.

There was alſo one Maſter *Peter Bruly* about the ſame time, ſometimes a Preacher in *Strasburg*, but now at the requeſt of the faithful in *Dornick*, a diligent Preacher there; He uſed to preach in houſes, the door ſtanding open; the Magiſtrate hearing of it, laid wait for him, ſhutting up the City gates, and ſearching three days for him; but the brethren in the night time let him down in a basket over the wal; and when he was down, one of them leaning over the wall to bid him farewel, unawares threw down a looſe ſtone, which falling upon his leg, brake it in pieces; He complaining of his hurt, the watchmen heard him and apprehended him. Then did he give thanks to Almighty God, who by that Providence ſtaid him there to bear witneſſe to his truth: whilſt he was in priſon, he ceaſed not to inſtruct and confirme all them that came to him in the Word of grace: after foure moneths impriſonment he was condemned to be burnt, and his aſhes to be caſt into the river; The Friars took care that he ſhould have but a ſmal fire, that his pain might be the more increaſed, yet he conſtantly and cheerfully ſuffered Martyrdome.

A ſpecial Providence.

Popiſh malice and cruelty.

Peter Mioce.

His Converſion.

God made the Miniſtry of this good man very powerful to many; amongſt others there was one *Peter Mioce*, who had lived long in all manner of wickedneſſe and licentiouſneſſe; but being through Gods grace converted, he excelled all the reſt of the brethren in zeal and holineſſe; at laſt he was apprehended, and being asked whether he was one of *Peter Brulies* diſciples: he ſaid that he was, and that he had received much benefit by his doctrine: withal profeſſing that his doctrine was conſonant to the holy Scriptures; whereupon he was let down into a deep dungeon full of toads and other vermine: Afterwards he was brought forth before the Senate, who had provided ſome Friars to convert him: To whom he ſaid, *When I lived an ungodly life in all manner of vice and wickedneſſe, you never ſaid word to me, but now for ſavouring and favouring the Word of God, you ſeek my blood.* Then did they examine him about ſundry articles of Religion, to which whilſt he was making a full anſwer, they cut him off, bidding him anſwer in two words, *Yea*, or *No*; Whereupon he ſaid, *If you will not give me leave to anſwer fully to things of ſuch importance, ſend me again to my dungeon amongſt the toads and frogs, who will not interrupt me whilſt I talk with my Lord my God:* Shortly after he was condemned to be burned: and having a bag of powder hung about his neck, when the fire came to it, it gave a crack: whereupon the Friars told the People, that the devil

Put into a dungeon amongſt toads.

Note.

Zeal.

Popiſh lies.

came

came out of him and carried away his ſoul to hell.

A godly Miniſter martyred.

A tyrannous Prince in *Germany* apprehended a godly Miniſter, and for his conſtancy in the truth, put out both his eyes, and kept him a long time in priſon, afflicting him with divers kinds of torments; Then did he cauſe him to be degraded, ſhaving the skin off his head, and rubbing it with ſalt till the blood ran down his ſhoulders, and paring off the ends of his fingers; ſo that foure days after he patiently yielded up the Ghoſt.

Chriſtopher Fabri. A Traytor.

Not long after there was a godly Miniſter in *Antwerp*, called *Chriſtopher Fabri*, that was betrayed by a woman, who pretended a great zeal to Religion, and was caſt into priſon, where he lay for a long time, and endured much miſery: at laſt he was brought forth and condemned to be burnt alive. And when the *Margrave* brought him forth to execution, the People having firſt ſung Pſalmes, fell to caſting of ſtones againſt the Executioner, ſo as the poor Priſoner being bound, and fire ſet to him, the *Margrave* durſt ſtay no longer but ran away, and ſo did the Executioner; but before he fled, by the command of the *Margave*, he took a hammer and beat out *Fabri's* brains, and ſtabbed him into the back with a dagger, ſo that the People running to ſave him from the fire found him dead: after which by the command of the *Margrave*, he had a great ſtone tied about his neck, and was thrown into the river.

The People drive away the Executioner.

His Martyrdome.

Two men and their wives.

Anno 1549. One *Nicholas* and *Barbara* his wife, and one *Auſtin* and *Marrian* his wife, Germans by birth, went to *Geneva*, where they lived for a ſpace; then returning through *Germany* they intended to go into *England*; but having paſſed through *Dornick*, they were diſcovered to the Lieutenant thereof, who ſpeedily purſuing them, overtook them, yet at that time God delivered *Auſtin* out of their hands: but *Nicholas* and the two women were apprehended and carried back by the ſouldiers; Coming to an Inne by the way, at table *Nicholas* gave thanks: whereat the wicked Captain ſwearing grievouſly, ſaid, *Let us ſee thou lewd Heretick if thy God can deliver thee out of my hand*; Nicholas replyed, *Hath Chriſt ever offended you that by your blaſphemous ſwearing you thus tear him in pieces? Pray you if you have any thing againſt Chriſt, rather wreak your anger upon this poor body of mine, and let the Lord alone*; Then did he bind them hands and feet, and carried them to *Bergis*, and caſt them into the dungeon.

Blaſphemy.

Zeal.

Divers Friars coming to them, *Nicholas* in diſputing with them ſo confounded them, that they went away aſhamed, ſaying, that he had a divel, crying, *To the fire with the Lutherane.* Afterwards the Magiſtrate ſought to pump out of *Nicholas* what acquaintance he had in that city: but not prevailing with him, he went to his wife, and by flattering ſpeeches and fair promiſes, he wrought ſo upon her weakneſſe, that he gat out all that ſhe knew, whereupon enſued a great perſecution.

Vincit veritas.

Popiſh ſubtilty

Shortly after *Nicholas* was condemned to be burned, at the hearing of which ſentence, he bleſſed the Lord who had counted him worthy to

Courage.

be a witneſſe in the cauſe of his deer and wel-beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt; At the place of execution he was commanded not to ſpeak to the People, for if he did, he ſhould have a woodden ball thruſt into his mouth; yet as he was binding to the ſtake, forgetting the command, he cried out, *O Charles, Charles, how long ſhall thy heart be hardned?* With that one of the ſouldiers gave him a great blow: Then he ſaid, *Ah miſerable People who are not worthy that the Word ſhould be preached to you*; The Friars crying out that he had a divel, he anſwered them in the words of *David*, *Depart from me all ye wicked, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping*; and ſo commending his ſpirit into the hands of God, he ended his life in the midſt of the flames.

Meaning the Emperour.

Note.

Marrian was condemned to be buried quick; and when ſome earth was thrown upon her, the hangman ſtamped upon her with his feet till ſhe died. Afterwards *Auſtin* that had before eſcaped, was apprehended, and being examined, though by nature he was a very timorous and weak man, yet did he ſtand to the defence of the truth valiantly, and anſwered his adverſaries very boldly. Being condemned to be burnt, as he was going to execution, a Gentleman drank to him in a cup of wine, exhorting him to pity himſelf, at leaſt not to deſtroy his ſoul: *Auſtin* thanked him, ſaying, *What care I have of my ſoul you may ſee by this, in that I had rather give my body to be burned, then to ſin againſt my conſcience*; Being tied to the ſtake and fire ſet to him, he heartily prayed to the Lord, and ſo patiently departed.

Auſtins courage

Tentation.

Zeal.

Anno 1551. The Emperour *Charles* the fifth, having obtruded the *Interim* upon *Germany*, many godly Miniſters were perſecuted and driven from their places for oppoſing the ſame, as may be ſeen in my *firſt part*. The city of *Magdenburg* alſo for refuſing it, had an army ſent againſt it, which beſieged it for a whole year together, whereby many of the godly Citizens loſt their lives, and others endured great miſeries. But at laſt, Gods Providence ſo ordering of it, warre aroſe betwixt the Emperour and the King of *France*, whereupon peace was granted unto *Magdenburg* upon good terms, and the inhabitants enjoyed their former Religion quietly.

Magdenburg beſieged.

And delivered.

Anno 1555. There was one *Hoſtius* born at *Gaunt*, who for ſome time was a member of the French Church here in *London* in king *Edwards* days: but in the beginning of Queen *Maries* reign, he went with his family to *Norden* in *Frizeland*: and afterwards having ſome buſineſſe to *Gaunt*, he went thither, where he inſtructed many of his friends in the truth; and hearing that a Friar uſed to preach good doctrine, he went to hear him; but the Friar that day defended tranſubſtantiation, which ſo grieved him, that he could ſcarce refrain from ſpeaking till the Sermon was ended. When the Friar was come down from the Pulpit, he charged him for preaching falſe doctrine, perſwading the People by the Scripture, that the bread was but the Sacrament of the Lords body; but the People making a tumult, carried him out of the Church in a croud; and he had not gone far before he was apprehended by an officer, and carried to priſon; Then came divers Friars to reaſon with him

Hoſtius.

Zeal.

him; and he ſtood to the trial of the Scriptures only, which they refuſed. During his impriſonment he wrote a conſolatory letter to his wife, exhorting her to bring up his children in the feare of God. Being condemned, he was commanded not to ſpeak to the People; being bound to the ſtake, he prayed for his enemies, and was firſt ſtrangled and then burnt.

His letter to his wife.

His Martyrdome.

The ſame year there was at *Dornick* one *Bertrand*, who to enjoy the freedome of his conſcience went to *Weſell*; but being deſirous to draw his wife and children thither, he went thrice to *Dornick* to perſwade her to go with him; yet could he by no means prevail with her; Then did he ſet his houſe in order, deſiring her to pray that God would eſtabliſh him in the work that he went about, and on Chriſtmas day he went to the great Church at *Dornick*, and the Prieſt being at Maſſe, when he was about to elevate the Hoſt, *Bertrand* took the cake out of his hand and trampled it under his feet, ſaying, that he did it to ſhew the glory of that God that they worſhipped, or rather what little power he had; labouring to perſwade them that the cake was not their Saviour; At firſt the People ſtood amazed, but preſently they raiſed ſuch a tumult that *Bertrand* hardly eſcaped with life.

Bertrand.

An heroical act.

The Governour hearing of it was exceedingly enraged, and ſent for *Bertrand* into the Caſtle, asking him whether he was ſorry for his fact, and whether he would do it if it were to do again? *Bertrand* anſwered, That he would, and if he had a hundred lives to loſe, he would loſe them all in that quarrell; Then was he thrice put to the rack and tormented cruelly to draw from him who were his ſetters on, yet could they get nothing from him: Then was he condemned, and drawn from the Caſtle to the market-place with a Ball of iron in his mouth: There he was ſet upon a ſtage, and had his right hand wherewith he did the fact, cruſhed between two hot irons with ſharp edges, till the forme of his hand was quite changed; Then did they bring other red hot irons for his right foot, which they uſed as they had done his hand, which he with marvellous patience and conſtancy underwent putting out his foot of his own accord to them; Then taking the ball of iron out of his mouth, they cut out his tongue: notwithſtanding which, he continually called and cryed upon God, which cauſed them to thruſt in the ball of iron again; Then was he let down in an iron chain upon the fire and pulled up again, and ſo they continued pulling up and letting him down till he was burnt to aſhes, which aſhes they threw into the river.

Courage.

Cruelty.

Barbarous cruelty.

Admirable patience.

A ſpecial Providence.

From *Locrane* in *Helvetia* the Miniſters were baniſhed, but were entertained by the *Tigurines*.

Two other good men born in *Dornick*, went into divers reformed Churches, where they increaſed much in knowledge and godlineſſe, and at laſt reſolved to return to *Dornick*, to do what good they could in their own country; and it ſo fell out that on a day when many good people were gone to a wood to hear the Word of God preached to them by a Miniſter of Ieſus Chriſt; their adverſaries having intelli-

Thirty taken at a Sermon.

gence of it, followed them thither, & took about thirty of them, amongſt whom were theſe two men, who fell to ſinging of Pſalms, ſuppoſing that they ſhould be preſently burned; but afterwards they were condemned to be beheaded; and ſo they comfortably ended their lives.

Iames Faber his excellent anſwer.

Alſo divers godly men and women ſuffered Martyrdome at *Valence*, amongſt whom *Iames Faber* an old man, who, when they argued with him about his Religion, ſaid, *though I cannot ſatisfie you by reaſoning, yet I can conſtantly abide and ſuffer for the truth of the Goſpel.*

Or *Turnay* *Godfride.*

Courage.

Alſo one *Godfride*, being condemned at *Dornick* for an Heretick; *Nay* ſaid he, *Not an Heretick, but an unprofitable ſervant of Ieſus Chriſt.* When the Hangman would have ſtrangled him to eaſe his pain in burning, he refuſed, ſaying, that he would abide the ſentence of death which was paſſed upon him.

A Miniſter poiſoned.

Beſides theſe there were both in the upper and lower *Germany* many others ſecretly made away; ſome drowned: ſome buried quick; ſome murthered in priſon, &c. A godly Miniſter was alſo poiſoned by a Prieſt at *Erford* for preaching the truth of Chriſt. Beſides many others.

In *Lile.*

In the city of *Lile* the Goſpel was ſecretly preached for three years together, ſometimes in houſes, then in woods, fields, and Caves of the earth, not without hazard of their deareſt lives if they had been diſcovered; yet did not dangers cool the zeal of Gods People; but what was preached, was accordingly practiſed amongſt them; works of mercy, and charity were their exerciſe, not only towards thoſe of the houſhold of faith, but towards thoſe which were without alſo; ſo as many by means hereof were drawn and brought to the knowledge of Chriſt.

Chriſtian charity.

This ſo enraged Satan and his inſtruments, that *Anno* 1556, the time being come wherein God had given them power to try and exerciſe the faith of his people, they neglected not to ſhew their cruelty upon them: and for that end one night about ten of the clock, the Provoſt of the City with his armed Sergeants made ſearch to ſee if they could find any met together; but by Gods Providence there was no meeting of Gods People at that time; then went they to the houſe of one *Robert Oguire*, which was a little Church, for all in it both ſmall and great were familiarly inſtructed in the knowledge and feare of God.

Robert Oguire and his family carried to priſon.

Being violently entred the houſe ſeeking up and down for their prey, they found certain books which they took away with them: but *Baudicon* the ſonne of *Robert*, whom they principally ſought after, was not then at home, being gone abroad to confer of the word with ſome of the brethren. Before the Provoſt was departed *Baudicon* came home, and knocked at the door. *Martin* his younger brother, who watched for his coming, bade him preſently to be gone: but he thinking that he had miſtaken him for ſome other, continued knocking, ſaying, *It is I, open the door.* Then came the Sergeants and opened the door, and laying hold on him, ſaid: *Ah Sir you are well met*, and with that

Baudicon.

the

the Provoſt arreſted him in the Emperours name, withal cauſing the father, mother, and two ſons to be bound, and ſo carried them away towards the priſon; As they went through the ſtreets, *Baudicon* ſaid aloud: *Oh Lord, aſſiſt us be thy grace, not only to be Priſoners for thy names ſake, but to confeſſe thy holy truth in all Purity before men, ſo far as to ſeal the ſame with our blood, for the edification of thy poor Church*; They were all caſt into ſeveral priſons, yet remained cheerful, praiſing God for accounting them worthy to ſuffer for his truth; and after a few days they were all brought forth before the Magiſtrates, who ſpeaking to *Robert Oguire* ſaid; We heare that you never come to Maſſe; That you diſſwade others from it; That you keep Conventicles in your houſe, where erroneous doctrine is preached, &c. *Robert* anſwered, *I indeed refuſe to go to Maſſe, becauſe the death and precious blood of Chriſt is utterly aboliſhed there, and troden underfoot, &c. And I cannot deny but there have met together in my houſe honeſt People, fearing God; Not with intention to harme any, I aſſure you, but for the advancement of Gods glory and the good of many, &c.* Then one demanded what they did when they met together; To which *Baudicon* anſwered, When we meet together in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to hear the Word of God, we firſt falling on our knees before God, in the humility of our ſpirits, do make confeſſion of our ſins before his divine Majeſty: then we pray that the Word of God may be rightly divided and purely preached; then we pray for our Soveraign Lord the Emperour, that the Commonwealth may be peaceably governed to the glory of God; yea we forget not you whom we acknowledge our Superiours, intreating our good God that you may maintain this city in tranquillity, &c. Thus you heare what we do in our aſſemblies: and if you will not be offended to heare the ſumme of our Prayers, I am ready to recite the ſame unto you. One of the Magiſtrates wiſhed him to go on, whereupon kneeling down, he prayed before them all with ſuch fervency of affection and ardency of zeal, that it forced the Magiſtrates to break forth into tears; *Baudicon* riſing up, ſaid, *Your Maſterſhips may hereby take a ſcantling how we are imployed in our meetings.*

Joy in tribulation.

They are examined.

An holy practice.

Fervent Prayer.

Being further examined, every one of them made an open Confeſſion of his faith, and ſo were returned to priſon again; And not long after they were tortured upon the Rack to make them confeſſe who they were that met at their houſe: but they would diſcover none but ſuch as they knew were at that time out of their reach.

They are tortured.

Foure or five days after the men were again conveined before the Magiſtrates, who asked them if they would ſubmit themſelves to the will of the Magiſtrates: *Robert* and *Baudicon* ſaid they would; but *Martin* the younger ſonne ſaid, he would not ſubmit thereto, but would accompany his mother, and ſo he was ſent back to priſon; and the father with his eldeſt ſon were preſently adjudged to be burnt alive. Sentence being pronounced, one of the Iudges ſaid, *This day ſhall you go to dwell with all the devils in hell-fire*; Then were they returned to priſon, praiſing God, and by their patience and conſtancy, conque-

Robert and *Baudicon* condemned.

Popish malice.

ring the rage and fury of their enemies; In prison came some Friars to them, telling them that the houre was come wherein they must finish their days: They answered; *Blessed be the Lord our God, who now delivering our bodies out of this vile prison, will receive our souls into his glorious and heavenly Kingdome*; Then said one of the Friars, Father *Robert* thou art an old man, I intreat thee in this thy last houre think of saving thy soul, and if thou wilt give eare to me, Ile vvarrant thee thou shalt do well; *Robert* answered, Poor man, how darest thou assume that to thy self which belongs to God alone, and so rob him of his honour? &c. Another wishing him to pity his soul, he said, *Dost thou not see what pity I have on it, when for the name of Christ I am willing to give my body to the fire, hoping to day to be with him in Paradise, &c.* Then said a Friar, out Dog, thou art not worthy the name of a Christian: thou and thy sonne are resolved to damne your souls with all the devils in hell.

Note.

Then would they have severed the father from his son, which *Baudicon* perceiving, said, Pray you let my father alone, he is an old man, hinder him not from receiving the Crown of Martyrdome. Another Friar said, Away Varlet, thou art the cause of thy fathers perdition. Whilst *Baudicon* was stripping and fitting himself to be sacrificed; some of the Friars had fastned a Crucifix in the old mans hands, perswading him that it would please the People, and that for all that, he might lift up his heart to God, &c. But so soon as *Baudicon* saw it, he said, *Alasse; father what do you now? will you play the Idolater at your last houre?* and so pulling the idol out of his hand, he threw it away.

Zeal.

At the place of execution they were set upon a scaffold, and *Baudicon* desired leave to make a Confession of his faith: answer was made, that he might confesse himself to a Friar if he would, which he refusing, was readily haled to the stake, where he began to sing the 16. Psalm; then said a Friar, Do you not hear what wicked errors these hereticks sing, to beguile the People withal? *Baudicon* hearing him, replyed: *Thou simple Idiot, calleſt thou the Psalms of* David *errours? but no marvel, for thus are yee wont to blaspheme against the spirit of God.* Then seeing them about to chain his father to the stake, he said to him, *Be of good courage father, the worst will be past by and by*; Then did he often breath forth: *Oh God, father everlasting, accept the sacrifice of our bodies for thy well-beloved Son Iesus Christ his sake.* A Friar cried, Out Heretick thou liest; God is none of thy father, the devil is thy father. *Baudicon* fixing his eyes upon heaven, said to his father, *Behold I see the heavens open, and millions of Angels ready to receive us, and rejoycing to see us thus bearing witnesse to the truth in the view of the world. Father, let us rejoice and be glad, for the joys of heaven are opened to us.* Then said a Friar, I see hell open, and millions of devils are ready to carry you thither. A poor man in the croud cryed out, Be of good comfort *Baudicon*, stand to it, thou fightest in a good quarrel, I am on thy side; which words so soon as he had spoken, he departed, and so hastned himself from danger.

Blasphemy.

Faith and courage.

The

The fire being kindled, *Baudicon* oft ſaid to his father, *Yet a very little while and we ſhall enter into the heavenly manſions*; the fire encreaſing, the laſt words which they ſpake, were, *Ieſus Chriſt thou Son of God, into thy hands we commend our Spirits*, and ſo they ſweetly ſlept in the Lord. Their Martyrdome.

After the death of theſe worthy champions of Chriſt, many of the Popiſh rabble were ſent, if poſſible, to ſeduce the mother and ſon remaining in priſon; and coming to them, the firſt ſubtilty they uſed was to ſeparate them aſunder; then they ſet upon the woman as the weaker veſſel, and ſo wrought upon her that ſhe began to waver and let go her firſt faith; this the adverſaries much rejoyced in; and the poor flock of Chriſt in that place hearing of it, were as much afflicted with the news; but God left them not in this mournful condition long: For a Monk one day going to her, perſwaded her to draw her ſonne *Martin* to the ſame recantation with her ſelf, which ſhe promiſed to do; but when they came together, *Martin* perceiving the grievous Apoſtacy of his mother, bewailed it with many tears, ſaying to her, *Oh mother what have you done? have you denied him that redeemed you? Alas what injury hath he done you that you ſhould requite him with ſo great an injury and diſhonour? Now am I plunged into that woe which I moſt feared; Ah good God that I ſhould live to ſee this, which pierceth me to the very heart?* His mother hearing his pittiful complaints, and ſeeing him drowned in tears for her ſake, began again to renew her ſtrength in the Lord, and with tears cryed out, *Oh father of mercies, be merciful to me miſerable ſinner, and cover my tranſgreſſion under the righteouſneſſe of thy bleſſed Son: Lord enable me with ſtrength from above to ſtand to my firſt Confeſſion, and make me to abide ſtedfaſt therein even to my laſt breath.* Preſently in came the ſeducers, hoping to find her in the ſame mind that they left her; but ſhe no ſooner ſaw them, but cryed, *Avoid Satan, get thee behind me, for henceforth thou haſt neither part nor portion in me; I will by the help of God ſtand to my firſt Confeſſion, and if I may not ſigne it with ink, I will ſeale it with my blood:* and ſo after this time, through Gods gracious aſſiſtance, ſhe grew ſtronger and ſtronger; Then were they both condemned to be burnt alive, and their aſhes to be ſprinkled in the aire. When the ſentence was paſſed, as they returned to priſon, they ſaid; Now bleſſed be God who cauſeth us thus to triumph over our enemies. This is the wiſhed houre, our gladſome day is come; let us not therefore forget to be thankful for that honour that God doth us in thus conforming us to the Image of his Son. Let us remember thoſe that have troden this path before us; for this is the high-way to the Kingdome of heaven, &c. Hereupon ſome of the Friars being ready to burſt for anger, ſaid unto *Martin* that was moſt valiant, we ſee now Heretick that thou art wholly poſſeſt body and ſoul with a devil, as were thy father and brother, who are now in hell. *Martin* anſwered, As for your railings and curſings, God will this day turn them into bleſſings in the ſight of himſelf and all his holy Angels.

Martin and his mother.

Popiſh ſubtilty

Hnmane frailty.

Recovery.

Joy in tribulation.

Faith and patience.

When

Tentation.

When they came into priſon, there came to them two perſons of great quality, of whom one of them ſaid to *Martin*, Young man, I have compaſſion on thee; if thou wilt be ruled by me and return to the Church of *Rome*, thou ſhalt not only be freed from this ſhameful death, but I will alſo give thee an hundred pounds; *Martin* preſently replyed, *Sir, you preſent before me many temporal commodities: But alaſſe! do you think me ſo ſimple, as to forſake an eternal Kingdome for the enjoyment of a ſhort temporal life? No Sir, its now too late to ſpeak to me of worldly commodities; I will hearken to no other ſpeech but of thoſe ſpirituall commodities which I ſhall enjoy this day in Gods Kingdome, &c.* Soon after *Martin* and his mother were carried to the place of their Martyrdome, and being bound to the ſtake, the woman ſaid: We are Chriſtians, and that which we now ſuffer, is not for murther nor theft, but becauſe we will beleeve no more then the Word of God teacheth us.

Reſiſted.

Their Martyrdome.

The fire being kindled, the heat of it did nothing abate the fervency of their zeal, but they continued crying, *Lord Jeſus into thy hands we commend our ſpirits*, and ſo they bleſſedly ſlept in the Lord.

Charles Coninck.

A Friar at *Gaunt* called *Charles Coninck*, being through Gods mercy converted to the truth, left his Friars weed, and joyned himſelf to the brethren; for which he was apprehended; and remaining conſtant, was condemned: then came a ſpecial friend perſwading him to recant, and he would procure him a Cannonſhip: To whom *Charles* anſwered, *Sir, I thank you for your good will and kind offer, but I cannot accept them without offending God; and that reſt is no true reſt and quietneſſe, which is obtained againſt the peace of a good conſcience:* Shortly after his death, one of his adverſaries which had the greateſt hand in procuring of it, fell into grievous terrour and horrour of conſcience, whereof within a few days he died.

Tentation reſiſted.

Gods judgement on a Perſecutor.

The Perſecution of the Duke de Alva *in the Netherlands.*

Barbarous cruelty.

WHen the light of the Goſpel was much ſpred abroad in the *Netherlands*: King *Philip* of *Spaine* ſent the Duke *de Alva* with a great Army to root out the Profeſſors of it, who exerciſed unparalell'd cruelty againſt all ſorts of perſons, both of the Nobility and Commons, permitting his ſouldiers to raviſh honeſt Matrons and Virgins, many times cauſing their husbands and Parents to ſtand by and behold it.

This Duke on a time boaſted at his own table that he had been diligent to root out hereſie: for that beſide thoſe which he had ſlain in warre, in the ſpace of ſix years he had put into the hands of the common hangman above eighteen thouſand Perſons.

His ſonne alſo *Don Frederick* being ſent by him to *Zutphen*, was received

received by the Bourgers without any oppoſition, yet was he no ſooner entred, but he fell to murther, hang and drown a number of the inhabitants, with infinite cruelties ſhewed upon wives and virgins; yea, not ſparing the very infants. From thence marching to *Naerden* in *Holland*, the inhnbitants made an agreement with him, and he entred the town peaceably; but never did *Turks* or *Scythians*, or the moſt barbarous and inhamane Nations in the world, commit more abominable cruelties then *Don Frederick* did in this town; for when the Bourgers had given the beſt entertainment that they could to him and his ſouldiers, he cauſed it to be proclaimed, that they ſhould all aſſemble themſelvs together in the chappel of the Hoſpital, where they ſhould be made acquainted with ſuch laws, according to which they ſhould hereafter govern themſelves; but when theſe poor people were thus aſſembled, he commanded his ſouldiers to murther them all, without ſparing any one; The men were maſſacred, the women were firſt raviſhed, and then murthered moſt cruelly, the children and infants had their throats cut, and in ſome houſes they tied the inhabitants to poſts and then ſet fire on the houſes, and burnt them alive; ſo that in the whole town, neither man, wife, maid nor child, old nor young were ſpared; and then the town was wholly razed to the ground without pity or mercy.

Don Fredericks cruelty to *Zutphen*.

At *Naerden*.

Treachery.

After this *Don Frederick* beſieged *Harlem*, which held out againſt him for a long time, but at laſt, their Proviſion being ſpent, they made bread of Linſeed and Turnups, and lived upon the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, and ſuch like: and this alſo in the end failing them, they were enforced to ſurrender the town upon compoſition, by which they were to pay two hundred and fourty thouſand florins to redeem themſelves and town from ſpoil.

The ſiege of *Harlem*.

A Famine.

The town ſurrendred.

Don Frederick having thus got the town into his hands, commanded that at the toling of the great bell, all the Bourgers and Souldiers ſhould bring their armes into the ſtate-houſe, that the townſmen ſhould go into the cloiſter of *Zyel*, the women into the Cathedral Church, and the ſouldiers into another Church, this done, all the Enſigne-bearers were ſingled out and impriſoned, and whilſt the poor Bourgers were guarded in the Church, the perfidious *Spaniards* plundred their houſes; The next day this bloody *Don Frederick* cauſed three hundred Walloons to be hanged and headed: the next day Captain *Riperda* and his Lieutenant were beheaded, and a godly Miniſter called *Stembach* was hanged, and two hundred fourty ſeven ſouldiers were drowned in the ſea of *Harlem*; the next day a great number were executed, and the day following three hundred more Souldiers and Bourgers loſt their heads, and with them a godly Miniſter called *Simon Simonſon*: preſently after three of the principal men loſt their heads, and ſhortly after all the Engliſh and Scots were beheaded, and to fill up this ſea of blood, all the wounded and ſick were beheaded before the hoſpital door.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

A Miniſter hanged.

Another beheaded.

Barbarous cruelties.

In the mean time a Party of ſouldiers that lay without in a ſconce were all ſtarved to death.

Valenciennes beſieged.

Not long before the ſtrong town of *Valenciennes* in *Henault*, having ſet up the free exerciſe of the reformed Religion amongſt them, were preſently beſieged by an army under the Signior of *Noircarmes*, the ſiege laſted about three moneths, and the Citizens having no hope of relief, at laſt treated and ſurrendred the city upon good conditions; but *Noircarmes* being entred, he kept the City gates ſhut for divers days, and moſt perfidiouſly and barbarouſly hanged up all the French ſouldiers, with all the Miniſters and Proteſtant Merchants, and confiſcated their goods. But beſides theſe generals, let us alſo view ſome particulars.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe and cruelty.

John Herwin.

Anno 1560. There was in *Flanders* one *John Herwin*, a ſouldier of a very diſſolute life: but God having a purpoſe to ſhew him mercy, put it into his heart to go into *England*, and accordingly he came to *London* in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* reigne, and by Gods good Providence was entertained in a Brewers family, where both maſter and ſervants feared God: His Maſter cauſed him often to go to the Dutch Church, where, by the Miniſtry of the Word he firſt began to taſt, and afterwards more and more to increaſe in the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt. After a while he returned back into *Flanders*, and at *Furne* he was preſently laid wait for by the Popiſh Bailiffe; This occaſioned his removal to *Honſcot*; and yet there alſo the Bailiffe being informed of him, went in the night with his Sergeants, and apprehended him; By the way they met ſome drunkards in the ſtreets; whereupon the Bailiffe ſaid, We have, as they ſay many Goſpellers in this town, but it little appears by theſe diſorders. *Herwin* hearing him, ſaid, *Is drunkenneſſe a ſinne Mr. Bailiffe?* The Bailiffe anſwered, what of that? *Herwin* replyed, *Why then do you not commit theſe men to priſon, ſeeing it is your office to puniſh vice, and to protect them that feare God:* To this the Bailiffe anſwered not.

A ſpecial Providence.

His Converſion.

Herwin impriſoned.

In the priſon *Herwin* behaved himſelf ſo vertuouſly, that every one admired him. Being ſomewhat long before he was called before the Magiſtrate, he was much troubled at it, his heart being inflamed with an holy zeal to confeſſe Jeſus Chriſt before his Judges. Yet many of the brethren were very fearful of him, conſidering what his former life had been, and what a novice he as yet was in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel.

Zeal.

At laſt he had his hearts deſire, being brought before the Sheriffe; there a Prieſt was provided to diſpute with him, to whoſe queſtions *Herwin* anſwered with ſuch ſoundneſſe of judgement and modeſty, that it eaſily appeared that he had profited well in Chriſts ſchool. Being asked of Chriſts real preſence in the Sacrament, he anſwered, *That the higheſt dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, &c.* Whereupon he admoniſhed his Judges to examine the doctrine of the Church of *Rome* by the true touchſtone of Gods word, whereby they might eaſily ſee how contrary it is to the Scriptures, &c. And having made a free Profeſſion of his faith, he craved Juſtice one way or other; but they ſtill urged him to recant, to which he anſwered, *My faith is not*

Courage.

Conſtancy.

built

built upon mans opinion, but the Lord hath taught me to eſchew evill, and to do good. Then was he returned to priſon again.

During his impriſonment he was dangerouſly aſſaulted by ſome ſubtile and cunning Friars, who alledged the ſayings of diverſe of the Fathers, to prove their tranſubſtantiation; but he, through Gods mercy, holding cloſe to the Word of Chriſt, overcame them. In priſon he uſed to recreate himſelf by ſinging of Pſalms, and the People uſed to flock together to the priſon door to hear him; This ſo angred the Popiſh Clergy, that they ſought to hinder him from ſinging, and for this end they cauſed two deſperate Malefactors to be put into the ſame room with him; but within a few days, theſe Villains brake priſon and eſcaped; leaving opportunity to *Herwin* to eſcape alſo; but he, fearing that his flight might be prejudicial to other godly perſons in the City, upon whom it would be charged, reſolved rather to remain there, then to flie: Preſently after news was brought him that ſentence of death was paſſed upon him, whereupon he thanked God for advancing him to ſo high an honour as to be accounted worthy to ſuffer for his name. Teſtifying the inward joy which he felt in his ſoul by a letter that he wrote to the brethren, wherein he exhorted them to conſtancy and perſeverance in the doctrine of the truth which they had received from God: Within a few days after he was carried forth to hear his ſentence, at which time the Magiſtrate by earneſt intreaties and large promiſes ſought to bring him to a recantation, and to worſhip their breaden God, whereupon he ſhould be preſently releaſed: but *Herwin* refuſing their offer of life upon thoſe terms, was bound and carried into a chappel where they celebrated the Maſſe, at which time, to ſhew his deteſtation of their idolatry, he turned his back, winked with his eyes, and ſtopped his ears. At the elevation of the Hoſt one asked him if Jeſus Chriſt was not now between the Prieſts hands? To which he anſwered, *No, he is in heaven at the right hand of his Father:* Then was the ſentence of death read againſt him.

As he was going to execution, he ſaid to the People. *See here how this wicked world rewards the poor ſervants of Ieſus Chriſt: whilſt I was a drunkard, a Player at Cards and Dice, living in all diſſoluteneſſe and ungodly behaviour, I was never in danger of theſe bonds; yea, I was then counted a good fellow, and at that time, Who but I? But no ſooner began I, through Gods grace, to ſeek after a godly life, but preſently the world made war upon me, and became mine enemy. &c. yet this diſcourageth me not, for the ſervant is not better then his Lord; ſeeing they perſecuted him, no queſtion but they will perſecute us.* At the place of execution, one gave him his hand, and comforted him: then began he to ſing the 30. Pſalm. whereupon a Friar interrupted him, ſaying, *Oh* John *turn, there is yet time and ſpace*; the Martyr diſregarding his words, turned his back upon him; and ſome of the company ſaid to the Friar, *Turn thou, thou hypocrite*; and ſo *Herwin* quietly finiſhed his Pſalm; many joyning with him in ſinging of it; then ſaid the Friar; Be not offended good People to heare this Heretick ſing of God; The People anſwered, *Hold thy Peace thou Balaamite*

Vincit veritas.

Popiſh malice, and ſubtilty.

Flight refuſed.

Thanks for ſufferings.

Tentation reſiſted.

Zeale.

Whence perſecution ariſeth

mite, here is no body offended. There were preſent at leaſt foure hundred that encouraged the Martyr to continue to the end, as he had well begun; To whom he anſwered, *Brethren, I fight under the Standard and in the quarrel of my great Lord and Captain Jeſus Chriſt.* Then he prayed, and ſo went into his Cabin made with fagots, ſaying to the people, *I am now going to be ſacrificed; Follow you me when God of his goodneſſe ſhall call you to it:* and ſo he was firſt ſtrangled, and then burnt to aſhes.

His Martyrdome.

John de Boſcane

Anno 1561. There was apprehended in *Antwerp* one *John de Boſcane*, who for his conſtancy in Religion was condemned to death: But the Magiſtrate fearing an uprore if he ſhould put him to death publickly, knowing that he was a man free of ſpeech, and beloved of the People, he reſolved for this cauſe ſecretly to drown him in the priſon; and for this end a tub with water was provided, and an Executioner ſent to drown him; but the water was ſo ſhallow, and the Martyr ſo tall, that he could not poſſibly be drowned therein; whereupon the Executioner gave him many wounds and ſtabs with a dagger, and ſo this holy Martyr ended his life.

His cruel Martyrdome.

Iohn de Buiſons beheaded in priſon.

About the ſame time another ſervant of Ieſus Chriſt, having made a bold Profeſſion of his faith, was in the ſame city ſentenced to death; and becauſe they durſt not execute him publickly, they privately ſent and beheaded him in priſon; his name was *Iohn de Buiſons.*

The Church of *Antwerp* perſecuted.

The godly in this city of *Antwerp*, being deſirous to take all opportunities to meet together in the fear of God, on a day when the Popiſh Party was met to behold great triumphs, they withdrew themſelves out of the city, and went into a wood, where their Miniſter preached the Word of God to them; The Droſart of *Markſem* being advertiſed hereof, took his officers and went thitherward: by the way he met with ſome poor boyes that were cowheards; to whom he promiſed new cloaths if they would bring him to the place in the wood where their aſſembly was; which they undertaking, he ſent ſome of his officers along with them into the wood, who coming to the place like wolves, the ſheep of Chriſt began to flie: the Miniſter ſeeing their fear, admoniſhed them not to ſtir; The Perſecutors were not above five or ſix, and the perſecuted foure or five hundred, ſo that they might eaſily have reſiſted them, but they would not. The officers chiefly aimed to apprehend the Miniſter, and having caught one of the Aſſembly, they thought him to be the man, crying one to another, *Hold the Prieſt faſt*, ſtriking him with their Piſtols and ſtaves, and ſo carried him to the Droſart; they caught alſo two or three more, which afterwards made an eſcape: the man only that remained with the Droſart whoſe name was *Bartholomew*, was often ſet upon to be turned aſide from his holy Profeſſion; *Why*, ſay they, *cannot ſuch a young man as thou art content thy ſelf with our Religion and glorious Church, adorned with gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, in which there is ſuch melodious muſick, both of voices and inſtruments, but thou muſt needs joyne thy ſelf to that Church that is hated, deſpiſed, and expoſed to all manner of contempt?* Bartholomew overcame all theſe tentations by the power of the Almighty, ſaying,

Bartholomews conſtancy.

The Church of *Rome* a glorious ſtrumpet.

That

That which is greatly esteemed amongst men, is altogether abomination in the sight of God; Then was he condemned and beheaded; by which death he glorified God.

Anno 1568. There were apprehended in *Antwerp*, one *Scoblant*, *Iohn de Hues*, and *Joris Coomans*, who being cast into prison were very joyful, confessing that nothing befell them but by Gods divine Providence, as they acknowledge in a letter which they wrote to the brethren, wherein they thus write, *Seeing it is the will of God that we should suffer for his name, and in the quarrel of his Gospel, we certifie you, dear brethren, that we are very joyful; and however the flesh continually rebels against the spirit, counselling ever and anon according to the advice of the old Serpent: yet we are well assured that Christ, who hath bruised, will still bruise the Serpents head, and not leave us comfortlesse; we are indeed sometimes pricked in the heele, yet we are not discouraged, but keep our faith close to the promises of God, &c. Be not therefore dismayed for our bands and imprisonment; for it is the good Will of God towards us, and therefore we pray that he will give us grace to persevere constantly unto the end.*

Scoblant, John Hues, Joris Coomans.

Joy in tribulation.

Faith.

Shortly after *Scoblant* was brought to his trial, where he made a good confession of his faith, and so was condemned. Returning to prison, he earnestly requested the Jailor that he would not suffer the Friars to come to trouble him; for, said he, they can do me no good, seeing the Lord hath already sealed up the assurance of my salvation in my heart, by his holy Spirit. I am now going to my spouse, and putting off this earthly mantle, to enter into his celestial glory, where I shall be freed from all superstitions. Would to God that I might be the last that these tyrants should put to death, and that their thirst might be so quenched with my blood, that the poor Church of Christ might henceforth enjoy rest and quiet.

His excellent speech.

When he was to go forth to execution, he sung the fourtieth Psalm with his fellow-Prisoners, then said the Lords Prayer, and so kissing each other they commended one another unto God with many tears. Being tied to the stake, he was burned alive calling upon the name of the Lord.

Scoblants Martyrdome.

John Hues died in prison, whereupon *Ioris* writ thus to his friends; Brethren, I am now left alone, whereas we were three in number. *Iohn Hues* is now dead in the Lord; and yet I am not altogether alone, seeing the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Iacob* is with me; he is my exceeding great reward, and will not fail to reward me so soon as I shall have laid down this earthly Tabernacle. Pray unto God that he will strengthen me to the end; for every houre I expect the dissolution of this house of clay.

John Hues died in prison.

When he was brought forth before the Judges, and examined of his faith, he answered freely, and proved what he said by the holy Scriptures; and being asked whether he was resolved to die for the faith which he professed? he answered, I will not only venture to give my body, but my soul also for the confirmation of it; and so being condemned, he was shortly after burned, dying with much comfort.

Courage.

Joris his Martyrdom e.

Giles, and *John Annik.*

The perſecution growing hot in *Flanders*, one *Giles Annik*, and *Iohn* his ſonne removed to *Emden*; but by reaſon of their ſudden departure they could not take their wives with them; whereupon in the year 1568. they returned back to fetch their wives, who were at *Renay*; yet in regard of the danger, they durſt not go into the town openly, but took up their lodging in the evening, at an honeſt mans houſe called *Lewis Meulin.*

A ſpecial Providence.

Now it ſo fell out that that very night the enemies had appointed to make a ſecret ſearch after ſuch as profeſſed the Goſpel, and ſo paſſing by this houſe, and ſeeing the light of a candle in it, expecting their prey, they forced open the door, and took theſe two, together with their Hoſt priſoners, God having appointed them to bear witneſſe to his truth: After they had been in priſon a while, they were all three condemned for hereticks; and preſently after *Giles* the father was burned. *Iohn* the ſonne being fetched to execution, when he ſaw the man that firſt apprehended him, he called him to him, ſaying, *I forgive thee my death*, and ſo he, with *Lewis Meulin* were both beheaded.

Their Martyrdome.

Lewis Meulin.

A widdow.

About the ſame time there was alſo a godly widdow apprehended and caſt into priſon, her crime was, for that about two years before ſhe had ſuffered a Miniſter to preach in an out-houſe on the backſide of her dwelling. She was very charitable in relieving the poor, and every way ſhewed forth the fruits of a true ſaving faith: After ſeven moneths impriſonment ſhe was condemned to die, and a Prieſt coming to her, to heare her Confeſſion, ſhe ſpake to him with ſuch a divine grace, and with a ſpirit ſo repleniſhed with zeal, that he went from her with tears trickling down his cheeks, ſaying, *I came to comfort you, but I have more need to be comforted of you*: when ſhe was carried forth to execution, ſhe went with much boldneſſe and joy of heart, and having her head cut off, ſhe ſweetly ſlept in the Lord.

Charity.

Her Martyrdome.

Chriſtopher Gauderin.

There was alſo one *Chriſtopher Gauderin*, that at firſt was brought up under the Abbat of *Hename*; but the Abbat dying, he betook himſelf to the weaving of linnen, and quickly grew expert in his trade; But having been trained up in a bad ſchoole, when the Sabbath came, he ſpent riotouſly what he had gotten all the week by his labour: Now, through Gods mercy it ſo fell out that a godly man working with him, would often tell him of the danger of his preſent condition, exhorting him rather to diſtribute his gettings to the poor, aſſuring him that if he ſpent his mony ſo waſtfully, God would call him to an account for it: Theſe with the like exhortations ſo wrought upon him through the grace of God, that he began to change his courſe, and in ſtead of frequenting Taverns, he became a diligent hearer of Sermons, and gave himſelf much to reading of the holy Scriptures; ſo that not long after he was called by the Church to the office of a Deacon, which he diſcharged carefully and faithfully.

His Converſion.

Shortly after having occaſion to go to a place called *Audenard*, to diſtribute ſome almes to the poor there, he was apprehended; and the Baili ffe that had formerly ſeen him in the Abbats houſe, asked him how

how he came to turn heretick? Nay, ſaid he, *I am no heretick, but a right beleeving Chriſtian, and what I learned of him I am now aſhamed to remember.*

His impriſonment.

In priſon he had many diſputes about his faith, which he ſo maintained and defended by the Word of God, that he ſilenced all his adverſaries. Some told him that he would caſt away himſelf in his youth, being but thirty years old, to whom he anſwered, That mans life conſiſted but of two days, *viz.* The day of his birth, and the day of his death, and therefore he muſt needs die once, *And for my part,* ſaid he, *I am now willing by death to paſſe into eternal life.*

Vincit veritas.

Mans life but two days.

When news was brought him in the evening that he muſt die the next day, he retired himſelf, and poured out his ſoul in Prayer unto God till ten a clock; and after his reſt, the like he did the next morning: Having ended his Prayer, he put on a clean ſhirt and waſhed himſelf; ſaying to his fellow-Priſoners, *Brethren I am now going to be married, I hope ere noon to drink of the wine of the Kingdome of heaven*; When he came down he found three other Priſoners that were to ſuffer with him. Theſe foure exhorted and encouraged one another to ſuffer patiently and conſtantly; Then came a Friar, ſaying, that he came to convert them, To whom *Chriſtopher* ſaid, *Away from us thou ſeducer of ſouls, for we have nothing to do with thee*; The Hangman coming to put gagges into their mouths; one of them ſaid, *What? ſhall we not have liberty at this our laſt houre to praiſe God with our tongues?* *Chriſtopher* anſwered, Let not this diſcourage us, the more wrong our enemies do to us, the more aſſiſtance we ſhall find from God; and ſo ceaſed not to comfort them till himſelf was gagged alſo; Their ſentence was that they ſhould be hanged for hearing Sermons; and ſo with admirable conſtancy they yeilded up their ſouls to God; One of them being a woman was condemned to be beheaded, becauſe ſhe had ſung Pſalms, and exhorted her neighbours out of the Word of God, at a womans upſitting: Her body was grown very feeble, ſo that ſhe was cauſed to ſit on a ſtool, where ſhe received three blows with a ſword overthwart her teeth: yet did ſhe conſtantly ſit ſtill till ſhe received the Crown of Martyrdome, *Anno* 1568.

Prayer.

His zeale.

His faith.

Martyrdome.

Admirable conſtancy.

About the ſame time there was in a town a mile diſtant from *Gand*, a Miniſter whom it pleaſed the Lord to illuminate with the ſaving knowledge of his Goſpel, whereupon he became a diligent and faithful Preacher of it, both in his life and doctrine; yea, he went from houſe to houſe exhorting and comforting every one as he had occaſion out of the Word of God: and above all, labouring with them to beware of the abominable ſuperſtitions of the Papacy. The Popiſh Clergy of *Gand* having intelligence hereof, fearing leaſt by this means, their doctrine and authority would come into contempt, cauſed him to be apprehended and caſt into a deep and dark hole, where he remained bearing his affliction patiently, and calling upon God night and day, praiſing him for accounting him worthy to ſuffer for his names ſake. Whilſt he lay there, many good people came to viſit him

Giles de Meyer.

His impriſonment.

him receiving ſuch inſtruction and conſolation from him, that they could not be drawn to leave him till neceſſity enforced, neither then could they depart without abundance of tears.

His conſtancy

The Prieſts and Friars ſought by all means to draw him to a recantation, but to no purpoſe, for he ſtill kept himſelf cloſe to the Word of God, which ſo vexed them, that at laſt they procured his condemdation to be hanged. The *Spaniſh* ſoldiers which carried him to execution, would needs have him burned, binding and ſtraining him exceedingly with cords, and in the way abuſed him ſhamefully with mocks and ſcoffs, thruſting him forwards and ſtriking of him; the Captain alſo gave him a blow on the face with his gantlet, which much diſfigured him; yea they uſed him worſe then a dog, being the more enraged againſt him, becauſe of his patient and meek carriage; At laſt they thruſt him into a little Cabin piled with fagots, and ſo burnt him continually calling upon God, till he reſigned up his ſpirit to him.

Popiſh malice and cruelty.

His Martyrdome.

Anno 1568. There was a Goldſmith dwelling in *Breda*, who had long been a Deacon of the Church in that place, his name was *Peter Coulogue:* in his houſe the Church often met for the ſervice of God; the Popiſh adverſaries being much enraged hereby, caſt him into priſon, which the faithful much grieved at, and endeavoured to viſit and comfort him: This the enemies taking notice of, removed him into the Caſtle; during his abode there, though all others were excluded from him, yet his maid-ſervant brought him his food daily, never ceaſing to confirm and comfort him out of the Word of God, as ſhe was able, for which at length they impriſoned her alſo: This ſhe was right glad of, thinking her ſelf happy to ſuffer for righteouſneſſe ſake.

Peter Coulogue, and *Betkin* his maid.

Not long after *Peter* was put to the torment, which he endured patiently; then did they fetch *Betkin* alſo to it, whereupon ſhe ſaid, *My Maſters, wherefore will you put me to this torture, ſeeing I have no way offended you? if it be for my faiths ſake, you need not torment me, for as I was never aſhamed to make a Confeſſion thereof, no more will I now be at this preſent before you, but will, if you pleaſe, freely ſhew you my mind therein*; Yet for all this they would have her to the rack, whereupon ſhe again ſaid, *If I muſt needs ſuffer this pain, I pray you give me leave to call upon my God firſt*: This they conſented to: and whilſt ſhe was fervently pouring out her prayers unto God, one of the Commiſſioners was ſurpriſed with ſuch a fear and terrour, that he fell into a ſwoon, and could not be recovered again, by which means the poor maid eſcaped racking.

Their torments.

Prayer.

Gods judgement on a Perſecutor.

Shortly after theſe two innocent perſons were condemned to be burned, and as they were led to execution, there was much lamentation amongſt the People. *Peter* and *Betkin* prayed earneſtly unto God to ſtrengthen them, and perfect the good work that he had begun in them, and to aſſiſt them till they had finiſhed their courſe.

The courage and conſtancy of the maid did ſo work upon many of the People, godly men and women, that not conſidering the danger

ger, they brake through the multitude, embracing the Priſoners, and praiſing God for their conſtancy, ſaying to them *Fight manfully for the Crown is prepared for you:* At the place of execution *Betken* with a cheerful and amiable countenance ſpake thus to the People: *Dear brethren and ſiſters, be always obedient to the Word of God, and fear not them that can kill the body, but have no power over the ſoul: as for me, I am now going to meet my glorious ſpouſe the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; Then falling upon their knees they prayed to the Lord with great devotion; And the Executioner faſtning them to the ſtake, ſtrangled *Peter, Betken* encouraging him till he yielded up the Ghoſt, and till the fire had taken hold of her ſelf; and in the flames ſhe was heard to magnifie the Lord, till ſhe yielded up her ſpirtt into his hands. Their Martyrdome.

About this time multitudes of perſons were murthered in *Flanders* by the bloody Inquiſition, whoſe dead bodies were caſt out to be gazed upon in every place; and multitudes of believers, both men and women, were caſt into priſons, where they languiſhed till many of them died. In the city of *Valence* were executed fifty ſeven perſons, moſt of them Burgeſſes, only becauſe they clave to the true faith of Ieſus Chriſt. A great perſecution.

The Martyrdome of William *of* Naſſaw, *Prince of* Orange.

THe Eſtates of the United Provinces, having declared the King of *Spaine* to be fallen from the Government of thoſe countries, they choſe *William* of *Naſſaw*, Prince of *Orange* to be their Captain General, whereupon he was proſcribed by the King of *Spain*, and a great ſumme of mony promiſed to him that ſhould ſlay him; Not long after a deſperate villain called *Joanville* was ſuborned to do the feat; for which end he was directed to charge his Piſtol with two bullets, and to ſhoot him behind in the head; the day appointed for this execution was *March* 18. 1582. Upon which day the Prince was to be at a great feaſt at the Duke of *Anjous* Court; but the Preſſe being great there, *Joanville* choſe rather to do it at the Prince of *Oranges* own houſe as he was at dinner; the Villain being thus deſperately reſolved, a Jacobin Friar came to confeſſe him, fortifying him in his reſolution with many ſweet words, perſwading him that he ſhould go inviſible, for which end he gave him ſome characters in paper, and little Frogs bones, and other conjurations. The Prince proſcribed. *Joanville* ſuborned to kill him. Popiſh ſubtilty

Being thus aſſured, he drunk a cup or two of Malmſey, and ſo accompanied with his Ghoſtly father, he went to the Princes Court; at the ſtair foot the Friar gave him his bleſſing, encouraged him, and ſo left him; The Prince of *Orange* was ſet at dinner, with the Earles of *Laval*, *Hohenlo*, and many other noble men; *Ioanville* came into the dining room, attired like a *Frenchman*, ſo that he was taken for a ſervant

vant to ſome of thoſe French Noblemen; He thruſt forward twice or thrice to come behind the Prince to ſhoot him in the head, as he was directed, but was ſtill repulſed by the Princes Gentlemen that ſtood about him; Dinner being done, the Prince was going to his retiring chamber, whereupon this Villain gat before a window in the Hall, cloſe by the door of that room into which the Prince was to go; As the Prince paſſed towards it, he was ſhewing the Earle of *Laval* the cruelties that the *ſpaniards* had exerciſed in the Low-Countries, which were wrought in the hangings; and having his face turned, this murtherer diſcharged his Piſtol at him; but the Prince, as God would have it, turning at the ſame inſtant, the bullet entred in at his throat under the right chap, being ſo near that the fire entred with the bullet into the wound, burning his Ruffe and Beard; it brake out one of his teeth, pierced the jugular vein, but hurt not his tongue, and ſo came out at his left cheek hard by his noſe; the blow being given, one with an Halberd could not contain himſelf, but thruſt the Villain through, and ſlew him.

A ſpecial Providence.

The Chirurgions being ſent for, found that the fire which entred the wound, had cauterized the jugular vein, and had done him much good, ſo that the wound was not mortal. The Friar was afterwards apprehended and executed.

Anno 1584. The Spaniards thinking that they had no greater enemy in the world then the Prince of *Orange*, and that if he were dead they ſhould quickly attain their deſires in the Netherlands; they ſuborned one *Baltazar Gerard*, an high *Burguignon* to murther him, who bought a good paire of Piſtols, and on the tenth of *July* watched when the Prince ſhould go down into the Hall to dinner at *Delpht* in *Holland*, and as he paſſed by, he demanded a Paſport of him; the Princeſſe obſerving that he ſpake with an hollow and unſetled voice, ſhe asked her husband who he was? ſaying that ſhe did not like his countenance; the Prince anſwered that he demanded a Paſport, which he ſhould preſently have: After dinner the Prince going out of the Hall, the murtherer ſtood behind a pillar in the Gallery, and as the Prince paſſed by, ſuddenly ſhot him from the left ſide to the right, through the ſtomack and the vital parts, who ſaid no more, but *O my God, take pity of my ſoul, I am ſore wounded; my God, take pity of my ſoul and of this poor People*; and preſently after he gave up the Ghoſt.

Beltazar Gerard ſuborned to kill him.

The Prince his death.

Callected out of Sleidens *Commentaries, and the Hiſtory of the Netherlands, &c.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Moderne Perſecutions of the Church in Germany, *ſince the year.* 1630.

THe Swedes being poſſeſſed of a town called *Paſewalck*, the Imperialiſts took it by ſtorm, beat, killed, and drave out the *Swedes*, and not content therwith, they fell to torturing of the townſmen, raviſhing women and girles in the open ſtreets and Church-yards, yea women in child-bed; then they killed the men, fired their houſes, and burnt many in them; thruſt ſtraw into Cellars where children were hidden, and ſo burnt and ſmothered them; Then they burnt the Churches, and maſſacred the Miniſters, and at laſt burnt down the whole town. Abominable villanies.

The like cruelty was uſed againſt the City of *Magdenburg*, famous for Religion, which being taken by *Tilly* and *Pappenheim*, *Anno* 1631. was in twelve houres ſpace wholly turned into cindars, except one hundred thirty nine houſes, by which fire ſix goodly Churches were burnt down: no mercy was ſhewed to any age, ſexe or condition; above twenty thouſand perſons were ſlain, burnt, and ſmothered to death; ſix thouſand were drowned in the river *Elve*; Ladies and Gentlewomen, like beaſts were yoked together all about the countrey, and driven into woods to be raviſhed; and ſuch as reſiſted were ſtript ſtark naked, whip't, had their ears cropt, and ſo were turned up. *Magdenburg* burnt. Cruelties uſed there.

Anno 1634. The Popiſh Army having taken the town of *Hoxter*, they ſpared neither man, woman nor child, moſt inhumanely butchering and hewing in pieces all, without reſpect of age, ſexe, or condition; and what the ſword could not ſpoile, they cauſed the fire to conſume, and the dead corpſes they caſt into the river *Weſer*. Cruelties at *Hoxter*.

At *Griphenburg* they kept the Senators ſhut up in a chamber, macerating and tormenting them ſo long with hunger and ſmoak, that divers of them died. *Griphenberg*.

In *Heidleberg* they ſhut up divers reverend Miniſters and Bourgers in priſon, allowing them nothing to eat but bread and water. *Heidleberg*:

Frankendall being ſurrendred upon articles, contrary to Covenants, the grave Counſellors and other Electoral Miniſters, were forced to enduſe ſuch conditions, as were fitter for dogs then men: Some were caſt into priſon, and ſo abuſed that they died there; others were forced to redeem themſelves with unreaſonable ranſoms; the goods of ſuch as were fled were confiſcated; and though the inhabitants were willing to have left their houſes, and all their goods, yet were they detained in the city, and their deſtruction moſt cruelly plotted. *Frankendale*.

Their rage was ſo great againſt the Profeſſors of the Goſpel, that neither

neither *Turks* nor *Heathens* did ever exceed them. Princes sacred Persons were not exempted from their fury; The old Lantgrave of *Hessen*, and the old Dutchesse Dowager of *Wirtenburgh* were taken Prisoners, reviled, and abused. In *Saxony Tillies* souldiers tortured the Protestants by half strangling them, and pressing their thumbs with wheels. In *Pomeren* they forced the people to eat their own excrements, and if they refused, they thrust them down their throat, whereby some of them were choaked; If they suspected that any had hidden their gold or silver, they used exquisite torments to make them confesse it; They wound and tied about the heads of some strong matches or cords, and with short truncheons twisted them till blood came out of their eyes, ears, and noses, yea sometimes till their eyes started out of their heads; to others they tied burning matches between their fingers, yea to their eyes, ears, noses, tongues, cheeks, breasts, legs, and secret parts; yea, such parts that nature hideth, they either stuffed with gunpowder, or hung bags of powder to them: and so giving fire to it, in an horrible manner they burst their bellies, and killed them. With bodkins they made holes, or with knives they cut the skin and flesh of many. They drew strings and cords through the fleshie parts of some, and through the muscles of their thighs, legs, armes, &c. or through their noses, ears, lips, &c. Some they hung up in the smoak, drying them with small fires, and sometimes refreshing them with small drink, or water, taking care lest in their torments they should die too soon. Some they put into hot Ovens, roasting or smothering of them there. Some they roasted with fires of straw. Some they stifled, strangled, or hanged, and this was a great favour so soon to rid them ont of their pain. Of many they bound their hands and feet so hard, that the blood spirted out of their fingers and toes ends. Of some they tied their hands and feet backwards together, stopping their mouths with clouts to hinder them from praying. Some they hung up with ropes fastned to their privy parts, and hearing their cries, strove by their roarings to drown their cries, as in sport.

Saxony.

Pomeren.

Horrible Cruelties.

Where they found poor creatures troubled with ruptures, they enlarged them by villanous means, filling them with gunpowder and blowing them up as a Mine by giving fire thereto. Many they drew up on high, hanging great weights at their feet to pull their bodies out of joint. Of some they plained their faces with Chisels. Some men they openly gelded in the presence of their wives and children. The mouths of some they set wide open with gags, and then poured down their throats stinking water, urine, and other liquid things till they grew sick, and their bellies swelled like tuns, whereby they died leasurely with greater torment.

Down the throats of some they violently thrust knotted clouts, and then with a string pulled them up again, whereby they displaced their bowels, and put them to miserable torment, insomuch as some were made dumb, others deaf, others blind, and others lame.

If

If the husband intreated for his wife, or the wife for the husband, they would take the interceſſour and torture him in the ſame manner before the others eyes; and when any of theſe poor creatures in their torments or agonies of death called and cried unto God for mercy, they would command, and ſeek to force them to pray and cry unto the devil. Yea their divelliſhneſſe proceeded ſo far, that they ſtudied to find out new and unheard of torments. Some they bound, hung up, and ſawed of their legs: Of others they rubbed off the fleſh off their legs to the very bones; Of others they tied the armes backwards, and ſo hanged them up by thoſe diſtorted parts. Many they drew through the ſtreets of the cities ſtark naked, then brake and wounded them with axes and hammers, and generally uſed them with ſuch barbarous cruelty, that many begged to be ſhot or ſlain inſtantly rather then to live and be partakers of ſuch miſeries. In moſt places they took away all the corn and proviſion of victuals, leaving the places ſo bare, that many of the beſt rank for the ſpace of divers days after ſaw not one bit of bread, but were glad to live with roots and water. In other places they ſpoiled the inhabitants of their garments, expoſing them to that nakedneſſe, that neither man, woman, nor child had clothes to put on. Hereby fruitful countries were totally ruinated: Cities, Towns, and Villages, were ſpoiled and turned into pillars of fire and ſmoak; Churches lay deſolate, the woods were cut down, and the ground lay waſt and untilled.

Blaſphemy.

One reverend aged Divine they ſtripped, bound him backwards upon a table, and ſet a big cat upon his naked belly, beating and pricking the cat to make her fix her teeth and claws therein. So that both man and cat, with hunger, pain and anguiſh breathed their laſt.

A Miniſter killed with a cat.

The Crabats laboured much to teach their horſes, not only to kill men, but to eat humane fleſh; and conſulted how to find out more new and exquiſite torments, then ever were before uſed.

At the taking of *Magdenburg*, a godly Miniſter of great eſteem was found in one of the Churches, whom they dragged out to his own houſe, where they raviſhed his wife and daughters before his face; his tender infant they ſnatched from the mothers breaſt, and ſtuck it upon the top of a lance; and when his eyes and heart were glutted with this ſo cruel a ſpectacle, they brought him forth bound into the ſtreet, and there burned him with his owne books.

Magdenburg.

Rapes and Raviſhings they committed beyond all humane modeſty; Maids and Matrons, Wives and Widdows, they forced and violated without diſtinction, yea, and that in the preſence of their Parents, husbands and neighbours; yea, women great with child, and others in child-bed; Their beaſtlineſſe was ſuch that no pen can write it, no faith can beleeve it; Chappels and Churches

Rapes and Raviſhings.

were not freed from their filthy pollutions; yea, Hoſpitals and Bedlam houſes were not ſpared.

In *Heſſen* land they took divers poor women, ſome mad, ſome dumb, ſome lame, and tying up their coats about their ears ſo uſed them, as a modeſt pen cannot expreſſe.

In *Pomeren* they took the faireſt maids, and raviſhed them before their Parents faces, making them ſing Pſalms the while. One beautiful maid being hid by her Parents in a dunghil, they found her out, had their pleaſure of her, then cut her in pieces, and hung up her quarters in the Church. Yea very girles of ten years old and under, they raviſhed, till ſome of them died; vertuous and chaſt womed, they would threaten to kill, or throw their children into the fire, if they would not yield to their luſts. Divers maids and women to avoid the luſts of theſe Hell-born furies, have leaped into Rivers and Wels, and ſome have otherwiſe killed themſelves; and that which was never before heard of, they did not only violate ſickly and weak maids and women till they died, but committed the like filthineſſe with the dead corpſes.

Baſil Marchants murthered.

The Merchants of *Baſil* returning from *Straſburg Mart*, were ſet upon by the Imperialiſts in their lodging, and though they craved their lives upon their knees, yet they killed ten of them, ſaying, they muſt die for that they were hereticks; the reſt leaving their goods and garments, eſcaped by flight, ſtark naked in the night.

Two noble Counteſſes with their faire daughters were rifled in their coaches of all that they had, not ſparing the very garments that covered them.

A Miniſter murthered.

Neer *Friburg* theſe bloody miſcreants cut in pieces a reverend Miniſter, a man of rare learning and piety; after whoſe death the dogs would not lick his blood nor touch his fleſh. For the common people, they made not ſo much account of them as of dogs, murthering them upon every trifling occaſion, neither pitying old nor young, men, women, nor innocent babes, whom ſometimes moſt barbarouſly they uſed to eat, even when other meat might be had: yea ſuch inhumane cruelty they uſed, that in ſome places they ſcarce left any remaining alive to relate the ſufferings of the dead. Many times they cut off the noſes and ears of the living, carrying them about in bravery. *Collected out of a Book compoſed by Doctor* Vincent *a Divine, who was an eye-witneſſe of many of theſe things.*

Thc Crabbats eat infants.

Before this great Perſecution befell the Church of God in *Germany*, God gave his people warning of it by many and ſtrange prodigies. For *October* the 26. *Anno Chriſti* 1618. There appeared a terrible Comet with a great blazing tayle, at firſt of a red, afterwards of a pale-red colour, which continued for the ſpace of twenty ſeven days, and in ſome places it was ſeen longer. This fearful and ominous link or torch the Lord ſent to thoſe who had long deſpiſed and ſleighted

A Comet.

ſleighted his voice in his ſacred Word preached by his vigilant and faithful Miniſters, to awaken them from their dead ſleep of ſinne, and by repentance to bring them to the reformation of their lives, or otherwiſe to aſſure them that he would come ſuddenly upon them, and plague them with all thoſe evils and miſeries which he had denounced againſt them by his meſſengers, and whereof he gave them warning by this dreadful ſigne.

Anno 1619. At *Groningen* in the Dukedome of *Brunſwick* was ſeen a great blazing ſtarre, and two Armies, one in the Eaſt, and another in the North, fighting together till one of them was defeated and ſlain. A blazing ſtar. And two Armies.

At *Wien* in *Auſtria*, the water in a Ditch was ſeen to be like blood for the ſpace of eight days; and ſhortly after three Suns appeared in the heavens. In the beginning of *April*, *Anno* 1619. and *Anno* 1621. in *March*, in the ſame country of *Auſtria*, were two Armies ſeen in the heavens by clear day-light, fighting furiouſly together with great thundring of Ordnance and Canons. Water turned to blood. Three Suns. Two Armies.

In the ſame country, *Anno* 1623. in the moneth of *January*, juſt over the city of *Lintz*, two ſwords were ſeen one over againſt the other, and two great Armies fighting a pitched battel together, which cauſed great terrour to the beholders. Two ſwords, and two Armies.

At *Heidleberg* in *February*, *Anno* 1622, were ſeen three Suns, and three Rainbows. Shortly after which that City was beſieged by the Imperialiſts, and at laſt taken, where a great ſlaughter was made of the inhabitants, and in *Neckergemund* three miles off, all the inhabitants, men, women, and children were put to the ſword. Three Suns, and three Rainbows.

In *April*, *Anno* 1622: In the country of *Darmſtad*, were trees whoſe leaves drop't blood; and the year after in the ſame country in divers towns and villages, were ſeen bloody ſignes on houſes and ſtone-wals. About *Meyenfield* and *Malants*, as men were reaping their corne, their Hands and Sickles were all bloody. Trees dropt blood. Blood on houſes, and ſtone wals. And ſickles.

In *July*, *Anno* 1622. In the Dukedome of *Wirtemburgh*, it rained ſo much blood, that it fell upon the hands and cloaths of people in the fields, and was ſeene upon Trees, Stones, and other places. *It* rained blood.

May the twelfth, *Anno* 1624. in the Dukedome of *Anhalt* there appeared a ſtrange prodigie in the heavens, which continued from ſix till eight a clock at night: Firſt there came out of the clouds an Ancient-bearer; After him came forth a grave man in the ſame habit; then came forth a chariot drawn with two particoloured horſes: Then another chariot with foure armed horſes: Then ſuddenly there brake out of the clouds an infinite number of people like a ſwarm of bees: After them followed a man ſitting on horſeback with a long robe, putting the people before him; A quarter of an houre after came forth another Army conſiſting Two Armies.

of

of many horſe and foot, &c. The two Armies fought till one of them was routed, and preſently after all vaniſhed away.

A ſtrange tempeſt.

Anno 1624. In *May* a ſtrange tempeſt happened at *Ratisbone*; The weather being very calme with little raine, two dark clouds met together, which ſuddenly belched out a great wind mingled with fire, which raiſed ſuch a tempeſt, that near to the city it tore up trees by the roots, and in a moment drave them into divers places, and thence extending it ſelf to the city, it overturned above two hundred houſes in the Towne and Suburbs, not leaving a Chimney ſtanding, nor a roof to cover an houſe. The Church of *Emerans* beſides the ſhattered windows had one of the ſteeples laid flat to the ground, and the other broke off in the middle; two other of the chiefeſt ſteeples in the city were alſo broken down. This tempeſt laſted not above a quarter of an houre, nor extended beyond the city, neither were there above foure men ſlain by it.

A fight of Jackdaws.

Anno 1625. Near *Troppaw* a great multitude of Jack-dawes met in the aire, where they fought a great battel, and that with ſo great eagerneſſe, that many of them fell down dead, ſo that the Countrymen gathered up whole ſackfulls of them.

Two Armies.

Anno 1628. In *Pomerland* the heavens ſeemed to open, and an Army came forth of the Northern part, the Avauntguard conſiſting of Pioneres and Muſqueteres; then followed great peeces of Ordnance, and in the Reare came the Cavalry. Another Army came forth on the other ſide, and betwixt them there became a cruel battell: The victory inclined to the Northern Army; And at laſt a fiery beame followed upon the Northerne Conquerour, which continued for the ſpace of ſome houres.

Water turned into blood.

Anno 1631. At *Hall* in *Saxony* the water was turned into blood to the great aſtoniſhment of the inhabitants.

During the ſiege of *Magdenburg*, a Captains wife being in travel, when ſhe could not be delivered, and was near death, ſhe deſired that when ſhe was dead her body might be opened; which being done, there was found in her womb, a boy almoſt as big as one of three years old with an headpiece and breaſtplate upon him, great boots after the French faſhion, and a bag by his ſide with two things in it like muſket bullets.

A monſtrous child.

Two Armies.

Iune the nineteenth, *Anno* 1631. In the lower *Saxony* two great Armies appeared in the aire, one in the North, the other in the South, which fought a great battel together; After long fighting the Northern Army obtained the victory. After the battel was ended, there appeared a man in a long coat, bearing a bow, with which he ſhot at, and overthrew the Commander of the Southern Army.

In the ſame countrey a woman having bought a loafe of bread, when

when ſhe came home was dividing of it, and in the cutting of it there came forth blood.

Bloody bread

Anno 1633. In the country of *Altenburgh*, a fiſh-pond was turned into blood, which ſtank ſo extreamly, that if any Paſſengers did but touch it, they could not waſh off the ſtink thereof in three days ſpace,

A fiſhpond turned to blood.

Anno 1634. At *Berlin* in *Brandenburg*, it rained blood and Brimſtone.

It rained blood and brimſtone.

Anno 1635. In *Heſſen* there met two armies of ſtrange birds, which fought a ſet battel; And not far off, about the ſame time a multitude of dogs had their Randevouz, which fought ſo eagerly that they would not be reconciled; and when the Governour of a neighbour Garriſon ſent out foure companies of Muſqueteers againſt them; they ſeeing a common enemy, joyned together, and in deſpite of their guns, beat them away, and devoured nine of them.

A battel of birds; And dogs

John Baxter



Here place the eighth Figure.

A

for againſt thee only have I ſinned, and ſo he was preſently ſtrangled and then burned; but upon the complaint of the Doctor, the Court made a decree, that all which were to be burned, unleſſe they recanted at the ſtake, ſhould have their tongues cut out, which was diligently afterward obſerved. A cruel law.

There was living at *Meaux* a lame Creeple, to whom God was pleaſed to reveal his truth, and after a time he was apprehended and examined, at which time he confeſſed more then they deſired to hear; Then did they ask him whether he would ſtand to that which he had ſaid? To whom he anſwered; and I ask you again, dare you be ſo bold as to deny that which is ſo plain and evident in the holy Scriptures? being adviſed to take care of his life, he ſaid to the Judges, for Gods ſake take care of your own lives and ſouls, and conſider how much innocent blood you ſpill daily in fighting againſt Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel; At laſt he was carried to *Paris*, where he endured many ſorts of torments, and laſtly was burned. A Creeple martyred. Zeale. His martyrdome.

At *Fera*, one *Stephen Polliot* was apprehended, carried to *Paris*, and there caſt into a foule and dark dungeon, where he lay long in bonds and fetters; At laſt he was brought forth and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned with his ſachel of books hanging about his neck, which was accordingly executed. *Stephen Polliot.*

Anno 1547. There was one *Iohn Engliſh* condemned by the Court of *Paris* for confeſſing the truths of God; and ſo ſent to *Sens* in *Burgundy*, where he was burned. *John Engliſh.*

Alſo *Michael Michelote*, being apprehended for profeſſing the Goſpel, was put to his choiſe either to recant and be beheaded, or to perſevere and be burned; he anſwered that he truſted that he which had given him grace not to deny the truth, would alſo give him patience to abide the fire, and ſo he was burned. *Michael Michelot.* Faith, and Courage.

Another being betrayed by falſe brethren, was burned at *Bar* in *Burgundie.* Treachery.

Five men and two women were condemned to the fire at *Langres*, for adhering to the truth: one of the women being the youngeſt, was reſerved to be burned laſt; and in the mean time ſhe much encouraged them all ſaying, This day we ſhall be married to the Lord Jeſus to live with him for ever, and ſo they all quietly ſlept in the Lord. Foure others about the ſame time were condemned, and cruelly burnt at *Paris* for the ſame cauſe. Seven Martyrs. Foure martyrs.

Anno 1548. There was one *Blondel* a Merchant of precious ſtones, that frequented many great Fairs in *France*, and was well-known both in Court and Country; he was a man of ſingular integrity, and a Favourer of Gods word; being at an Inne in *Lions*, he freely reproved the filthy talk and ſuperſtitious behaviour which he there heard and ſaw; hereupon the Hoſt complained of him to an officer; withal, informing him of his rich Coller of Iewels; Theſe two ſuborned one to borrow mony of him, which becauſe *Blondel* refuſed to lend, the fellow cauſed him to be apprehended for hereſie, thinking thereby to attach his *Blondel.* Popiſh malice

his goods, but *Blondels* friends prevented it, privily conveying them away.

Courage. *Blondel* being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full Confeſſion of it; whereupon he was ſent to priſon, in which he did much good amongſt the Priſoners, paying the debts of ſome and ſo loſing them, feeding others, cloathing others, &c. At length through the importunity of his Parents and friends, he changed his Confeſſion; yet was he ſent to the High Court at *Paris*, where being examined again concerning his faith, he adhered to his firſt Confeſſion, much bewailing his former fall; Then was he condemned to be burnt, and great haſte was made for his execution, leaſt his friends at Court ſhould ſave his life.

Charity. Humane infirmity. Recovery.

Hubert. *Anno* 1549. One *Hubert* a young man of nineteen years old, was ſo conſtant in the faith, that neither the perſwaſions of his Parents, nor the threats of his adverſaries could remove him from his ſtedfaſtneſſe, for which he was burned at *Dyion.*

Florent Venote The ſame year there was a godly Miniſter called *Florent Venote*, caſt into priſon at *Paris*, where he lay above foure years, in which time there was no kind of torment, which he did not endure and overcome: amongſt others he was put in to ſo narrow a place, that he could neither ſtand nor lie, in which he remained ſeven weeks, whereas there was never any Malefactor that could endure it fifteen days, but he either grew mad or died. At laſt when a great ſhew was made at the Kings coming into the city, and divers other Martyrs in ſundry places of it were put to death, *Florent* alſo having his tongue cut out, was brought forth to ſee their execution, and laſtly was himſelfe burnt.

Cruelty. A miracle of mercy. *Henry* the ſecond. His martyrdome.

Anne Audebert About the ſame time one *Anne Audebert*, as ſhe was going to *Geneva* was apprehended and brought to *Paris*, where ſhe was adjudged to be ſent to *Orleance* and burned there: when ſhe was had forth to execution, a rope being put about her, ſhe called it her wedding girdle, wherewith ſhe ſhould be married to Chriſt; and being to be burned upon a Satturday, ſhe ſaid, *On a Satturday I was firſt married, and on a Satturday I ſhall be married again*: She much rejoyced when ſhe was put into the dung-cart, and ſhewed ſuch patience and conſtancy in the fire, as made all the Spectators wonder at it.

Courage, and comfort at death.

A Tailor. Not long after the Coronation of *Henry* the ſecond, King of *France*, at whoſe coming into the City of *Paris* diverſe godly Martyrs were burned, there was a poor Tailor, that dwelt not farre from the Kings Pallace, apprehended for working upon an holy day: Being by the Officer asked why he wrought upon that day? He anſwered that he was a poor man living only upon his labour, and that he knew no day but the Sabbath whereupon he might not work, his neceſſity requiring it; Then was he clapt up in priſon; this being noiſed in the Court, ſome would needs have the Tailor ſent for, that the King might have the hearing of him. Then was the Tailor brought thither, and the King ſitting in his chair of State, commanded the Biſhop of *Maſcon* to queſtion

queſtion with him: The Tailor nothing amated at the Kings preſence, after he had done reverence to his Prince, gave thanks to God for honouring him ſo greatly, being ſuch a wretch, as to bring him where he might bear witneſſe to his truth before ſo great a Prince; The Biſhop queſtioned with him about the greateſt matters of Religion, and he with an undaunted ſpirit ſo anſwered for the ſincere truth, and with ſuch pregnant proofs of Scripture, as was wonderful; and though the Nobles that were preſent jeered and taunted at him, yet could they not daſh him out of countenance, but that ſtill with much liberty and freedome of ſpeech he defended the truth of Chriſt, neither flattering their perſons, nor fearing their threats. The King ſeeming to muſe much within himſelf, that ſo mean and ſimple a perſon ſhould ſhew ſuch audacity in ſuch a preſence, the Biſhop and Popiſh Lords taking notice of, cryed out, that he was an obſtinate and impudent heretick, and therefore remanded him back to Priſon: and within a few days after he was condemned to be burnt alive; and leſt the King ſhould be affected with what he heard from the Tailor, the Biſhops often ſuggeſted that the Lutherans were ſuch as carried a vain ſmoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire would ſoon vaniſh; They alſo would needs have the King preſent at his execution: but it pleaſed God to give ſuch ſtrength and courage to the Tailor at his execution, as much more aſtoniſhed the King then all his former carriage; for having eſpied the King in the window where he ſate, he beheld him with ſo ſtedfaſt a countenance, that his eyes were never off him, yea, when the fire was kindled about him, he ſtill kept his eyes ſo fixed upon the King, that the King was conſtrained to leave the window, and to withdraw himſelf, and was ſo wrought upon thereby, that he confeſſed that he thought the ſhadow of the Tailor followed him whitherſoever he went, and for many nights after he was ſo terrified with the apparition thereof, that he proteſted with an oath, that he would never ſee nor hear any more of thoſe Lutherans, though afterwards he brake his oath, as it follows in the Story of *Anne Du Bourg*.

Admirable courage.

Popiſh pride.

Popiſh ſubtilty

Gods judgements on Perſecutors.

About the ſame time one *Claudius* a godly man, was apprehended as he came from *Geneva*, and burned at *Orleance*.

Claudius.

Anno 1551. One *Thomas* a young man of about eighteen years old, coming from *Geneva* to *Paris*, rebuked one for ſwearing, whereupon he was apprehended for a Lutherane, and carried before the high Court; by them he was committed to priſon, and cruelly racked to confeſſe his companions, which he ſtill refuſed to do, whereupon they continued to rack him, till one of the bloody Inquiſitors turned his back and wept, and till the Hangman was a weary: then was he carried to be burned, and was let down with a Pully into the fire; and after a while being pulled up again, they asked him if he would yet turn, To whom he ſaid, *That he was in his way to God, and therefore he deſired them to let him go*, and ſo he quietly ſlept in the Lord.

Thomas.

Zeale.

Cruelty.

An excellent ſpirit.

Anno 1553. There was apprehended at *Lions* one *Peter Bergerius*, who

Peter Bergerius

An admirable example.

who for his bold and conſtant confeſſion was caſt into priſon, and put into a dungeon, where was a thief that had layn there ſeven or eight moneths, who being in great pain and torment, cryed out of God, and curſed his Parents that begat him, being almoſt eaten up with lice, and fed with ſuch bread as dogs and horſes had refuſed to eat; but it pleaſed Almighty God of his goodneſſe, through the inſtructions and prayers of *Bergerius*, that he was converted and brought to the knowledge of the truth, after which, the very next day, his lice which before extreamly abounded, ſo went away, that he had not one remaining; and God ſo ſtirred up the hearts of good men, that he was fed plentifully, and that with white bread, ſo that with much patience and joyfulneſſe he bore his impriſonment, and had great comfort afterwards in his ſoul.

Three godly men.

About the ſame time three godly men were apprehended at *Lions*, and being condemned for the truth, when they were to be led forth to execution, two of them had ropes put about their necks; the third having ſerved the King in his wars was favoured to have none; whereupon he ſaid to the Lieutenant, that he alſo deſired to have one of thoſe precious chains about his neck in honour of his Lord, the which being granted, they all went ſinging to the fire, where with much patience they yielded up their ſpirits unto God.

Note.

Matthew Dimonet a Perſecutor converted.

Not long after in the ſame place was apprehended one *Matthew Dimonet*, who formerly had lived a moſt wicked life, full of all filthines and abominations; he had been alſo a ſearcher out of the Profeſſors of the Goſpel, and a great Perſecutor of them; yet at laſt it pleaſed God to ſhew him mercy, and he was converted to the knowledge of the truth: after which, being apprehended and examined, he made a ſtout Profeſſion of his faith; and during his impriſonment he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own fleſh, but eſpecially with the temptations of his Parents, kindred and friends; yet the Lord did ſo ſtrengthen him that he endured conſtant to the end; at his burning he ſpake much to the People, and was hearkned to with great attention.

Tentation reſiſted.

Simon Laloe.

Simon Laloe coming upon ſome occaſions from *Geneva* into *France*, was apprehended by the Bailiffe of *Dyion*, by whom he was impriſoned and racked to force him to confeſſe what fellows he had, but that not prevailing, he was condemned to be burned. At his death the Executioner, ſeeing his great faith patience, and conſtancy, was ſo wrought upon thereby, that he fell into great terrour of conſcience, ſo that he was neer to utter deſpair, and all the promiſes of the Goſpel could ſcarce comfort him; yet at laſt, through Gods mercy, receiving comfort, he with all his family removed to the Church of *Geneva*, where he afterwards lived till his death.

An hangman converted.

Nicholas Naile.

Nicholas Naile, carrying ſome good books to *Paris*, was there apprehended, and made a bold confeſſion of the faith, for which he was cruelly tormented ſundry wiſe, and racked all his joynts aſunder, and laſtly being condemned, when he was carried to the ſtake, they put a gag into his mouth, which they tied in ſo hard with a rope about his

Popiſh cruelty

head

head, that blood guſhed out of his mouth: they alſo beſmeared all is body with oile and brimſtone, ſo that at the firſt taking of fire, all his skin was ſhrivelled together, whilſt his inward parts were untouched; the cord being burnt in ſunder, and the gag falling out of his mouth, he praiſed God in the midſt of the fire, till he yielded up his ſpirit unto God.

Peter Serre was at firſt a Prieſt, but God of his mercy revealing his truth to him, he went to *Geneva*, and there learned the Shoomakers craft, whereby he maintained himſelf; and having a brother at *Tholouſe*, out of a ſingular love to his ſoul, he went thither to inſtruct him; his brothers wife being not well pleaſed herewith, revealed it to one of her Goſſips, who informed the Officiall againſt him; hereupon he was apprehended and carried before the Inquiſitor, to whom he made an excellent declaration of his faith, and ſo was delivered to the Judge, by whom he was asked of what occupation he was? He ſaid that of late he was a Shoomaker; then did the Judge ask him of what occupation he had formerly been? he ſaid he had been of another formerly, but he was aſhamed to utter it or to remember it, being the worſt and vileſt ſcience of all others in the world; the Judge and People ſuppoſing that he had been ſome Cutpurſe or Thief, were more importunate to know what it was, but ſhame and ſorrow ſo ſtopped his mouth that he could not declare it; at laſt through their importunate clamour, he told them he had been a Popiſh Prieſt: this ſo incenſed the Judge, that he preſently condemned him to be degraded, to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned; which was accordingly executed: In the fire he ſtood ſo quiet, looking up ſtedfaſtly to heaven at the time of his burning, as if he felt no pain at all, which cauſed wonderful admiration in the people; and one of the Parliament ſaid, that it was not the beſt way to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for it would do more hurt then good.

Peter Serre.

Charity.

Treachery.

Note.

Admirable patience.

Note.

An. 1554. There were two godly men with one of their ſons & daughter going towards *Geneva*, whom a Lieutenant overtaking by the way, like a *Judas*, he inſinuated himſelf into their company, pretended great favour to them and to that Religion, which he ſaid, he ſuppoſed them to be of; and ſo with fair words he circumvented them, and drew out of them that they were Proteſtants, and their wives at *Geneva*, whither they were now travelling; Then did he apprehend them and carry them to the Caſtle of *Niverne*; During their impriſonment they were examined of many articles, to which they made a full and clear anſwer according to their faith; after this they were racked extreamly for three houres together to force them to recant, which they bore with admirable patience; being therefore condemned, as they went to execution, the Officer bound a woodden croſſe between their hands, but they pulled it out with their teeth, and threw it away, whereupon their tongues were cut out, notwithſtanding which God gave them utterance, ſo that they ſpake plain, ſaying, *We bid ſin, the fleſh, the world, and the devil farewel for ever, with whom we ſhall never have more*

A Judas.

Courage.

Cruelty.

Zeal.

A miracle.

to do hereafter, and much more to the like purpoſe. When the Officer came to beſmear them with brimſtone and gunpowder, they ſaid, *Go to, ſalt on, ſalt on the ſtinking and rotten fleſh*; and ſo perſiſting conſtant in the flames they finiſhed their martyrdome.

Philbert Hamlin.

Anno 1557. *Philbert Hamlin*, a Prieſt, was through Gods grace brought to the knowledge of the truth, whereupon he went to *Geneva*, where he exerciſed printing, and ſent books abroad. Afterwards he was made a Miniſter, and preached at the town of *Alenart*, in which and in ſome other places he did much good; At laſt he with his Hoſt, a Prieſt, whom he had inſtructed in the knowledge of the Goſpel, were apprehended and caſt into priſon at *Bourdeaux*; and whilſt they lay there, in came a Prieſt with his furniture to ſay Maſſe; but *Philbert* inflamed with an holy zeal, went and plucked the garments from his back, and overthrew the Chalice and Candleſticks, ſaying, *Is it not enough for you to blaſpheme God in the Churches, but you muſt alſo pollute the priſon with your idolatry?* the Jailor ſeeing this, fell upon him, and beat him with his ſtaffe, and alſo removed him into a dungeon, loading him with irons which made his legs to ſwell: there he lay eight days. The Prieſt his Hoſt, terrified with the priſon and fear of death, renounced Chriſt and his Word, and was ſet at liberty; whereupon *Philbert* ſaid to him, *O unhappy and more then miſerable man! Is it poſſible that you ſhould be ſo fooliſh, as for to ſave your life a few days, you ſhould ſo ſtart away from and deny the truth? Know you therefore that although hereby you have avoided the corporal fire, yet your life ſhall be never the longer, for you ſhall die before me, and yet ſhall not have the honour to die for the cauſe of God: and you ſhall be an example to all Apoſtates.* Having ended his ſpeech, and the Prieſt going out of priſon, he was preſently ſlain by two Gentlemen, who formerly had a quarrel to him. *Philbert* hearing of it, profeſſed that he knew of no ſuch thing before, but ſpake as it pleaſed God to guide his tongue. *Philbert* being condemned, and had to execution, they laboured to drown his voice by ſounding of trumpets, and ſo in the midſt of the flames, praying and exhorting the people, he rendred up his ſoul unto God.

Zeale.

Apoſtacy.

A Propheſie.

Gods judgement on an Apoſtate.

Anno 1558. *Nicholas* of *Jenvile*, a young man that had lived at *Geneva*, coming into *France* to get up ſome mony that was owing to him, was betrayed by a Lady, apprehended and condemned, and being carried in a Cart to execution, his father met him and would have beaten him with a ſtaffe, but the Officers not ſuffering it, would have ſtricken the old man; the ſonne crying to them to let his father alone, ſaying, that he had power over him to do to him what he would. At the place of execution he had an iron ball put into his mouth, and ſo he patiently took his martyrdome at *Ienvile*.

Nicholas of *Jenvile.*

Popiſh treachery.

Blind zeal.

About the ſame time a company of the faithful of about three or foure hundred were met together at an houſe in *Paris*, in the beginning of the night, to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; ſome Prieſts getting intelligence of it, gathered many of that faction together, and came, and beſet the houſe, making an outcry that the watch might

Popiſh malice

might come and apprehend them, ſo that in a ſhort time moſt of the city of *Paris* was up in armes, ſuppoſing that there had been ſome conſpiracy: The people following the noiſe, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, they grew into a great rage, ſeeking to murther them, and thereupon ſtopped the ſtreets and lanes with Carts, and made fires that none might eſcape them; but through Gods mercy before this tumult began, the faithful had finiſhed their adminiſtration and prayers, with as much quiet as ever they had done; and now ſeeing this ſudden danger, were ſomewhat amazed; whereupon the Paſtors of the Congregation exhorted them and fell to Prayer; after which, conſidering the cowardlineſſe of the multitude, it was reſolved that ſuch as had weapons ſhould adventure through the preſſe; which being put in practice, the admirable power of God appeared, in that notwithſtanding the fires, and ſtopping of the paſſages, yet they all eſcaped ſafe, only one was beaten down with ſtones and ſlain: The reſt, which wanted weapons, being about one hundred and twenty, ſtayed in the houſe with the women and children, ſome of which leaped into Gardens, where they remained till the Magiſtrates came; The women, which were all perſons of good quality, ſave ſix or ſeven, perceiving their danger by reaſon of the fury of the People, went up into the windows, ſhewed their innocency, and deſired that they might be tryed in an ordinary way of Juſtice; yet there they were incloſed by the rabble for ſix or ſeven houres; At laſt came the Kings Atturney with many Serjeants and Officers, who with much ado appeaſing the people, entred into the houſe, and their ſeeing the quality of the Perſons, and their innocency, the Atturney much pitied them, yet carried them to priſon in the little Caſtle; but as they went, the furious multitude plucked and haled the Gentlewomen, tore their garments, pulled their hoods from their heads, and all beſmeared their faces with duſt and dirt.

A ſpecial Providence.

Popiſh rage, and cruelty.

In the priſon they were uſed no better; for the Villains and Thieves being let out of their holes, and ſtinking caves, theſe Lambs of Chriſt were put into their rooms. Then followed the cruel and ſlanderous reports of the Friars, who in their Sermons railed upon them, told the People that they were aſſembled to make a banquet in the night, after which, putting out the candles, they went together Jack with Jill, after a filthy and beaſtly manner; they charged them alſo with ſedition, as if they conſpired againſt the *King*, &c. And theſe curſed defamations were no ſooner vented, but they were ſpread abroad far and wide, yea in the Court it ſelf, and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* procured a certain Judge to come to the King, who teſtified that he found in the houſe divers Couches, upon which they intended to commit their whoredomes and adulteries, which much inflamed the King againſt them.

Popiſh lyes, and ſlanders.

Satans ſubtilty

Theſe things made the enemies to triumph exceedingly, and on the contrary, the brethren which eſcaped, were full of perplexity and lamentations, ſorrowing not ſo much for themſelves, as for the impri-

ſonment of their friends; yet they much comforted themſelves in the conſideration of their own wonderful deliverance. They upon debate alſo reſolved, Firſt, all of them to humble themſelves before God in their own families. Secondly, That they might ſtop the falſe rumours, to vvrite two Apologies, one to the King, and another to the People. Thirdly to vvrite conſolatory letters to their friends in priſon.

Chriſtian wiſedome.

The Apology to the King vvas vvritten and conveyed privily into his chamber, vvhere it vvas met vvith and read openly before the King and his Nobles; yet this prevailed little; for their adverſaries ſuggeſted to him that all vvas falſe, and a pretence to hide their vvickedneſſe: But that to the People did very much good, and ſo did their conſolatory letter to their friends in priſon.

The adverſaries all this while did beſtir themſelves to bring them that vvere in priſon to execution, and procured a Commiſſion from the King to certain Judges to haſten their trial. But it fell out by Gods Providence, that at this time the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* were met at a Colloquie at *Wormes*, to whom divers learned men reſorted from *Geneva* to requeſt them to ſend their Ambaſſadors to the *French* king, in the behalf of theſe poor Chriſtians thus impriſoned; by whoſe mediation, and the kings other buſineſſe, who vvas novv in vvar vvith the king of *Spaine*, many of them vvere delivered, yet ſome of them vvere executed before the coming of the Ambaſſadors.

Gods merciful Providence.

Amongſt them vvere *Nicholas Clivet*, and one *Granvelle* both of them elders of the Congregation, vvho ſtoutly defended the truth againſt the *Sorbone* Doctors, and afterwards patiently reſigned up their ſouls to God in the cruel flames. Alſo a young Gentlevvoman of about tvventy three years old, vvhich came from *Gaſcoigne* to joyne her ſelf to the Church at *Paris*, vvas brought forth vvith the former, and endured many conflicts vvith the Iudges and *Sorboniſts*; vvho vvhen ſhe vvas urged to recant, ſaid, *That ſhe had learned her faith from the Word of God, and therefore therein ſhe would live and die:* Her neighbours teſtified againſt her that there was much ſinging of Pſalms in her houſe, and that ſometimes they had ſeen abundance of people come out of it, and that at the death of her husband no Prieſt was called for, &c. But preſently after, two of theſe witneſſes fell out, and one ſtuck the other with a knife.

Nicholas Clivet and one *Granvelle*.

Popiſh malice

Gods judgement on Perſecutors.

The Cardinal of *Sens* much haſtened this Gentlewomans death, that he might have her eſtate. When ſhe was condemned, ſhe had her tongue cut, as the two former alſo were ſerved. Going to execution, ſhe dreſſed her ſelf like a Bride, being that day to be married to her ſpouſe Ieſus Chriſt; ſhe went to the fire without ever changing countenance, and ſo quietly yielded up her ſpirit to God.

Courage.

Divers others of this Congregation ſuffered in the like ſort: the reſt at the mediation of the Prince Elector *Palatine*, and the Proteſtant Switzers, were releaſed.

In other parts of *France* alſo ſundry faithful Chriſtians were impriſoned, cruelly racked, had their tongues cut out, and finally were burned,

ned, concerning whom becauſe I find nothing extraordinary, I have forborn to mention them.

Anno 1559. The King of *France*, *Henry* the ſecond, coming into the Parliament in *Paris*, there was one *Anne Du Burg*, a noble Counſellour, a man of ſingular underſtanding and knowledge, bred and nurſed up in the boſome of the Church of Chriſt, who made a bold ſpeech before him, wherein he rendred thanks to Almighty God, for moving the kings heart to be preſent at the deciſion of ſo weighty a cauſe as that of religion was, humbly intreating him to conſider well thereof, being the cauſe of Chriſt himſelf, which of good right ought to be maintained of Princes, &c. But the king inſtead of hearkning to his good advice, was ſo far incenſed againſt him, that he cauſed him to be apprehended by the County of *Montgomery* Conſtable of *France*, and to be carried to priſon, proteſting to him in theſe words; *Theſe eyes of mine ſhall ſee thee burnt*; and preſently after he ſent a Commiſſion to the Iudges to make his proceſſe.

A Chriſtian ſpeech.

Popiſh malice

During his impriſonment there was a godly woman, who was Priſoner alſo in a chamber juſt over againſt his, who at her window, ſometimes by words, other ſometimes by ſignes, did much encourage him to perſevere conſtantly in the truth, whereby he was ſo comforted, that when ſome of his friends perſwaded him to recant, he ſaid, *God forbid, for a woman hath taught me my leſſon, how I ought to carry my ſelf in this buſineſſe*; He was often examined about ſundry points of Religion, and being once asked whether he had conferred with any one about them; he anſwered, that he had conferred with his books, eſpecially with the holy Scriptures.

Gods mercy.

Tentation reſiſted.

Having drawn up a Confeſſion of his faith, he intended to preſent it to the Parliament; but ſome Advocates that belonged to that Court, who pretended great love to him, laboured to draw him to make another Confeſſion, not contrary to the truth, but in ſuch ambiguous terms as might ſatisfie his Iudges, who would not ſtand ſtrictly to examine it; *Du Bourg* long reſiſted, but at laſt was prevailed with to draw up ſuch a Confeſſion, ſuppoſing it ſufficient that himſelf knew his own meaning; So ſoon as this his confeſſion came into the hands of his Judges, great hopes were conceived of his enlargement; but when the Chriſtian Congregation had gotten a copy of it, they were much grieved; whereupon they ordered Maſter *Auguſtine Marlorate*, a learned and godly Miniſter, to write a large diſcourſe concerning the duty of ſuch as were called to bear witneſſe to the truth of God before Magiſtrates, wherein he ſet down Gods threatnings and judgements againſt ſuch, as either directly or indirectly deny the truth, exhorting him more highly to prize the glory of God then his own liberty; the truth of his Goſpel then a ſhort and tranſitory life; ſhewing that he ought not now to give over, having made ſo happy a beginning and progreſſe in his Chriſtian courſe: That the fame of his conſtancy was ſpread, not only through *France*, but all *Chriſtendome* over: that he had been a means to confirm many weak ones, and cauſed others to enquire after the

Tentation.

Humane infirmity.

Good counſel.

the means of ſalvation: that all mens eyes vvere fixed on him to enquire by vvhat means he gat out of priſon, ſo that, if through fear and faint-heartedneſſe, he ſhould enterprize ought that ſhould contradict his firſt Profeſſion, he would give much ſcandal and offence, and therefore he exhorted him to give glory to God, to edifie his Church; and then he might aſſure himſelf that God would neither leave nor forſake him.

Recovery after a fall.

Theſe letters brought *Du Bourg* to a ſight of his ſin, for which asking pardon of God, without any further delay he wrote to the Judges, retracting his laſt, and proteſting to ſtand to his firſt Confeſſion; ſo that ſhortly after he was condemned.

In the mean time great feaſts were preparing in the Court, for joy of the marriages that ſhould be of the Kings daughter and ſiſter; The day whereof being come, the King employed all the morning in examining the Preſident, and other Counſellors of the Parliament againſt *Du Bourg*, and other his companions that were charged with the ſame doctrine, intending to glut his eyes in ſeeing their execution, and then went to dinner.

A ſpecial Providence.

After dinner the King being one of the Defendants at the *Tourney*, which was near the priſon where *Du Bourg* and his fellows lay, entred the liſts, and in tilting valiantly, brake many ſpears againſt Count *Montgomery* and others, whereupon he was highly commended of the Spectators, and all thinking that he had done enough, deſired him to give over with praiſe; But he being puffed up with their commendations, would needs run another courſe with *Montgomery*, who kneeling on his knees craved pardon, refuſing to run againſt him; the King being eagerly ſet on, commanded him upon his Allegiance to run, and put the ſpear into his hands; *Montgomery* thus inforced, addreſſed himſelf to the courſe, and the king and he meeting together, brake their ſpears, and the Kings Helmet falling down at the ſame inſtant, one of the ſplinters of *Montgomeries* ſpear entred juſt into his right eye, and ſo pierced his head that the brains were periſhed; which wound deſpiſing all means of cure killed him within eleven days, whereby his hope of ſeeing *Du Bourg* burned was fruſtrated, and thereupon *Du Bourg* his execution was deferred for ſix moneths after; at the end whereof, he having conſtantly perſevered in the Confeſſion of his faith, was firſt degraded, and the next day carried out to execution; The Iudges appointed ſix or ſeven hundred Horſe and Foot well armed, to guard him; he was firſt hanged, and then his body was burnt to aſhes.

Gods judgement on Perſecutors.

Du Bourg executed.

Popiſh cruelty

Preſently after divers others were burnt in *Paris*, and in many other places for their religion; many alſo were maſſacred as they paſſed along the ſtreets for not doing reverence to the images, which were then newly ſet up in the corner of every ſtreet; ſuch alſo as refuſed to contribute mony to buy wax candles to burn before them, it coſt them their lives. Notwithſtanding which cruelties thoſe of the Religion increaſed daily, both in zeal and number in all parts of the Realm.

The Church proſpers under perſecution.

This

This much incenſed the Duke *de Guiſe* in his Government of *Dauphine*, whereupon he ſent *Mangiron*, a cruel man, and great enemy to the Proteſtants, with charge wholly to root them out; This *Mangiron* firſt played his part very ſubtilly; but at laſt he fell upon *Valence*, ſacking the houſes of the Proteſtants, as if he had taken the town by aſſault; and the more to ſtrengthen him in his miſchief, he had many Troops of Horſe, and ſome Lanciers ſent him: *Truchon* alſo Preſident of *Grenoble*, caſt ſixty of the chiefeſt of the Proteſtants into priſon at *Valence*, whilſt *Mangiron* pillaged thoſe of *Montelimart*, to whom he had promiſed and ſworn to do no wrong.

A great perſecution in *Dauphine*.

Popiſh perjury

Truchon cauſed two Miniſters at *Valence* to be beheaded, and three of the principal Citizens to be hanged; the reſt he puniſhed with great fines, whippings and baniſhments.

Two Miniſters beheaded.

At *Romans* he hanged two men, whipt one, and afterwards ſent him to the Gallies.

Anno 1559. In *Provence*, a godly Gentleman was traiterouſly maſſacred for his Profeſſion of Religion.

Thoſe of the Religion, ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of all humane aide, reſolved in all their dangers inſtead of ſeeking to man for help, to pray to God, to heare his Word, to continue in true obedience unto it, living in great love and concord one with another, whereby abundance of Papiſts were ſo edified, that by whole Troops they left the Maſſe, and made open Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion.

Arma Eccleſiæ.

A great converſion.

Anno 1561. There happened a great mutiny in the city of *Paris*, raiſed by ſome Prieſts, which rang a Bell while thoſe of the Religion were hearing a Sermon: from which proceeded wounds, murthers, and impriſonments; foure of the Proteſtants were hanged to pleaſe the People, and the reſt paid a fine.

Popiſh malice

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Perſecution in the time of the Civil Wars.

ANNO 1562. The Duke *de Guiſe* paſſing towards *Paris*, and coming near to *Vaſſy*, underſtanding that the Bell rang to a Sermon, which was to be preached in a barne, where were aſſembled about twelve hundred men, women, and children, he preſently went with all his Troops to the barne, and entring into it, they cried out, *Death of God, kill, kill theſe Huguenots*, then did ſome of them ſhoot at thoſe which were in the Galleries, others cut in pieces ſuch as they met with. Some had their heads cleft in twain, others had their armes and hands cut off, ſo that the Wals and Galleries of the Barne were died with the blood of the ſlaine; The Duke with his ſword drawn ſtood amongſt them, charging

Chriſtians murthered at a Sermon.

his men to kill without sparing, especially the young men: Some of these godly persons getting upon the roof, hid themselves there: but at length some of this bloody crew spying of them, shot at them with long peeces, whereby many of them were slain, falling down from the roof like Pigeons. Then they fell to murthering of them all without distinction; the poor Saints of God made no resistance, only praying unto God: and every one running to save himself, as it pleased God to direct him, many men and women were slain; others being sore wounded, escaped, which died shortly after; the poor mans box was taken and emptied? The Minister in the beginning of the Massacre ceased not to preach still, till one discharged his Peece against the Pulpit; Then falling upon his knees, he intreated the Lord to have mercy upon him, and upon his poor persecuted flock; and so coming down from the Pulpit attempted to escape, but by the way received divers wounds, whereupon finding himself as he thought, mortally hurt, he cryed, *Lord into thy hand I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me O Lord God of truth*; yet before he was slain, some took him and carried him before the Duke, who said to him, who made thee so bold thus to seduce the People? Sir, said the Minister, *I am no seducer, but have faithfully preached the Gospel of Jesus Christ to them.* Then did the Duke curse and swear, saying, Death of God, doth the Gospel teach sedition? and calling the Provost, he said, Take this Varlet and hang him upon a Gibbet; Then was the Minister delivered to two Pages, who basely abused him; The Popish women also threw dirt at him, and could scarce be restrained from tearing him to pieces. He was kept close Prisoner, none being suffered to bring him necessaries; and he was oft threatned to be sown up in a sack and drowned; yet at last, through Gods mercy, he was released, at the earnest request of the Prince of *Portion.* The Pulpit was broken down, the slain stript stark naked, and so the Duke departed with his bloody troops, sounding his trumpets as if he had obtain a great victory.

slanders.

A special Providence.

Barbarous cruelty.

When he came to *Paris*, he with the Constable and Marshal of Saint *Andrews*, seized upon the king, defaced and overthrew the places where they of the Religion used to assemble, which so encouraged the Popish Party, that in every place they so abused those of the Religion, as the most cruel Barbarians would have been ashamed to do the like. This caused a Civil war, wherein the Duke of *Guise*, having taken *Roan*, sacked it for three days space, and executed many of the Citizens.

Not long after he went to *Orleance*, boasting that within twenty four houres he would win the town; and neither spare man, woman, nor child in it, and that he would so destroy the town that the memory of it should be extinct for ever; But man purposes, and God disposes; for the same night there was a young Gentleman named *John Poltrot*, who watching his opportunitie, shot him with his Pistol laden with three bullets, whereof he shortly after died; and *Poltrot* declared at his death, that he did it to deliver *France*, and especially the city of *Orleance* from the violence of the Duke of *Guise*; After whose death peace

Gods judgement on Persecutors.

was

was ſhortly after concluded between the Queen-mother and the Proteſtants.

But before this peace took place, thoſe of the Religion ſuffered much in ſundry parts of the Realm.

In *Paris* they were perſecuted cruelly, the Popiſh people being wholly ſet upon blood, and the Parliament there ſparing neither great nor ſmall that fell into their hands, either of that City, or ſuch as were brought thither upon appeal, or ſummons. Perſecution in *Paris*.

At *Senlis* many godly Chriſtians ſuffered much, ſome were beheaded, ſome murthered in a popular tumult, ſome were whipt, ſome impriſoned, ſome fined, and others ſent to the Gallies, not ſparing the ſimple women. Yet, through Gods mercy, ſome eſcaped, amongſt whom was one *John Gardens* and his wife, who living with his wife and child in the fields, at length determined to go back into the city, caſting themſelves upon Gods Providence; but when they came into the ſuburbs, they met ſome who bade the ſouldiers to put them to the ſword. The woman kneeling down begged of the ſouldiers, that if they muſt needs die, they would kill her child firſt, whereby ſhe ſhould die with the more comfort; which ſpeech of hers ſo wrought upon the ſouldiers, that they ſpared all their lives. At *Senlis*. A ſpecial Providence.

In *Chaalons* there was a godly Miniſter called *Fournier*, apprehended and ſpoiled of all that he had: They ſtripped him alſo of his apparel, inſtead thereof putting on him a thredbare cloak, and ſo carried him away in a cart, be reaſon of an hurt that he had gotten in one of his feet; by the way they did nothing but jeere and ſcoffe at him, and every moment he was in danger of his life; the rude People alſo had almoſt pulled him in pieces; but it pleaſed God that he was preſerved by thoſe which had deſigned him to death. When he came to *Munchon* he was caſt into priſon, and after a while there came a Captain to him with many ſouldiers, who mixing mocks and threatnings together, ſware that within three houres he ſhould be hewen in pieces. After them came in ſome of the Judges, commanding the Jailor to load him with irons, ſaying to him, You are not better I am ſure then Saint *Peter*, whom they laid in irons? but if you have as much faith as he, God will then deliver you as he did him, by ſending an Angel to you. I will not, ſaid *Fournier*, compare my ſelf with Saint *Peter*, yet it is not twelve years ago, ſince for preaching the ſame doctrine that *Peter* did, I was impriſoned at *Thoulouſe*, and there was admirably delivered. And though *Peter* was delivered out of priſon, yet in the end he glorified God by his death: and if I ſhall be counted worthy with him to ſuffer for the truth, may it not be ſaid that I have the like precious faith with Saint *Peter*? When they were gone, the Jailor forbore putting bolts upon him, becauſe of his ſore leg, yet did he put him into a ſtraiter priſon. At *Chaalons*. Mr. *Fournier*. Faith.

Afterwards the Duke of *Guiſe* being made Governour in that place, he was put to the torture, where firſt they ſtrained his thumbs ſo hard with a ſmall cord that blood came forth: Then turning his armes be-

hind his back, they hoiſted him up with a rope put between his thumbs, twitching him up and letting him down five or ſix times; they tied alſo great ſtones to both his great toes, and let him hang till his ſpirits failed: then they let him fall with ſuch violence upon his face, that he was grievouſly hurt thereby. Then was he thrown into priſon, and they would not ſuffer him to have a Chirurgion to cure him of the gaſhes which the cords had made in his fleſh even to the bare bones: ſo that his torment and anguiſh was very great, neither could he lift his hands to his mouth, which he was likely to loſe the uſe of. But it ſo fell out by Gods Providence, that after he was condemned, news coming of the Duke *Guiſe* of his death, his enemies began to tremble, and ſome of his Iudges coming to him in priſon, asked him if he did not bear them ill will? He anſwered, that men of his Profeſſion and Religion ought not to bear malice to any, being enjoyned by God to love and pray for thoſe that perſecuted them; Shewing alſo that whatſoever troubles had befallen him, were none other but ſuch as God had fore-ordained for the ſetting forth of his own glory, for which he eſteemed himſelf moſt happy; yet he warned them to lay to heart the wrong that they had done him, leſt the vengeance of God did ſooner or later overtake them for it. The next day *Buſſi*, one of his Perſecutors, having received letters from the Conſtable of *France* to releaſe him, ſwore that he ſhould be delivered indeed, but into the hands of the multitude.

Popiſh cruelty

A ſpecial Providence.

But it pleaſed God that juſt at that time there came by the Prince of *Portien* with his Germane ſouldiers, which were for the Proteſtants, who ſent word that they would not leave ſo much as an houſe ſtanding except they would deliver *Fournier*; This ſo affrighted his enemies that they releaſed him out of priſon, protected him from the violence of the multitude, and conveyed him in ſafety to the Prince; There he was kindly welcomed and entertained, all grieving for the miſeries which he had endured, and two days after he preached before the Prince and his followers, and the day after at the inſtant requeſt of the Proteſtants of *Vitri*, he went to them to preach and baptize their children, and ſhortly after was called to *Vic*, where he gathered a Congregation, and ſpent ſome time amongſt them with wonderful fruit; But by reaſon he was ſo extreamly weakned by his ſtrait impriſonment and tortures, being above fifty years old, he ſoon after finiſhed his courſe, and quietly reſigned up his ſoul unto God.

A ſpecial Providence.

His delivery.

His death.

At *Amiens* Bibles burnt.

At *Amiens*, all Bibles, New Teſtaments, and Pſalm-books were ſought for and openly burnt, as alſo the Miniſters Pulpit: Then did the Guiſians proceed to killing of the Chriſtians, and caſting them into the River, ſome they ſhot to death, and others they hanged.

At *Abbevilly*.

At *Ablevilly* they ſlew the Lord of *Haucourt*, with divers others; one *Beliart* they dragged along the ſtreets with his face downwards, and then drowned him in the river.

At *Meaux*.

At *Meaux* the Proteſtants were the ſtronger Party, and therefore continued the free exerciſe of their Religion for a while, but the Parliament of

Paris

Paris gave judgment againſt them, and expoſed them to the ſpoil of ſuch as would undertake it; Then a company of ſouldiers entring the town, diſarmed the Citizens, and ſlew about foure hundred of the Religion; Then *Mounſieur de Boiſy* entring with more ſouldiers committed a thouſand villanies: women and maids were raviſhed in the open market-place and ſtreets; ſome were beaten and haled to Maſſe; children were re-baptized: others married again; houſes were pillaged and plundred: Some that fled, died with hunger and cold. Many men, women and children, were maſſacred and drowned; infants were daſhed againſt the wals; and ſome others were hanged. The Executioners running into divers places, committed a world of miſchief; and divers *Prieſts* amongſt them ſlew ſome of the Proteſtants with their owne hands.

Abominable villanies.

At *Troys*, Bibles and other Divinity-books were rent and torn in pieces; They of the Religion were murthered, and their houſes ſacked; Eighteen men were hanged; women were dragged through the ſtreets, and caſt into the river; and infants were pulled from their mothers breaſts, and re-baptized.

At *Troys* Bibles burnt.

At *Bar* the Popiſh enemies entring the town, committed ſuch cruelties as never were ſeen, eſpecially againſt women and little children; Some of their breaſts they cut open, pulled out their hearts and gnawed them with their teeth, rejoycing that they had taſted of an *Hugenots* heart; A young Counſellor they hanged at the requeſt of his own father; with moſt horribie blaſphemies they raviſhed women and girles.

At *Bar*. Popiſh cruelty

Mounſieur de S^t. *Eſteen* with his two brothers were cruelly ſtabbed by their own Couſin germane, their wives were ſpoiled of all they had and led away Priſoners.

The Peſants in ſome places committed infinite murthers and miſchiefs againſt thoſe of the Religion; *Monſieur de Vigney* with his wife and ſervants they maſſacred in his own houſe, which afterward they pillaged and ſpoiled.

In *Crant*, the Peſants entring the town, murthred many; one young child together with his father they burnt.

At *Crant*.

In *Sens* one hundred *Proteſtants* were cruelly murthred, and their naked bodies thrown into the river; one hundred houſes were plundred, the Church where they preached was defaced.

At *Sens*.

At *Auxerre* one *Coſſon* was barbarouſly maſſacred; a faire young Gentlewoman was ſtabbbed and caſt into the river; many other outrages and robberies were committed.

At *Auxerre*.

At *Nevers* the Miniſters were caſt into priſon, whereof one periſhed miſerably there; Another miraculouſly eſcaped; children were re-baptized, marriages reiterated, and many houſes plundred.

At *Nevers*.

The popiſh Party entring *Chaſtillon*, left no kind of cruelty un-exerciſed, neither upon women nor children, old nor young; yea not ſparing the women with child that were ready to be delivered.

At *Chaſtillon*.

At *Guyen*. At *Guyen* they uſed all the cruelty that poſſibly could be invented: and ſome *Italians* in hatred of the Religion cut an infant in two pieces, and eat his liver.

At *Montargis*. At *Montargis*, where lived the Lady *Rene*, Dutcheſſe Dowager of *Ferrara*, and daughter to King *Lewis* the twelfth; The Duke of *Guiſe* ſent thither one *Malicorn* a Knight of the Order, who entring the town, murthered ſome of the Religion; committed other outrages; Then he proceeded ſo farre as to threaten the Lady to batter her Caſtle with Canon-ſhot, if ſhe would not deliver up thoſe of the Religion which were with her; To whom the Princeſſe bravely anſwered, *I charge you, look what you enterprize; for no man in the Realme can command me but the King only: and if you proceed to your battery, I will ſtand in the breach, to try whether you dare kill the daughter of a King; neither do I want means or power to be revenged on your boldneſſe, even to the infants of your rebellious race*: This ſtout anſwer made *Malicorne* to pull in his hornes and depart.

A brave anſwer of the Lady *Rene*.

At *Monlius*. At *Monlius*, *Monſieur de Montare* uſed all extremity againſt the Proteſtants; without any forme of law he hanged up two Artificers, drave others out, and plundred their houſes, and murthred many.

At *Mans*. At *Mans*, two hundred perſons were put to death, men, women, and children, the houſes of the Proteſtants were pillaged, ſuch as were fled, were executed by their pictures, their goods confiſcated, and their children made uncapable of their offices and eſtates, yea of inheriting their lands. Some they behtaced; Others they hung up; Others they maſſacred, and being half dead, threw them into the river: above one hundred and twenty men, women, and children were murthered in the neighbouring villages. One Captain threw above fifty perſons into his fiſhpond to feed his pikes, and above as many more were thrown into ditches.

One godly man a Weaver had his throat cut, and his mouth ſtuffed with leaves of a New Teſtament which they found about him.

At *Angers*. At *Angers* they murthered a godly Miniſter, caſt many into priſon, robbed the houſes of others, and ſlew ſuch as they found therein: In a Merchants houſe finding many books of the holy Scriptures, they openly burnt them in the middle of the town; One fair guilt Bible they hung upon an Halberd, and carried it in Proceſſion, ſaying, *Behold truth hanged, the truth of the Huguenots, the truth of all the Devils*; *Behold the mighty God, behold the everlaſting God will ſpeak*; and when they came to the Bridge, they threw it in the river, crying louder, *Behold the truth of all the Devils drowned*.

Bibles burnt.

Horrib'e blaſphemies.

Above eighty other perſons were executed. An aged Gentlewoman of the age of ſeventy years was beaten to death with their piſtols, then drawn through the dirty ſtreets, and thrown into the river, terming her the mother of the devil that preached to the *Huguenots*. A Counſellors wife that lay bedrid was murthered; women and maids were raviſhed: Two young maids raviſhed before their fathers face, who

was

was forced to look on the while: All that were but ſuſpected to be of the Religion, were maſſacred, and their houſes pillaged. A valiant Captain, contrary to their faith given to him, they broke upon a Croſſe, and ſo they left him hanging in great miſery till he died.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

Anno 1562. a Decree was made by the Parliament of *Paris*, commanding all Catholicks preſently to riſe in Armes, to ſound the Bells in every place, to deſtroy all thoſe of the Religion without reſpect of quality, ſexe, or age, to ſpoyle their houſes, and utterly to root them out. This encouraged all raſcals to riſe up in Armes, forſaking their vocations, and to march againſt the Proteſtants.

A bloody Edict.

In *Ligueul* they hanged up ſome, put out the Miniſters eyes, and then burnt him in a ſmal fire: In other places they committed infinite villanies; One young man they flayed alive; The Village of *Aze* they burnt down and maſſacred thirty perſons therein. A godly Miniſter was drowned called *John de Tour*, at ſeventy five yeers old.

In *Ligueul.*

John de Tour.

At *Tours*, one hundred and forty were murdered and caſt into the River; divers others were drowned, ſparing neither man, woman, nor child. The Preſident being ſuſpected to favour them of the Religion, was beaten with ſtaves, ſtript to his ſhirt, hanged up by one foot, his head in the water up to the breaſt, and whilſt he was yet living, they ript up his belly, pluck't out his guts, and threw them into the river; and ſticking his heart upon the point of a Lance, they carried it about, ſaying, It was the heart of the Preſident of the Huguenots.

At *Tours.*

Barbarous cruelties.

Shortly after came thither the Duke *de Monpenſier*, who cauſed gibbets, wheels, and ſtakes to be ſet up, whereupon many more, eſpecially of the richer ſort, were murthered to the number of ſome hundreds: when they put any man or woman to death, they entred their houſes, murthered their children, and took all their goods.

A poor woman, whoſe husband was a little before drowned, having a young infant ſucking at her breaſts, and a beautiful daughter of about ſixteen years old in her hand; Theſe bloody villains drew them to the river: there the woman on her knees prayed ardently unto God: then took her infant, and ſhifting it in the Sun, laid it upon the graſſe: In the mean while this helliſh rabble endeavoured, partly by threats, partly by faire promiſes to ſeduce the young maid, and one of them finer then the reſt, promiſed to marry her if ſhe would do it, ſo that the poor wench ſtood in a diſway, which her mother perceiving, who was now ready to be throwe into the river, ſhe earneſtly exhorted her daughter to perſiſt in the truth; the daughter hereupon cryed out, *I will live and die with my mother, whom I know to be a vertuous woman: as for your threats and promiſes I regard them not, do with me what you pleaſe.* The mother was not yet dead when they threw in the daughter after her, where making towards her mother, they mutually embraced each other, and ſo yielded up their ſouls into the hands of God.

Popiſh ſubtilty

The mother and her daughter drowned.

Alſo in the ſame city there was a godly Matron called *Glee*, who was carried before the Captain, where ſhe gave a reaſon of her faith, and confirmed it by evident teſtimonies of Scripture: She diſputed alſo with

Glee.

Vincit veritas

with ſome Friars, whom ſhe ſo ſilenced that they had nothing to ſay, but that ſhe was in a damnable condition. It ſeems ſo indeed, ſaith ſhe, being in your hands, *but I have a God that will not faile nor forſake me, &c.* Then was ſhe committed to priſon, where ſhe was much ſollicited to recant, but all in vain; for ſhe ſpake her mind freely, and comforted the Priſoners which were in the ſame priſon for Religion. News being brought her that ſhe was condemned to be hanged, and thereupon a rope being put about her neck, ſhe kneeled down, praiſing and magnifying the name of God, in that he ſhewed her ſuch mercy as by this death to deliver her out of the troubles of this wretched world, as alſo for that it pleaſed the Lord to honour her ſo far as to die for his truth, and to wear his livery, meaning the halter; Then ſhe brake her faſt with the reſt of the company, and giving thanks to God, ſhe exhorted them to be of good courage, and to truſt to the end in his free mercy, &c. As ſhe went to execution, a Kinſwoman met her with her little children, perſwading her to recant, whereby ſhe might preſerve her life, and ſee thoſe her Babes provided for; This meeting wrought ſo upon her motherly affection, as made her ſhed plenty of tears; but preſently taking new courage, ſhe ſaid, *I love my children dearly, yet neither for love to them, nor for any thing elſe in the world, will I renounce my God or his truth. God will be a father to theſe my children, and will provide better for them then I could have done, and therefore to his Providence and Protection I commend and leave them.* At the place of execution having prayed to, and praiſed God with a cheerful heart and voice, ſhe quietly reſigned up her ſpirit unto God.

Joy in tribulation.

Tentation reſiſted.

Faith.

Her martyrdome.

Ponteau de Mer.

The Duke *de Aumale* in *Normandy*, took *Ponteau de Mer* by ſubtilty, where he uſed all kinds of cruelty, eſpecially againſt the Miniſter Maſter *Brione*; Shortly after, *Roan* was beſieged, and two Forts taken, wherein they put all to the ſword, the Queen-mother leading the King who was but twelve years old, to ſhew him the naked bodies of the women weltring in their own blood; After divers aſſaults the City of *Roan* was taken, wherein the Kings ſouldiers uſed all kinds of monſtrous cruelty, maſſacring all they met: many Engliſh and Scots ſouldiers were hanged; the ſick and wounded were caſt into the river: Divers Miniſters were in a ſtrong tower, where they yielded upon promiſe of ſafety, but contrary thereto they were caſt into priſon; *Auguſtine Marlorat*, with three Counſellors were condemned to be hanged, which was preſently executed, with many opprobrious ſpeeches againſt *Marlorat*; The ſackage of this town laſted foure moneths together, and divers were executed.

Impudence.

Marlorat hanged.

At Valougre.

In *Valougnes* divers perſons of good quality were maſſacred, and the houſes of the Proteſtants were filled with ſouldiers that did what they liſt therein. Amongſt other outrages they ſlew a godly Miniſter, called *Monſieur de Valougnes*, whoſe body they ſtripped naked, dragd it up and down his houſe with many ſcornes and jears; at laſt bringing it into the chamber where he uſed to preach to his people, they ſpurned his corpſe, ſaying, *Now pray to thy God, and preach if thou canſt*; The Prieſts that were preſent

Monſieur Valougnes.

Popiſh profanenesſe and blaſphemy.

preſent ſtuffed his mouth and wounds with the leaves of his Bible, ſaying to him, *Preach the truth of thy God, and call upon him now to helpe thee.*

In *Vire* as they came from a Sermon, ſome were ſlain, ſome ſtoned, and a while after many were put to the ſword. At *Vire.*

In, and about *Agen*, *Monluc* killed and maſſacred many, two young children were roſted. At *Agen.*

In the Caſtle of *Reime*, *Monluc* uſed great cruelty againſt thoſe of the Religion, ſparing none, but murthering young children in their mothers armes, and then killing the mothers: ſome other women they reſerved for their luſt, which they ſo abuſed, that (ſaith mine Author) I abhorre to write it. Above five hundred men were hanged upon gibbets, amongſt whom was a grave Counſellor in his long gown and ſquare cap. One poor man they cut and mangled in ſeveral parts of his body, filling all his wounds with ſalt. At *Reime.*

In the city of *Blois* there was a godly woman called *Nicola*, at whoſe houſe ſome holy people uſed to meet to pray, and confer together for their mutual edification and comfort. The murtherers hearing of it, came ruſhing in, thinking to have found a Miniſter preaching, but being diſappointed in their expectations, they dragged theſe good women out by the haire of the head, loaded them with many ſtripes, and then threw them into the river; but behold a ſingular Providence! God ſo endowed them with ſtrength and skill, that they ſwam ſafely to an Iſland: yet after a while ſome watermen finding them there, they ſtript them ſtark naked, and threw them again into the river, yet they ſtill ſought to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, and coming at laſt to the ſuburbs of *Vienne*, they were there moſt cruelly knocked on the head by the bloody Papiſts. At *Blois.*

Monluc having defeated a party of the Proteſtants under *Monſieur Duras*, he took divers Priſoners, moſt of which he hanged, eſpecially the Miniſters. Amongſt the Priſoners was a Captain called *La-mothe*, whom *Monluc* meeting with, gave him divers ſtabs with a dagger, and thruſt him through with a rapier, ſaying, *Villain, thou ſhalt die in deſpite of God*; but he proved a lyar; for the man being carried away, though he had many mortal wounds, yet he was wonderfully cured and lived after. Blaſphemy. A miracle.

In *Gaillac*, the murthers committed upon the Proteſtants were many and horrible; and amongſt other this was one of their practices; There was by the city, the Abbey of St. *Michael*, built upon a very high rock, under which ran a ſwift and deep river called *Tar*. Many of the Proteſtants they forced to go up to the top of this rock, whom they threw headlong down into the river; by the way there was another rock, upon which moſt of the bodies falling, were daſhed and broken all to pieces, and if any eſcaped with life into the river, they had their Cut-throats waiting upon the river in boats to knock them on the head; Amongſt others there was one *Peter Domo*, an Apothecaries ſervant, who ſeeing them bent to murther him, requeſted that he might have leave to caſt himſelf down from the top of the Abbey, provided that if God ſhould In *Gaillac.* Herrid cruelties *Peter Domo.*

preſerve him in the fall, they would ſuffer him to eſcape with life; this they promiſed; whereupon having made his Prayers to God, he fetched his leap from the top of the Abbey, and flew ſo far, that miſſing the rocks under him, he fell ſafely into the river, and endeavoured to ſwim out with life, but theſe perfidious Villains, contrary to their promiſe made, knocked him on the head and ſlew him.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

In *Souraize*, there was one Captain *Durre*, who with his ſouldiers going into the houſe of a godly widdow, called *Caſtille Roques*, he cauſed her to be bound with cords, and a rope to be put about her neck, by which he haled her up and down, almoſt ſtrangling her; then he asked her how oft ſhe had played the whore with thoſe of her Religion? She anſwered, *That in their Chriſtian meetings they had no ſuch villanies committed.* *Durre* fretting and fuming at this anſwer, took her by both the cheeks, and oft daſhed her head with ſuch violence againſt the wall, that he had almoſt beaten out her brains; Then he required her to give him the ſeven hundred pieces of gold which ſhe had hidden? ſhe told him that ſhe was a poor woman, and had only one French penny; This more enraged him, whereupon he drew her again about by the neck, and applyed burning hot egges to her arm-pits, till they were all bliſtred, bidding her in deriſion to cry to her father which was in heaven. She anſwered, *I will not cry aloud for thee, and yet my God can heare me well enough, and when his pleaſure is, he will deliver me out of thy hand.* This made him ſo to blaſpheme, that the poor woman was more afflicted to hear his blaſphemies then with all her pains. Then did he call her Huguenote whore, telling her that theſe were but the beginnings of her ſorrows, except ſhe fetched him out her gold, which if ſhe refuſed, he would draw her cheeks and breaſts with Lard, and ſo roſt her quick, and afterwards throw her headlong from the higheſt ſteeple in the town. *Well*, ſaid ſhe, *if you throw my body never ſo low, that ſhall not hinder my ſoul from aſcending into heaven*: This her courage and conſtancy did ſtill further enrage him; Then did he open her mouth with his dagger, and crammed lime down her throat; after which he made her drink a glaſſe of Urine which himſelf had made before her, withal throwing the glaſſe with the remainder into her face. After this he carried her to his quarters, where with ſtrange cruelties he intended to have ſlain her: but ſome of the neighbours pittying her ſad condition, redeemed her from him with ten Crowns, and ſo conveyed her to her houſe, where ſhortly after ſhe finiſhed her days.

Prodigious villanies.

Blaſphemy.

Faith and patience.

Faith.

A ſpecial Providence.

Some other of theſe hel-hounds meeting with one *Peter Roch*, conſtrained him to dig his own grave, and then to try how it fitted him; which whilſt he was doing, they buried him alive.

Peter Roch buried quick.

In Saint *Martins* in *Caſtillon*, they took the wife of one *Andrew Renaud*, ſtripped her ſtark naked, and would have violated her chaſtity, which ſhe reſiſting, they whipt her moſt cruelly, wounded her with their ſwords, crowned her with thorns, and laſtly ſhot her to death.

Two crowned with thorns.

They took alſo one *Ianetta Calvin*, whom they carried into the city of *Brignole*, ſtripped her, whipt her cruelly, crowned her vvith thorns, and

Ianetta Calvin

and firſt ſtoned, and afterwards burned her.

In *Mont de Marſan*, ſix of the principal men had their heads ſtricken off, others were executed divers ways; One was buried quick; and a young woman being purſued to be raviſhed, threw her ſelf out of a window and died. At *Mont Marſan.*

In *Tholouſe* the Papiſts fell upon the Proteſtants, hurt many, killed ſome outright, divers they threw into a Well; Then did ſome Counſellors proclaim, that they ſhould not ſpare to kill and ſpoil all them of the Religion, for that they were licenſed by the King and Pope. This ſoon ran through all the Villages, and the Papiſts rang their bels; In *Tholouſe* were about thirty thouſand Proteſtants, ſo that there began one of the moſt horrible Maſſacres that was in thoſe parts. The priſons were preſently filled, and many were knocked on the head at the priſon-doors, becauſe they could hold no more; the river in a ſhort ſpace was covered with dead bodies; many were thrown into the ſtreets out at the windows: if any ſought to eſcape out of the water, they were preſently ſlain with ſwords or ſtones. In *Tholouſe.* Horrible cruelties.

Some of the Proteſtants gat into the town-houſe, where they ſtood upon their guard, and at laſt it was agreed, that leaving their armes, they ſhould depart in ſafety; and ſo after they had received the Sacrament, commended themſelves to God with prayers and ters, they came forth; but contrary to the faith and promiſe made to them, the Popiſh party ſeiſed upon as many as they could, whom they caſt into priſon, of ſuch as gat out of the city, ſome eſcaped to *Montaubon*, others in the way were ſpoiled and killed by the Souldiers and Peſants. Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

At *Carcaſſon* thoſe of the Religion being gone out of the town to heare a Sermon, when they returned, the gates were ſhut, and the Papiſts ſhot at them, who afterwards iſſuing out againſt them, ſlew ſome and hurt others: One they beat down, cutting off his noſe and ears, and pulling out his eyes: Some they took Priſoners, whom they hanged; one they beheaded, and put others to great ranſomes. One they took, blacked his face, hands and feet, and gave it out that he had a divel within him, then hanged him and threw his body to the dogs; Others they baniſhed, or condemned to the Gallies. *Carcaſſon.* Popiſh lyes.

In *Limoux* the Papiſts uſed all manner of cruelty, deflouring women and very girles in a moſt deteſtable manner; The Miniſter was ſlain, two Gentlemen and ſixty others were hanged. A widdow of great account redeemed the Virginity of her only daughter with a great ſumme of mony; but the Villain that promiſed to defend her, raviſhed her in her mothers preſence, and then killed them both. Yea after peace was proclaimed, fourteen of the Religion coming thither were all ſlain. At *Limoux.* Abominable villany.

In *Nonnay*, *Monſieur Chaumont* having ſurpriſed the town, murthered many Proteſtants, ſpitting out infinite and horrible blaſphemies againſt God himſelf: A Lockſmith being commanded to deſpite and blaſpheme God, becauſe he refuſed to do it, was preſently hewen in pieces; for the ſame cauſe another was brained with the but end of a muſket; At *Nonnay.* Blaſphemy. Barbarous cruelties.

A naylor, becauſe he would not give himſelf to the devil, was drawn about his ſhop by the ears; then being laid on his anvile, they beat his head in pieces with hammers; yea all manner of cruelty was uſed that could be deviſed; Three of the principal in the town, were thrown down from an high tower; many other were thrown down to make ſport: Some were burnt in their houſes, others thrown out at windows: others ſtabbed in the ſtreets: women and maids were moſt ſhamefully handled; a young woman that was found hid in an houſe with her husband, was firſt raviſhed before her husbands face, then forced to hold a Rapier; wherewith one thruſting her arme, made her kill her own husband.

At *Foix.*

In *Foix*, many Proteſtants were caſt into priſon, of whom ſome had their armes and legs cut off, and then were beheaded; Some burnt, ſome hanged, and others ſent to the Gallies.

At *Aurange.*

In *Aurange* they killed the Proteſtants without diſtinction of age, ſex, or quality: Some they ſtabbed, others they threw upon the points of Halberds; Some they hanged, others they burnt in the Churches; Of ſome they cut off their privy members, ſparing neither old nor bedrid, nor the diſeaſed in the Hoſpitals. Women and maids were killed, others hanged out at windows were harquebuſhed, ſucking children maſſacred at their mothers breaſts; girles of five or ſix years old raviſhed and ſpoiled; the wounds of the dead were filled with leaves torne out of Bibles. Thoſe in the Caſtle yielding upon oath and promiſe of ſafety, were all ſtabbed, or thrown over the wals, being one hundred and ninety of them.

Horrible cruelties.

Perfidiouſnes

At *Grenoble.*

In *Grenoble*, they ſlew many of the Religion, and others they caſt from the bridge into the river.

At *Ciſterno.*

In *Ciſteron*, the men that were of the Religion being fled, the Popiſh party fell upon the women and children, whereof they ſlew three or foure hundred: Some women with child were rip't up, many were buried quick: Some had their throats cut like ſheep, others were drawn through the ſtreets, and beaten to death with clubs.

In *Beaune.*

In *Beaune*, they were bereaved of the exerciſe of Religion, their three Miniſters impriſoned; many were driven out of the town to the number of eight hundred with women and children: their houſes were filled with ſouldiers who made ſpoile of all; ſuch as were found in their houſes, were vilely abuſed, and ſome were ſlain.

At *Maſcon.* *Bonnet Bor* a godly Miniſter

In *Maſcon* the bloody Perſecutors having apprehended a godly and learned Miniſter called *Bonnet Bor*, who was of a very unblameable life, having ſerved twenty years in the Miniſtry, and in that time had been put to his ranſome three times; they carried him along the ſtreets with a thouſand ſcoffes and ſcorns, ſmiting him with their fiſts, thruſting him up and down, and then made a Proclamation, *That whoſoever would heare this holy man preach, ſhould come to the ſlaughter-houſe*; at which place they again buffeted and mocked him two hours together: Hereupon he requeſted them that before his death they would permit him to pray to God: Then one ſtepping to him cut off half his noſe, and one of his

Barbarous cruelty.

ears,

ears, saying, *Now pray as long as thou wilt, and then we will send thee to all the devils*; and so this holy man kneeling down, prayed with such fervency of spirit that few sighs from some of the murtherers: and afterwards directing his speech to him that had cut off his nose, he said, *Friend, I am now ready to suffer what thou hast further to inflict upon me; But I intreat thee and thy companions to bethink you well of the outrages committed by you against this poor city; for there is a God in heaven, before whose Tribunal you must shortly give an account of these your cruelties.* A Captaine passing by, cried, send that wretched man to the devil, which one of them hearing, took him by the hand, pretending to have him to the river to wash off his blood, but when he came thither he threw him into it, buttering him with stones till he was drowned.

Courage, and constancy.

His martyrdome.

CHAP. XXXV.

The History of the Massacre at Paris.

ANNO 1571. After the end of the third Civil War in *France*, great meus was used to draw the chief of the Protestants to *Paris*, under pretence of a marriage between the Prince of *Navar* and the Lady *Margaret* sister to the King of *France*; but in the mean time the Papists in *Ron* murthered divers Protestants as they came from a Sermon, and grivously beat others; this seemed much to displease the King, and three or foure were executed for the mutiny; Then were the Articles of marriage agreed upon; The place for it, *Paris*: and the Admiral sent for by the King to be present at the wedding, and to prevent all Jealouses, those of the house of *Guise* were sent away, whereat they seemed much discontented. The Admiral was allowed to bring with him fifty Gentlemen armed for his greater security. When he came to *Paris*, he was honourably received and conducted to the King, who cals him hi father, protesting that in all his life he had not seen any day more ageeable to his mind then that, wherein he assured himself to see the end of all troubles, and the beginning of firm peace and quietnesse in his realm: the Queen-mother and the rest of the great Courtiers received him with greater favour then he expected: Then did the King send him one hundred thousand Franks out of his treasury for the losse which he had received in the wars, &c.

Divelliſh dissimulation.

The Admiral had divers advertisements of the intended treachery; yet God so blinded him at that time, though a very prudent man, that he gave little heed to them. Yea such a general stupidity seized upon the Protestants, that their minds were very wavering, and few there were that shewed themselves zealously bent to Religion; but all both great and small, minking deeply upon worldly matters, built them goodly Castles in theire.

Sin the forerunner of persecution.

Then was the Queen of *Navar* sent for by the King of *France* to *Paris*,

to prepare all things against the wedding: but presently after her coming she fell sick of a Feavor, made her will in a most Christian manner, had much inward joy and comfort, and at five days end died, not without suspition of poison from certain perfumes given to her: and after her death the Chirurgions were not suffered to open her head, where the mischief lay, whereby it was the better concealed.

The Queen of *Navar* dieth.

The Admiral was again advertised of his danger; but he resting upon the testimony of a good conscience, and the Providence of God, misinterpreted those advices, as if they proceeded from men desirous of new troubles. Many Lords and Gentlemen of the Religion, accompanied the King of *Navar*, and the Prince of *Conde* to *Paris*.

Dissimulation.

The King of *France*, the better to delude the Protestants, spake openly, that he gave not his sister to the King of *Navar* only, but as it were to the whole Church of the Protestants to joyn with them in an indissoluble union, and as a tie to their peace and safety.

The King of *Navar* married.

August. 17. *Anno* 1572. The King of *Navar* and the Lady *Margaret* were married by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, upon a scaffold in the sight of all the people, and that day was spent in banquets, dances, and masks, with a strange mixture of Protestants and Papists together; but in the mean time the Queen mother with her Privados, as also the Duke of *Anjou* with the *Guises*, consulted about killing the Admiral, and dividing the Protestants.

The Admiral shot.

Five days after, as the Admiral came from the Court, accompanied with about fifteen Gentlemen, reading a petition as he went, one shot at him with a Caliver; the bullet taking away his righ fore-finger, hurt him in the left arme: he that shot had a Spanish Jennet at the back-door of his lodging, upon which he immediately mounted and escaped: The door being burst open, it was found that the Caliver left behind, was brought to the house the day before by one *Thally*, steward of the Kings house, and a great dealer for the Duke of *Guise*; the Admiral being conveied to his loding, shewed most admirable Piety, Patience and constancy.

Dissimulation.

The King complained of the mischief, swearing ad promising to execute such justice upon the offendor, that the Admiral and all his friends should think themselves well satisfied. He cased also all the gates of *Paris* to be shut, swearing and blaspheming, that he would not that they which had done the fact should escape; he also appointed many Lords and Gentlemen of the Protestants to bdge in the Admirals quarter, the better, as he pretended, to secure themselves against danger.

Good counsel neglected.

After noon the King went to visit the Admiral, and there with many Oaths & Protestations, assured him of his love to him, ore over him and them of the Religion, and that he would severely punin the Authors of his present hurt. Presently after the *Vidame* of *Chartres* [*John de Ferriers*,] advised the King of *Navar*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Admiral, and other chief Lords of the Religion, presently to depart out of *Paris*, assuring them that that blow was but the beginning of the Tragedy

which

which was soone to ensue, but they trusting to the Kings word, rested secure.

That day also the King wrote to the Ambassadors of forrein Princes, and to the Governours of all his Provinces how much he was offended at the Admirals hurt, how severely he would punish it, yea he desired that all the world might know how much he was offended at it; and the Queen-mother wrote the like. Deep dissimulation.

In the mean time the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Guise* employed some to go from house to house to take the names of all the Protestants, and to return the Catalogue to them, so that presently after they of the Religion began to discover that there were some bloody intentions against the Admiral and his friend. For the King set a guard of fifty Harquebushiers at the Admirals gate. Great store of Armes were carried into the Loure, and about evening all the people were in Armes. The Massacre suspected.

The chief of the Protestants hereupon assembled again in the Admirals lodging, where the *Vidame* of *Chartres* advised as before, that they should essay presently to carry the Admiral out of *Paris*, and that the rest should presently dislodge, yet all the rest refused this counsel, resolving to relie upon the Kings word, who had promised them Justice.

In the evening some Protestant Gentlemen proffered to watch with the Admiral, but that was not suffered: At night the Duke of *Guise* sent for the Captain of the Switzers, shewing him his Commission to kill the Admiral and all his partakers, exhorting him and his men to be couragious in shedding of blood. The Kings Commission shewed for it. At midnight the Provost, Sheriffs, and Captains of every Ward had the same shewed them, with assurance that through the whole Realme the like should be done to all the Protestants, and that the watchword for the general Massacre should be the tolling of the Bell in the Pallace to be rung at the break of day, and the Badge of the Executioners should be a white Handkerchief tied on their armes, and a white Crosse in their hats: The Duke of *Guise* and his Associates were to begin at the Admirals lodging: Some of the Protestants awakened with the noise in the streets of men running up and down in armes, and with torches, gat up to enquire what was the matter; but presently the Bell rung, and the Duke of *Guise* with his cutthroats hasted to, and knocked at the Admirals gates: he that opened them was presently stabbed; The Admiral hearing the noise, gat out of bed, and joyned with his Minister [Master *Merlin*] in fervent prayer, commending his soul into the hands of God; Then said he, *It is long since I disposed my self to die, save you your selves if it be possible, for you cannot save my life, I commit my soul into the hands and mercy of God*; Then did *Merlin* his Minister, and the rest get up to the top of the house, and crept out of windows into the gutters to hide themselves, yet most of them were slain in the next house: Then seven or eight men brake into the Admirals chamber, and one of them went to him with his naked sword offering him the point, to whom he said; *Young man, thou oughtest to respect my age and infirmity, yet shalt thou not shorten my life*, with that he thrust him

The Massacre begins.

Of *Merlins* miraculous escape, see in my book of examples.

The Admiral slain.

him into the body, and all the reſt laid at him, ſo that he fell to the ground, where he lay gasping: The Duke of *Guiſe* below called to them to throw his body out at window, which they did: his face being all blood, the Duke of *Guiſe* wiped it, and looking on it, ſaid, *Now I know him, it is he*, and ſo kicked him on the face with his foot, whom all the murtherers in *France* feared ſo much when he was alive.

Then went he out into the ſtreets, crying, Courage my fellows, we have here made a good beginning, let us now fall upon the reſt, the King commands it; it is his expreſſe pleaſure, he commands it. The Admirals head was ſent to the King and Queen-mother, and by them ſent to the Pope and Cardinal of *Lorrain* as a grateful preſent; The common people cut off the Admirals hands and privy members, drawing his body about the ſtreets three days, and then hung it by the feet upon the Gallows.

His head imbalmed, and ſent to the Pope.

Popiſh cruelty

All the Attendants of the King of *Navar* and Prince of *Conde* which lay in the Kings Palace were maſſacred; the like was done to the Lords and Gentlemen that lay about the Admirals lodging, and then through all the city were the Proteſtants murthered, ſo that that night and the two next days there were ſlain in *Paris* about ten thouſand perſons of all ranks, ages, and ſexes, yea they ſpared not children in the Cradle, nor infants in their mothers wombs. But to colour this their villany, they gave it out, that the Huguenots had conſpired to kill the King; They boaſted alſo that they had in one day done that, which Proceſſes, ſentences of Juſtice, and open Warre could not do in twelve years.

Ten thouſand ſlain in *Paris*.

Popiſh lies.

The Lords and Gentlemen were moſt inhumanely murthered, ſome in their beds, others on the roofs of their houſes, and in all other places whereſoever they were found.

There were at this time in *Paris* above ſixty thouſand men with piſtols, pikes, Curtelaces, poinards, knives, and ſuch other bloody inſtruments, that ran up and down ſwearing and blaſpheming the ſacred Majeſty of God, cruelly maſſacring all that they met: The ſtreets were covered with mangled bodies, gates and doors defiled with blood; Shoutings and howlings of the murtherers, mixed with the cries and groans of the dying; the breaking open of doors and windows with the noiſe of guns and piſtols, all which made an helliſh noiſe; multitudes of dead bodies were thrown into the *Seine*, which was died red with their blood.

The river died red with blood

The king certified the king of *Navar* and the Prince of *Conde* of all that was done, ſaying, that he ſaved their lives on condition that they ſhould renounce their religion, and turn Papiſts. The king of *Navar* deſired him not to force his conſcience, but to remember the Alliance ſo lately contracted betwixt them: The Prince of *Conde* with more zeal told him that his body and eſtate were in his power to do with them what he pleaſed; but for his Religion he was fully purpoſed not to forſake it, but to remain conſtant therein to the loſſe of his life; he put the king in mind alſo that he had given his faith to him, and to thoſe

Prince of *Conde's* zeal, and courage.

of

of the Religion, and therefore he hoped he would not falſifie his oath, &c. This ſo enraged the king that he called him rebel, and the ſonne of a rebellious perſon, with horrible threatnings that he ſhould loſe his head if within three days he altered not his mind.

The king and his Confidents perceiving that this Maſſacre would not quench the fire, but rather ſtir up the Proteſtants in other parts of the kingdome to defend themſelves; they preſently diſpatched away letters to the Governours of Towns, with expreſſe commands to maſſacre all the Proteſtants: yet at the ſame time the king wrote other letters, wherein he laid the fault of the murther of the Admiral to the Duke of *Guiſe*: pretending that he had quieted all things preſently, and intended that his Edicts of pacification ſhould hold inviolably.

Divelliſh diſſimulation.

Upon the receipt of the firſt letters, the Papiſts fell upon the Proteſtants at *Meaux*, *Trois*, *Orleance*, and other places, and murthered them without all pity, beſides ſuch as were maſſacred in Villages and Fields, where they thought to ſave themſelves, ſo that in a few weeks there were above thirty thouſand perſons maſſacred in *France*. But beſides this general account, ſome particulars deſerve remembrance, which are theſe that follow.

Above thirty thouſand maſſacred in three moneths.

Monſieur de la Place, Preſident of the Court of Requeſts, had a Captain armed that came into his houſe, telling him that the Duke of *Guiſe*, had ſlain the Admiral at the kings appointment, with many other Huguenots, and that he was come to protect him in that common deſtruction, only he deſired a ſight of the Gold and Silver that was in his houſe: The *L. de la Place* amazed at his audaciouſneſſe, asked him whether he thought that there was a king or no? The Captain blaſpheming, willed him to go with him to know the kings pleaſure; Hereupon the Lord went from him to ſecure himſelf; Then did the Captain rifle his houſe, taking above one thouſand Crowns: The Lord would have ſecured himſelf in three ſeveral houſes, all which refuſed to entertain him, which cauſed him to go back to his own houſe again, where he found his wife very heavy, whom he rebuked, diſcourſed to her of the promiſes, told her that we muſt through many afflictions enter into the kingdome of God, &c. which much comforted her: Then calling his family together, he made an exhortation to them, went to prayer, and began to read a chapter in *Iob* with *Calvins* Expoſition upon it. Then went he to Prayer again, reſolving to ſuffer all torments or death, rather then to do any thing that might be diſhonourable to God: Then came the Provoſt-Marſhal with many Archers to his houſe, pretending to ſecure him, and ſafely to convay him to the King, who would ſpeak with him; *De la Place* told him that he was moſt willing to do it, but ſaw it impoſſible, in regard of the horrible maſſacres committed every where, without apparent danger of his life; In brief, preſently after came the Provoſt of Merchants, who would needs alſo have him to the King, yet he would have excuſed it as before, but the Provoſt would have no nay, wherefore reſolving upon death, which he ſaw he could

The Lord *de la Place* his holy zeal.

not avoid, he embraced his wife, wishing her above all things, to continue in the fear of God, and so went on his way boldly; but in the street some murtherers that attended there for his coming, with their daggers stabbed him, and then pillaged him, carrying his body into a stable, and covering his face over with dung, and the next day threw him into the river.

The Lord *de la Place* murthered,

Peter Ramus murthered.

Peter Ramus also, the Kings Professor in Logick was not forgotten, the murtherers breaking into the Colledge of Priests where he was, massacred him, then cast him out of the chamber-window, so that his bowels issued out on the stones: then was his body trailed through the streets and whipt by certain young schollers, who were set on by their popish Tutors.

A dutiful and loving sonne.

A godly young man going early abroad on the Sabbath morning, and hearing of the death of the Admiral, and seeing the insurrection, out of a singular child-like affection to his mother, he hasted home, informed her of the danger, secured her in a place of great secresie; after which he shut himself up in his study by Prayer to fit himself for death, into which the murtherers breaking with battelaxes and staves, so loaded him with blows on the head, that he received his blood into his own hands; and when they had killed him, they threw him into the river.

Two Ministers murthered.

Two Ministers belonging to the King of *Navar* were also murthered, and thrown into the river. God miraculously preserving all the other Ministers in the city.

Hellish cruelty.

A Jeweller being in bed with his wife, who at that time had the midwife with her; being neer the time of her delivery, these bloody Villains came knocking at the door, and in the Kings name demanded entrance; the woman as ill as she was, opened the door, whereupon rushing in, they stabbed her husband in his bed; the Midwife seeing that they were bent to murther the woman also, earnestly intreated them to tarry at least so long till the infant (which would be the twentieth child that God had given her) was born; but notwithstanding her request, they took the woman, and thrust a dagger into her fundament up to the hilts; the woman finding her self mortally wounded, yet desirous to bring forth her fruit, fled into a corn-loft, whether these tygers pursuing her gave her another stab into the belly, and so cast her out of the window into the street, and upon the fall, the child came forth of her body, the head formost, gaping and yauning in a pitiful manner.

One of these murtherers snatching up a little child in his armes, the poor babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him; but instead of being moved to compassion, this villain, whose heart was harder then the rocks, wounded it with his dagger, and cast it all gore blood into the river.

At *Meaux*.

The Kings letters being come to *Meaux* the same Sabbath to *Cosset*, the Kings Atturney there, upon the sight of them, he presently went about to his cutthroats, warning them to come to him armed at seven a clock at night, withal, causing the gates of the city to be shut up; The houre being come, he with his Partizans went up and down, cruelly mur-

murthering the innocent ſervants of Ieſus Chriſt, in which bloody imployment they ſpent all that night; The next day they pillaged their houſes; took above two hundred Proteſtants, and ſhut them up in priſon: The next day towards evening, *Coſſet* with his companions went to the priſon, where having a Catalogue of the priſoners, *Coſſet* called them out one by one, and then they murthered them till they were a weary: then they went to ſupper, that ſo they might breath and refreſh themſelves; and then filling themſelves with wine, they went back to glut themſelves with blood alſo; They took with them butchers axes that they might diſpatch them the more eaſily, with which as they called them forth, they knocked them down and murthered them; Amongſt thoſe that were thus butchered, was an Elder of the Reformed Church, who praying for his enemies, they laughed him to ſcorne, and becauſe he had a Buffe-coat on, which they were loath to ſpoil, they opened it before, and ſtabbed him into the breaſt.

Two hundred Proteſtants murthered.

Another was an ancient man, that had been Sheriffe of the city; him they were not content to kill out-right, but firſt cut off his noſe, ears, and privy members, then they gave him ſeveral ſmall thruſts into the body, toſſing him up and down, till through loſſe of blood he fell down, calling upon the name of the Lord, and ſo with many wounds he was ſlain.

The Kings letters being come to *Troys*, the Proteſtants were all ſhut up in priſon; Then did the Bailiffe ſend for the common Hangman to murther them; but he refuſed, ſaying, that his office was only to execute ſuch as were legally condemned, and ſo went his way: Then was the Keeper of the priſon ſent for, who being ſick, he ſent one *Martin* to know what the buſineſſe was, to whom the Bailiffe imparted the matter, wiſhing him to murther all the Priſoners; and that their blood might not run out into the ſtreet, he bade him to make a great trench in the midſt of the priſon, and to cauſe certain veſſels to be ſet in it to receive the blood; This *Martin* going back with abhorrency of the fact, concealed it from the Iailor: The next day the Bailiffe came to the priſon, and ſmiling, asked the Iailor if it was done? but he being ignorant of his meaning, asked him what ſhould be done? Hereupon the Bailiffe was ſo enraged that he was ready to ſtrike him with his dagger, till he promiſed to perform his Will; Then did the Iailor go to the Priſoners who were in the Court recreating themſelves, and ſhut them up one by one in their ſeveral Cels, which made them ſuſpect that they were deſtinated to ſlaughter, and therefore they betook themſelves to prayer; The Jaylor called his companions about him, acquainted them what was given him in charge, and cauſed them to ſwear to execute it; but when they appproached to the priſoners, they were ſo ſurprized with feare, that they ſtood gazing one upon another, having not hearts to act ſo horrid a deed; whereupon they returned to the Iaylors lodge, and ſent for eight quarts of the ſtrongeſt wine, with other things, to intoxicate their brains; then they took a Catalogue of all their priſoners, and gave it to one *Martin* to call them forth in order: The firſt priſoner being called for, preſented himſelf with a cheerful countenance, calling

At *Troys*.

Gods Providence.

Prodigious wickedneſſe and cruelty.

ling upon the name of the Lord, then opened his breaſt to them, receiving the mortal ſtroke, whereof he died.

Courage and conſtancy of Gods people

Another being called forth, one of them thruſt at him ſeveral times with the point of his Halbard, wounding but not killing him, whereupon the Priſoner took the point of the Halbert, and ſet it againſt his heart, ſaying with a ſtedfaſt voice, *Here ſouldier, here, right at the heart, right at the heart,* and ſo finiſhed his life.

The reſt were all murthered in the like manner, after which the murtherers made a great pit in the back-ſide of the priſon, into which they caſt the bodies one upon another, ſome of them yet breathing: yea one of them raiſed up himſelf above his fellows, whereupon they threw in earth and ſo ſmothered him: But the Bailiffs order of making a trench being not obſerved, the blood of the ſlain ran ſo abundantly out of the priſon-door, that thence, through the channel, it ran into the river, and turned it into the colour of blood, which bred an horrour in the very Papiſts themſelves which ſaw it.

The Maſſacre at *Orleance*.

At *Orleance* the Kings Edict for obſerving the Treaty of Peace was ſolemnly publiſhed, which made thoſe of the Religion very ſecure, whereupon above three hundred of them, men, women, and children met together at a Sermon; but the ſame night came the Kings letters for the maſſacring of them all; Then did the Major and Sheriffs raiſe the companies in Armes to put it in execution: One of theſe murtherers with ſome of his companions went to a Noble Counſellors houſe, bidding themſelves to ſupper; The Counſellor ignorant of their intents made them good cheere; but when ſupper wss ended, with horrible blaſphemies they murthered him, and then plundred his houſe.

A Noble Counſellor.

Monſtrous ingratitude.

About the Ramparts of the wall inhabited many of the Religion, amongſt whom all night was heard nothing but ſhooting of guns and piſtols, breaking open of doors, fearful out-cries of the men, women, and children that were maſſacred, trampling of horſes, rumbling of Carts that carried the dead bodies away, and the cryings out of the murtherers that went up and down, howling out, *Kill, kill them all, and then take the ſpoile.*

Blaſphemy.

This Maſſacre continued all the week long, the bloody beaſts crying out to thoſe whom they murthered, where is now your God? what is become of all your Prayers and Pſalmes now?' Let your God whom you cal'd upon, ſave you if he can? Others ſang in ſcorn to them, the 43. *Pſalm, Iudge and revenge my cauſe O Lord.* Others, *Have mercy on me O God, &c.* Yet notwithſtanding all theſe taunts, the faithful died couragiouſly. In this Maſſacre the Papiſts boaſted that they had ſlain above twelve thouſand men, beſides women and children, ſome of them ſaid eighteen thouſand.

A Doctor of the law.

On Tueſday night ſome of theſe murtherers came and knocked at the door of a Doctor of the Civil law, and when he opened it to them, they told him that he muſt die, whereupon he fell to Prayer with ſuch ardency and affection, that they being amazed and over-ruled by a divine power, only robbed him and went away; The next day came ſome ſchollers to his houſe deſiring to ſee his Library, which he ſhewed them

them; then they asked some one book, some another, which he gave them; yet they told him they were not satisfied, but they must kill him; whereupon betaking himself to Prayer, when he had done, he desired them to kill him there, which they refused, forcing him out into the streets, leading him by the schools, and there he again desired them to kill him in that place, where he had taught so long; but they still refused; and when they had led him a little further, they knockt him on the head.

An Apothecary.

Others meeting with an Apothecary who had brought Physick to a Patient, cut off one of his armes, and then had him forth into the market place, where they murthered him.

A Cook.

A Cook that had hid himself three dayes, was at last through hunger forced to come forth, and so was slain.

The reward of Apostates.

And to fulfill the measure of their cruelty, such Protestants as through fear revolted to them, they placed them in the forefront of their companies, putting weapons in their hands, compelling them to give the first onset, crying, *Smite them, smite them, are they not your holy brethren and sisters?* and if any refused, they presently slew him.

In *Lyons*, *Mandolet* Governour thereof, hearing of the Massacre at *Paris*, presently caused the city gates to be shut, raised forces, commanding them that if any of the Protestants came out of their houses, though but with swords, they should presently kill them, but the Protestants seeing a storme coming, which they knew could not arise without the special Providence of God, set themselves to bear it with invincible patience; The day following if any of them did but go abroad about their necessary occasions, they were presently clapt up in prison, and when night came, they entred their houses, which they rifled and plundred, and pretending to carry them to prison, some they stabbed in the streets, others they threw into the river, whereof some were carried down the stream half a mile below the city, by which means they escaped; The day after Proclamation was made by sound of Trumpet, that all of the Religion should appear at such a place to know the Kings pleasure concerning them; many went, but so soon as they came they were sent to several prisons, and the night following every corner and part of the city was full of lamentable cries and shreekings, partly of such as were massacred in their houses, partly of such as were but half murthered, and so haled to be thrown into the river, and from that time there were such horrible murthers committed in the city, as if the devils in the likenesse of men ran roaring about to do mischief; The Sabbath morning following those that had hitherto escaped massacring, were then dispatched.

The patience of the Saints.

Gods providence.

Popish malice and cruelty.

Three hundred and fifty murthered.

In the Arch-bishops house there were three hundred and fifty Prisoners shut up, and a bloody crue of cutthroats were appointed to murther them, to whom the keys were delivered, and they rushing into the great Court, gave notice to the prisoners with a loud voice that they must die; then having first taken all the Prisoners purses, they fell upon them with barbarous cruelty, hacking and hewing of them in a

furious manner, ſo that within an houre and an half, they were every one cut in pieces, the Priſoners were all ſlain, with their eyes and hands lift up to heaven, whilſt their hands and fingers were cut off.

Francis de Boſſu and his two ſons.

There was a Merchant called *Francis de Boſſu* that had two ſons, who ſeeing the horrible Maſſacres, ſaid to his ſons, *Children, we are not now to learn that it hath alwayes been the portion of beleevers to be hated, perſecuted, and devoured by unbeleevers, as Chriſts ſheep of ravening wolves; if we ſuffer with Chriſt, we ſhall alſo reign with him: let not therefore theſe drawn ſwords terrifie us, they will be but as a bridge whereby we ſhall paſſe to eternall life: we have lived long enough amongſt the wicked, let us now go and live with our God, let us joyfully go after this great company that is gone before us, &c.* When he ſaw the murtherers come, he claſped his armes about his two ſons, and they theirs about him, as if they ſtrove mutually to ward off the blowes each from other, who were afterwards found dead in theſe mutuall imbraces.

Prodigious cruelty.

The murtherers went up and down the City boaſting that they had died their white doublets red in the blood of the Huguenotes; one bragging that he had killed an hundred, and ſome more, and ſome leſſe: when the people went into the Arch-Biſhops houſe, and ſaw the ſlaughter that had been made there, though Papiſts, they ſaid, that ſurely they were not men, but Devils in the habit of men that had done this. The dead corpſes were carried out, and lay ſpread like dung upon the face of the earth, and when they were about to throw them into the river, an Apothecary told them that much money might be made of their greaſe, whereupon all the fat bodies were ſought out, ripped up, and their greaſe ſold for three ſhillings a pound; which being done, after many jears beſtowed upon the dead carcaſſes, ſome were tumbled into a great pit, others thrown into the river. The Countries which lay below upon the river were amazed to ſee ſuch multitudes of dead bodies to come down; ſome with their eyes pulled out, others their noſes, eares, and hands cut off; ſtabbed into every part of their bodies, ſo that ſome had no part of humane ſhape remaining.

Their greaſe is ſold.

Shortly after the Popes Legat came thither, and as he came out of the great Church from Maſſe, all the chief Maſſacrers kneeled down for to have his abſolution, and when he was told who they were, and why they kneeled there, he abſolved them all by making the ſigne of the Croſſe.

At *Angiers*.

Hypocriſie.

A Gentleman of *Paris*, as ſoone as the Maſſacre was ended there, went to *Angiers*, and coming to the houſe of a reverend, godly, and learned Miniſter called Maſter *John Maſon*, meeting his wife at the doore, he ſaluted her, asking where her husband was? ſhe ſaid that he was walking in his garden, directing him the way to him; when he came to him, he lovingly imbraced him, and then ſaid, *Do you know wherefore I am come to you? the King hath commanded me preſently to kill you*; and therewithall he preſented a piſtol to his breaſt; the Miniſter replyed that he knew not wherein he had offended the King; *But ſeeing*, ſaid he,

you will have my life, pray you give me leave to pray to God, and to begge mercy at his hands; which being granted, he made a ſhort prayer, and then willingly preſented his body to the murtherer, who piſtolled him, and ſo departed.

A godly Miniſter piſtolled.

Preſently after the King ſent one *Pugilliard*, who drowned nine or ten more in that place, and amongſt the reſt, the wife of this Mr. *Maſon*, who ſhewed an admirable conſtancy of faith, even to her laſt breath.

And his wife murthered.

In *Roan* in a few dayes they murthered above ſix thouſand men beſides women, upon whom they exerciſed no leſſe cruelty then upon the men, their dead bodies they carried out in tumbrels, and threw them by heaps into great pits digged for that purpoſe.

At *Roan* ſix thouſand murthered.

The newes of the maſſacre of *Paris* coming to *Tholouſe*, the great gates of the City were preſently ſhut up; but it pleaſed God, that that morning moſt of the Proteſtants were gone out of the City to hear a Sermon; The report of the ſhutting up of the gates coming to them, ſome thought it not fit to return, others would needs go back to take order about their affairs: theſe were ſuffered to enter peaceably, leaving their ſwords at the gates, the rather to draw in the reſt, amongſt whom were divers Councellors, and great meanes were uſed to entrap them, and indeed ſome of them were enticed to come back; but when they ſaw they could get in no more, the wedneſday morning following ſoldiers were ſent to break into all the houſes of thoſe of the Religion, and to carry them to ſundry priſons; and the gates were watched that none ſhould eſcape: command alſo was given that none ſhould conceale any of the Proteſtants: Amongſt the priſoners were five or ſix Counſellors, who much comforted and encouraged the reſt. Then were all the priſoners brought together into one place, and letters procured from the King to maſſacre them all: and accordingly ſome leud perſons, armed with axes and butchers knives, were ſent in to effect it, who calling them out one by one, murthered them all, not permitting them ſo much as to ſpeak, much leſſe to pray. The number of the ſlain was above three hundred, who were all ſtript ſtark naked, and their bodies left to the common view of all for two dayes together: then were they thus naked thrown into pits one upon another, only the Counſellors were hung up in their long gownes upon an Elme in the Palace-yard; all their houſes were alſo ſacked and plundred.

At *Tholouſe*.

Popiſh ſubtilty

And cruelty.

Three hundred murthered.

At *Bourdeaux* when the news of the Maſſacre of *Paris* came thither, the Proteſtants were taking boats to go into a meddow to heare a Sermon, but the Governour ſent and ſtayed them, yet under pretence of ſecuring them againſt the multitude; then were the gates guarded that none might eſcape, yet it pleaſed God that the Miniſters were conveyed away, who afterwards took ſhip and came into *England*.

At *Bourdeaux*.

A ſpecial Providence.

There was a Jeſuite that daily preached in the city, to ſtir up the Governour and People to maſſacre the Proteſtants, propoſing the example of the Pariſians to them. The Governour could not well tell what to do

A bloody Jeſuite.

do, but the Lord of *Monpessat* assured him that it was the Kings mind that they should all be murthered, and that he could not do a more acceptable service to him; whereupon he, gathering the scum of the Citizens together, commanded them to kill all the Protestants without sparing one, and to give them an example, himself went to the Lord of *Obiers* house, and murthered him in his own Court; Then did they murther a Country Minister also that was come thither for shelter, together with the rest of the Protestants, and afterwards pillaged their houses: An old man that was a Deacon of the Reformed Church, being at this time sick in bed, they dragged him forth into the streets, asking him whether he would go to Masse, to whom he answered; *I hope I shall not so far forget the eternal salvation of my soule, as for feare of death to prolong my life for a few days; for thereby I should buy a short time of life at too dear a rate*; whereupon they instantly murthered him. It was lamentable to see the poor Protestants wandring up and down, not knowing where to hide themselves; some were rejected of their own Parents and Kinsfolk, who would not open their doors to them; others were betrayed by their friends and delivered into the hands of their murtherers; yet some were hidden by their very enemies whose hearts abhorred such detestable outrages.

The Lord of *Obiers* murthered.

An holy speech.

Gods Providence;

CHAP. XXXVI.

The Siege of Sancerre, Anno Christi, 1573.

YEt in the midst of these Massacres and dangers God provided some *Pella's* [places of refuge] for his people, as *Rochel, Montalbon, Nismes, Sancerre, Privas, &c.*

Anno 1573. *Sancerre* was besieged by the Lord of *Chastre*, with an Army, who planting his Cannons, played incessantly upon the town, so that the stones of the wall, the pavement in the streets, and the shivers of timber flew about continually, yet the mighty power and providence of God herein appeared, that none within the city were slain, but only one maid that was slain with the breath of a Cannon-bullet: yet were the stocks of muskets sometimes broken in the hands and on the shoulders of the townsmen, and themselves not hurt; yea some had their coats, breeches and hats shot through, and their bodies not hurt; yea some stones beaten off the wall, flew violently between a Ministers legs, and hurt him not. Many were the assaults given to this town, yet still the Assailants were beaten back with great losse.

The siege continuing long, the Townsmen began to be in want, so that they were forced to eat their Horses, Asses, and Mules,

Gods care of his people.

A special Providence.

A terrible Famine.

Mules, which laſted about a moneth; then they did eat all the dogs, cats, rats, mice, and moles that they could get: and thoſe being ſpent, they lived upon Hides of beaſts, Calves and Sheep-skins: then did they eate parchment, horſe and beaſts hoofs, horns of Lanthorns, halters, and furniture for horſes, girdles of leather, herbs and wild-roots; and theſe being all ſpent and no bread left in the city, ſuch as could get Linſeed, or any other ſeed, ground it, or beat it in a mortar, and made bread thereof, as alſo of herbs mixed with bran if they could get it: This being ſpent they eate bread made of ſtraw-meal, powder of nutſhels, yea of ſlates; ſuet, old ointments, and other old greaſe ſerved to make pottage, and with it alſo they fried the excrements of horſes and men, which they did eat, yea the filth in the ſtreets was not ſpared.

In this extremity a poor labourer and his wife were taken and excuted for eating the head, intrals and brains of their daughter of three years old, that died of famine; they had dreſſed alſo the reſt of her body to eat at other times; and that which aggravated their fault was, that it was proved that that day they had given them a little pottage made with herbs and wine, which might have ſatisfied them in that neceſſity: Such as went forth of the wals to ſeek relief, were either ſlain by the enemy, or lived upon ſprigs of vines, black-berries, red ſnails, and herbs; Amongſt other ſad and lamentable ſpectacles, one was of a labourer and his wife, found dead amongſt the Vines, and two of their children crying by them, the leſſer being but ſix weeks old, which a charitable widdow took home to her houſe and ſuſtained: Many died in this famine, ſome in their houſes, others fell down in the ſtreets, and gave up the ghoſt; moſt of the children under twelve years old died: Lamenable it was to heare the poor fathers and mothers mourning and weeping to ſee their miſery and yet they could not relieve them; Neverthelеſſe moſt of them did wonderfully encourage themſelves with the aſſurance of the grace of God, whereof there is this notable example.

Two executed for eating part of their own daughter.

A boy of five years old, languiſhing divers weeks, ran along the ſtreets, till nature failing him, he fell down in the preſence of his father and mother, who wept and lamented over him; and feeling upon his armes and legs, they were as dry as a ſtick; whereupon the child ſaid; *Why do you thus weep to ſee me die of hunger? I ask you no bread, mother, for I know you have none; but ſeeing it is the Will of God that I ſhould die in this ſort, I muſt take it thankfully: Had not the holy man* Lazarus *hunger? Have not I read it in my Bible?* and ſaying ſo he yielded up his ſpirit unto God.

A remarkable ſtory.

That which preſerved all from being famiſhed was this: There were yet ſix kine kept to give milk for ſome infants, and certain horſes of ſervice which were reſerved for an ex-

tremity; Theſe were killed, and their fleſh ſold to comfort thoſe that lived, Alſo ſome little corne was brought into the town by ſtealth, which was ſold for two ſhillings ſix pence a pound.

The war killed but eighty foure perſons, but the famine killed above five hundred, beſides thoſe which were brought ſo low that they hardly recovered.

During theſe miſeries, divers ſouldiers, and ſome townſmen gat out, chuſing rather to die by the ſword of the enemy, then by famine, of whom ſome were ſlain, others impriſoned, and executed.

A wicked oath

So all hope of being ſaved in mans judgement failed to thoſe of *Sancerre:* for the King had ſworne that he would make them devoure each other. But mans miſery is Gods opportunity; The King of Kings found out a ſtrange means to deliver his people that put their truſt in him; Juſt at this time, by the ſollicitations of the Biſhop of *Valence*, the *Polonians* had choſen the Duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* King, King of *Poland*, and Ambaſſadors were come to fetch him into that countrey, who hearing of this ſiege, ſollicited the Biſhop of *Valence* to perform the Promiſe, which he had ſworn to them in the name of his Maſter, *viz.* to ſet at liberty all the Townes of *France* that were moleſted for Religion: by this meanes the poore *Sancerreans*, halfe dead for hunger, were delivered at the requeſt of theſe good men who came from a farre Countrey to be their deliverers, though their enemies had oftimes threatned them with a general Maſſacre; They were ſuffered to depart with their armes and goods, and ſuch as would ſtay, not to be queſtioned for any thing paſt; they had a promiſe alſo that the honour of women and maids ſhould be preſerved; and ſuch Miniſters and others, as had fled thither for ſafety, had Paſports given them, and they were ſuffered peaceably to depart.

An admirable Providence.

The Siege of Rochel, *Anno* 1573.

ABout the beginning of the ſame year *Rochel* was alſo beſieged; The Townſmen often ſallied out, and there were very hot skirmiſhes betwixt them and the beſiegers; in one of which there came a young Gentleman, who with horrible blaſphemy boaſted that he was one of the Admirals murtherers, ſhewing his Courtelace, which he ſaid, he brought from that conflict, with it threatning to ſlaſh the Rochellers, yet, when it came to trial, his heart failed, and he ran away, but one of the city ſouldiers purſuing

Gods judgement on a bloody Perſecutor.

suing of him, slew him, stript him, and left his naked body in the field, the dogs tearing his face before the next morning.

In one moneths space the enemy discharged above thirteen thousand Cannon shot against the *Rochellers*, and made many assaults wherein they still went away with the worst. Then came the Duke of *Anjou* to the Army to be the General: The siege having continued some moneths, the *Rochellers* began to want victuals, which famine, after a while, much encreased upon them, but behold the admirable Providence of God! when all other Provision failed them, there came an infinite number of small fishes never before seen in that Haven, as it were yeilding themselves to the mercy of the poor People, which gathered them every day so long as the siege lasted, but presently after the publishing of the Edict for peace, they went away, and were never seen afterwards.

A famine.

An extraordinary Providence.

Rochel delivered.

During this siege came the Ambassadors from *Poland* to fetch their new King; by whose means a truce was granted to the *Rochellers*, and lastly Articles of peace were agreed upon, whereby the Army was withdrawn, and *Rochel* enjoyed her Priviledges; Yet this is further very remarkable, that all the chief persons that were imployed in the Massacre of *Paris* and other places, were drawn forth to this siege, by God, there to receive the reward of all their impieties, some of them being slain, and others receiving there those wounds whereof they shortly after died; Amongst whom were the Duke *de Aumale*, and *Cosseins*, Marshal of the Field that first entred the Admirals lodging; three Masters of the Camp; divers great Lords and Gentlemen; above sixty Captains; as many Lieutenants and Ensignes, and above twenty thousand common souldiers.

Gods judgements on Persecutors.

Gods judgement on the Duke of *Anjou* see in my book of Examples.

Anno 1574. *King Charles* himself, that was at least the countenancer of all these horrible Massacres, being in the prime of his youth, about twenty foure years old, fell sick of a languishing disease; his Physicians let him blood and purged him, but to no purpose, for by degrees he so faded away, as caused great astonishment to many. He long strugled against his disease, but at last was faine to betake himself to his bed, and the two last weeks of his sickneſſe, much blood issued from divers parts of his body, and once he rolled himself in his own blood, and a little before he died, he desired his mother to pursue his enemies to the uttermost, with great vehemency reiterating his speeches; saying, *Madam I pray you heartily to do it, and so he breathed forth his soule*, May the thirtieth, *Anno Christi*, 1574.

The Kings sickneſſe and death.

Anger implacable.

I shall here adde a few words also of the great miseries which the people of God endured in *Rochel*, *Anno Christi*, 1628. Expecting help from *England*, which proved but a staffe of reed, which whilst they leaned upon, it ran into their hands; The City being besieged by the King of *France* his Army, the inhabitants were

Rochel besieged *Anno* 1628.

A terrible famine.

brought to such extremity, that for want of other meat, the Citizens and Souldiers, having eaten up all the horses, dogs, cats, rats and mice, lived two moneths with nothing but Cow-hides and Goats-skins boiled; then did they eat up all the old gloves, and whatsoever was made of leather: yea the poor people cut off the buttocks of the dead, and did eat them. Young maids of fourteen or sixteen years old, did look like old women of one hundred years old. All the *English* that came out after the surrender of the city looked like Anatomies; The prizes of things were as followeth, A Bushel of wheat twenty pounds; A pound of bread twenty shillings; A quarter of mutton above six pounds; A pound of butter thirty shillings; An egge eight shillings; An ounce of Sugar two shillings and six pence; A dried fish twenty shillings; A pint of French wine twenty shillings; A pint of milk thirty shillings; A pound of grapes three shillings, &c.

Margaret Pierrone.

Anno 1593. There was one *Margaret Pierrone* of the town of *Sansay* in *France*, who by her maid-servant was accused to the Jesuites for not going to Masse, and for keeping a Bible in her house, in reading whereof was her whole delight; The Jesuites complaining hereof to the Magistrate caused her to be apprehended, yet had she some notice of it before-hand from her friends that advised her to flie from the danger; but God had a purpose that she should bear witnesse to his truth, so that she was taken and cast into prison; After a while the Judges sent for her, saying, *Margaret, Are you not willing to return home to your house, and there to enjoy your husband and children; Yes*, said she, *if it may stand with the good Will of God; Then*, said they, *if thou wilt do but a small matter thou shalt be set at liberty; If*, said she, *it be not contrary to Gods glory and mine owne salvation, you shall heare what I will say to you. No such thing*, said they, *for all that we require is but this, that a Scaffold being set up in the chief part of the City, you shall there crave pardon for offending the law, and a fire being by, you shall burne your Bible in it without speaking a word. I pray you my Masters*, said she, *Tell me, is my Bible a good Book or no? Yea*, said they, *we confesse it is: Why then*, said she, *would you have me cast it into the fire? Only*, said they, *to give the Iesuites content: imagine it to be but paper, and then you may burne it, and you may buy you another Bible at any time, and hereby you may save your life.* Thus they spent above two houres in perswading of her, that thereby she might do a lesse evill, and a greater good would come of it: But she confidently answered, that by the helpe of God she would never do it: *What will the People say? will they not say, yonder is a wretched woman indeed, that burns the Bible wherein all the Articles of Christian Religion are contained? I will certainly burne my body rather then my Bible.*

Tentation.

She chooses to be burnt rather then to burne her Bible.

Then

Then did they commit her cloſe Priſoner, fed her only with bread and water, and her friends were debarred from coming to her: but when nothing could remove her from her conſtancy, ſhe was condemned to be ſet upon a ſcaffold, to have her Bible burnt before her face; her ſelfe to be ſtrangled, and her body to be dragged through the ſtreets to a dunghill, which ſentence ſhe underwent cheerfully, and ſo ſlept in the Lord.

Collected out of the Hiſtory of the Tragical Maſſacres of France *under* Henry *the ſecond*, Francis *the ſecond*, Charles *the ninth*, Henry *the third*, *and* Henry *the fourth*. *Tranſlated out of French.*



Here place the ninth Figure.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Perſecution of the Church of Chriſt in the Valtoline, Anno Chriſti, 1620.

THe *Griſon* Lords, who were the ſoveraigne Magiſtrates of this Countrey, had by ſundry Decrees granted liberty to the Proteſtants to exerciſe their Religion freely: But when as the Miniſter of *Tell* with his Congregation were met together about the ſervice of God, the bloody Papiſts riſing in arms, ſet upon them, ſlew one, and beate others ſo cruelly with ſtaves, that they were forced to deſiſt from their purpoſe: Shortly after they murthered ſome others; and conſpiring with ſome other bloody villaines, they ſet guards upon all the paſſages of the valley, that ſo none of the Proteſtants ſhould eſcape them; then ringing their bells, they raiſed all the Country, and if any Proteſtants ſtirred out of their houſes, they murthered them in the ſtreets: they alſo brake into the houſes of others, drew them out of their beds, and murthered them. Some of the Proteſtants retired to the houſes of Papiſts that were neer of kin, or otherwiſe engaged to them to ſecure themſelves, but there they were betrayed and murthered: Some they ſtrangled; ſome they ſhot; Of ſome they beat out their brains, and others they drowned in the river *Alba*,

Popiſh treachery.

Cruelty.

A noble Gentleman that had hid himſelf in the river, was found by them, who requeſted them to ſpare his life, for his dear childrens ſake: But they told him that this was no time for pity, except he would abjure his faith, and ſwear by the Popes Bull: Nay ſaid he, *God forbid, that to ſave this temporall life, I ſhould deny my Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who with his precious blood upon the Croſſe redeemed me at ſo dear a rate; and having through his grace ſo long freely and publikely profeſſed him, ſhould now hazard the loſſe of eternall life to which I was elected before the foundation of the world; I ſay God forbid.* Hereupon in a moſt barbarous and ſavage manner they murthered him. They brake alſo into the Palace of the Governour, and murthered him; women and maidens they defloured; and of all the Proteſtants in that part of the Countrey, there were onely three that eſcaped over the horrid and vaſt mountains of the *Alps* into *Rhetia*.

A Noble Gentleman.

Chriſt preferred before all.

Theſe wicked villaines having thus diſpatched the Proteſtants in this place, they marched to another, coming juſt at the time when the Proteſtants were at Church hearing a Sermon: They were guided to the place by two Friers; the Proteſtants ſeeing them coming, ſhut the Church doors, barricadoing them up with benches: theſe villaines laboured to break open the doore, but when they could not readily do it, they clambred up into the windows, through which they ſhot with their muſquets at the people, whereby they wounded

Proteſtants murthered at church.

wounded and killed many : The Miniſter being a man rarely endued with learning and piety, according to the ſhortneſſe of time, exhorted them with lively reaſons to perſevere in the truth notwithſtanding all the danger; but in the mean time theſe barbarous Papiſts, had forced open the doore, where they fell to murthering of all without reſpect of quality, ſex, or age: Some Lords and Gentlemen were here ſlaine, the Miniſter was ſhot to death; divers Ladies and children gate into the Belfree to ſave themſelves; but theſe hell-hounds ſet fire to the place, and miſerably burnt them all.

At *Sondres.*

Theſe ſavage wretches having thus glutted themſelves with innocent blood in this place, they marched to *Sondreſſe :* The Papiſts in that place hearing of their coming, went to the Juſtice, proteſting that they would guard him from danger, and that they would not ſuffer ſuch villanies to be committed amongſt them : Then did they beat their Drums, ring their Bells, and arme themſelves under pretence of ſecuring the Proteſtants, who truſting to their promiſes, mixed themſelves amongſt them to ſtand for their own defence; Theſe Popelings concealing their miſchievous intent, killed now one, then another, as if it had been by accident, ſo that though divers of them were ſlain, yet they found not out the myſtery of the practice: yet ſome both men and Gentlewomen ſought to eſcape, but all paſſages being ſhut up, they were met with and cruelly murthered. Then did they more openly diſcover their malice, killing the Proteſtants where ever they met them: hereupon ſome eighteene of the Proteſtants, together with ſome Ladies and young children gat together; and the men being well armed, they marched cloſe together, repulſing their enemies, and at laſt came to a Church in the mountain of *Sondreſſe,* unto which place a Miniſter, and ſome others, in all, about ſeventy three men were gathered together, and after their prayers made unto God, they paſſed the valley of *Malaneo*, which was beſet by the enemy on two ſides; but ſuch as kept the paſſages, were by Gods ſpeciall providence, ſo aſtoniſhed that they fled away, and the Proteſtants, though they were purſued to the tops of the mountains, yet did miraculouſly eſcape with ſafety.

Popiſh treachery.

A ſpecial Providence.

Then did the Peſants joyne with theſe villaines to rob and plunder the houſes of the Proteſtants, and amongſt them, divers Noblemens houſes richly furniſhed with great abundance; They ran up and down alſo through fields, woods and mountains, ſearching every buſh for the Proteſtants; and as they found any of them, they preſently murthered them.

A noble Lady.

There was an honorable Lady not long before that came out of *Italy* to enjoy her liberty of conſcience, whom they exhorted to change her Religion, which ſhe refuſing, they adviſed her that at leaſt ſhe would do it out of a care of her young infant which ſhe held in her armes, which otherwiſe, together with her ſelf ſhould preſently be ſlain: But ſhe with an undaunted courage anſwered: *I have not departed out of* Italy, *my native countrey, nor forſaken all the eſtate that*

Courage, and conſtancy.

I had there, to renounce now the faith which I had wrought in me by the Lord Iesus Christ, yea I will rather suffer, if it were possible, a thousand deaths; And how shall I have regard in this case to my infant, since God my heavenly Father spared not his own Sonne my Lord Jesus Christ, but delivered him up to death for his love to me, and such sinners as I am? and so giving her child to one, she said, *Behold my child, the Lord God, who hath care of the birds of the air, is much more able to save this poore creature, although by you it should be left in these wild mountains:* Then unlacing her gowne, she opened her breast, saying, *Here is the body which you have power to kill, but my soul, on which you have no power to lay your hands, that I commend to my God, and so she was presently slain, and hewed in peeces*; The infant being a lovely and sweet child, they spared, and delivered it to a Popish Nurse to be brought up. Faith. A special Providence.

These miscreants finding such sweetnesse by the plunder of the Protestants; they spared none, plundring their houses twice or thrice over: Some noble Matrons had their rings pul'd off their fingers; and if they refused presently to draw them off, they would cut off either their hands or fingers for them. Some women with their children were dragged to the tops of high Mountains, and threatned to be thrown down headlong with their children if they would not promise to go to Masse; and though one amongst them was found that, through terrour, promised them to do it, yet did they throw her down with the rest without all pity. Horrible cruelties.

One *Dominico Berto* of sixty seven years old, they set upon an Asse with his face to the tayle, and the tayle in his hands for a bridle, and thus with many jears they led him to the market-place; then they cut off his nose, ears, and cheeks, then burned many holes in several parts of his body with hot irons, continuing these torments till in that barbarous manner they had killed him. Yet through the wonderful goodnesse of God, some Ministers with their wives and children, by great travel, dangers, and difficulties amongst the craggy and high mountains, were delivered out of the hands of these bloody Persecutors. *Dominico Berto* A special Providence.

Theophilus Messino was shot with a musket, but being not slain, they set open his mouth with a gag, filled it with gunpowder, and giving fire to it, tore his head miserably; his sonne was slain with many wounds. *Theophilus Messino.*

Another being wounded and stripped naked, was carried out and thrown into the woods; yet afterwards he gat up and went home to his own house, where he had mountains of gold profered him if he would turn Papist, yet, through Gods mercy, he continued faithful to the death. Constancy.

A young Gentleman, too much addicted to the vanities of the world, being earnestly sollicited to forsake the Protestant Religion, stoutly refused, whereupon they shot him with a musket, and having layn a while, and then raising himself up, he besought them to dispatch him, that he might render his soul to his Creator. Tentation resisted.

Divers men and women were thrown down from Bridges into the river *Adda*, and drowned for their conſtancy in the truth.

Prodigious cruelties.

Some had their mouths ſlit up to their ears, others had the fleſh cut from their faces; others were ſlaſhed in other parts of their body till they died; and others were often put to the ſtrappado, and then hewen in pieces.

A Noble Virgin.

A noble Virgin that was come to *Sondres* for Religion ſake, theſe villains took & carried her through the ſtreets with the greateſt ſhame and diſgrace that could be; they put a mitre of paper on her head, beſmeared her face with dirt, buffeted her on the cheeks, then exhorted her to call upon the Saints; but ſhe ſmiling therat, ſaid, *My truſt and my ſalvation is only in my Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, and upon him only wil I reſt; as for the Virgin* Mary, *though ſhe be bleſſed above all women, yet is ſhe not omniſcient, and therefore knows not our requeſts: yea ſhe her ſelf had need of the merits of her owne ſonne, without which ſhe could not have been ſaved,* &c. They ſtil continuing to ſcorn and deride her, ſhe manfully ſaid, *I willingly endure all this as it becomes me to do, deſiring no better uſage, ſeeing the ſame was done to my Lord and Saviour Ieſus Chriſt, and to his Apoſtles, and to thouſands of the holy Martyrs.* Then was ſhe carried away and murthered in the fields.

An excellent ſpeech.

Some Miniſters and many other godly Chriſtians, men and women, noble and ignoble were murthered ſundry ways. Many hid themſelves in holes, and caves, and woods, out of which they durſt not come, but by night only to get them food; yet were they ſo watched that many times they were murthered: Others in thoſe places were famiſhed for want of food; Others living upon roots, herbs, graſſe, &c. contracted diſeaſes whereof they died, ſo that the mountains and woods lay ſcattered with dead carcaſſes everywhere.

A wicked Edict.

Then came there a letter to theſe blood-ſuckers from a Governour, that they ſhould with all their power, murther, ſtrangle, and maſſacre without all pity and mercy all the *Lutherans* whereſoever they were; whereupon theſe murtherers having ſlain all in *Tyrane*, *Bruſe*, *Tell*, *Sondres*, and *Malenco*, they went to *Berbenno*, where they preſently murthered ſundry perſons of good rank and quality, and that with great cruelty, contrary to their faith and promiſe given them; the like they did in *Caſpano* and *Traben*, and divers other places, ſhewing neither pitty nor favour to any: In one houſe they ſlew a man and his wife; and ſeeing an infant of three years old lying in a Cradle, the child being a Girle of a ſweet and amiable countenance, and ſeeming to ſmile upon them, they took her by the heels, and daſhed out her brains. Then did theſe villains march to *Bruſe*, where alſo they murthered many; ſhooting ſome, drowning others, ſtoning others, burning others, and grinding their very bones to powder: Amongſt others finding an aged Matron of eighty years old, they much ſollicited her to hear Maſſe, wiſhing her to have reſpect to her age; to whom ſhe anſwered with a noble reſolution; *God forbid that I, who now of a long time have had one foot in the grave, ſhould forſake my Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who hath ſo long time preſerved me in the knowledge and Profeſſion of his truth, and to put my truſt in creatures*

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

Courage, and conſtancy.

creatures, and inſtead of his holy Word to receive the traditions of men, whereupon they inſtantly ſlew her.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Perſecutions of the Church in Scotland, *which began*, Anno Chriſti, 1527.

MAſter *Patrick Hamilton* of an ancient and honourable family, called *Abbot* of *Fern*, as one hating the world, and the vanity thereof, left *Scotland* and went into *Germany*, and the fame of the Univerſity of *Wittenberg* being greatly divulged, thither he went, and became familiar with thoſe great lights and notable ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, *M. Luther*, and *P. Melanchon*, whereby he greatly encreaſed in godly knowledge and learning; from thence he went to the Univerſity of *Marpurg*, which was then newly erected by *Philip*, *Lantgrave* of *Heſſen*, where he was intimate with other learned men, eſpecially with *Francis Lambert*, by whoſe inſtigation he was the firſt that there publickly ſet up concluſions to be diſputed of concerning faith and good works; By reaſon of his learning and integrity of life he was had in admiration by many; But the zeal of Gods glory did ſo eat him up, that he could not reſt till he returned into his own countrey, where the bright beams of the true light, which, by Gods grace, was planted in his heart, began moſt abundantly to break forth, as well in publike as in ſecret.

Patrick Hamilton.

Zeale.

In Proceſſe of time the fame of his doctrine troubled the Clergy, and came to the ears of *Iames Beton*, Arch-Biſhop of Saint *Andrews*, who grew impatient, that by this means the Kingdome of darkneſſe was diſturbed; and therefore he ſo laboured with *P. Hamilton*, that he gat him to Saint *Andrews*, where after divers days conference he had his freedome and liberty, the Biſhop ſeeming to approve his doctrine, acknowledging that in many things there needed a reformation in the Church; But withal, fearing that their Kingdome ſhould be endammaged, they laboured with the King, who was then young and much led by them, to go on Pilgrimage to Saint *Dotheſſe* in *Roſſe*, that ſo no interceſſion ſhould be made to him, for the ſaving the life of this innocent ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, who not ſuſpecting the malice that lodged in their hearts, remained as a Lambe amongſt wolves.

Popiſh ſubtilty

The King being gone, upon a night Maſter *Hamilton* was ſeiſed upon by the Biſhops officers and carried to the Caſtle, and the morrow after he was brought forth unto judgement, and was condemned to be burnt for the Teſtimony of Gods truth; The Articles for which he ſuffered, were about *Pilgrimage*, *Purgatory*, *Prayer to Saints*, *and for the dead*, *&c.* And that his condemnation might have the greater Autho-

His condemnation.

rity, they caused it to be subscribed by all those of esteem that were there present, and to make their number great, they took the subscription of very children if they were of the Nobility.

Immediately after dinner the fire was prepared and he was led to execution; yet most men thought that it was only to terrifie him, and to cause him to recant. But God, for his own glory, the good of his servants, and for the manifestation of their beastly tyranny, had otherwise decreed: for he so strengthned him, that neither the love of life nor fear of that cruel death could once move him to swerve from the truth which he had professed. At the place of execution he gave to his servant that had long attended him, his Gown, Coat, Cap, and his other garments, saying, *These will not profit in the fire, they will profit thee; After this of me thou canst receive no commodity except the example of my death, which I pray thee bear in minde; for though it be bitter to the flesh, and fearful before men, yet is it the entrance into eternal life, which none shall possesse which denies Christ Iesus before this wicked generation*; and so being tyed to the stake in the midst of coals and timber, they gave fire to some powder, which with the blast scorched his left hand and side of his face, but neither killed him nor kindled the wood and coals; till they ran to the Castle for more powder, and more combustible matter, which being at last kindled, with a loud voice he cryed: *Lord Iesus receive my spirit; how long shall darknesse overwhelm this Realme? and how long wilt thou suffer the tyranny of these men?* The fire was slow, and therefore put him to the greater torment; but that which most grieved him was the clamour of some wicked men set on by the Friars, who continually cryed, *Turn thou heretick; call upon our Lady; say* Salve Regina, &c. To whom he answered, *Depart from me and trouble me not thou messenger of Satan*; and speaking to one *Campbel* a Friar that was the Ringleader, who still roared on him with great vehemency, he said to him; *Wicked man, thou knowest the contrary, and hast confessed the contrary to me, I appeale thee before the Tribunal Seat of Iesus Christ*; after which words he resigned up his spirit unto God, *Anno Christi*, 1527. Within few days after the said Friar died in a phrensie, and as one that despaired.

Constancy.

His martyrdome.

Gods judgement on a Persecutor.

Anno 1534. The said Arch-bishop of Saint *Andrews*, convented before him *David Straton* a Gentleman, and Master *Norman Gourlay*; The first of these having a Fisher-boat that went to sea, the Bishop of *Murray* demanded tithe fish of him, to whom he answered, that if they would have tithe of that which his servants caught in the sea, they should take it in the place where it was caught, and so caused his servants to throw the tenth fish into the sea again; All this while he had nothing in him for Religion. But when hereupon he was summoned to answer for heresie, it troubled him exceedingly, and then he began to frequent the company of such as were godly, and there appeared a wonderful change in him, so that whereas before he despised the Word of God, now all his delight was in hearing of it read to him, and was a vehement exhorter of all to peace and concord, and con-

David Straton Norman Gourlay.

Stratons conversion.

contempt of the world. He much frequented the company of the Laird of *Dun Areskin*, whom God in thoſe days had marvellouſly illuminated: hearing the text read, (for he could not read himſelf) *He that denieth me before men, or is aſhamed of me in the midſt of this wicked generation, I will deny him before my Father and his holy Angels*; At thoſe words being ſuddenly as one revived, he fell upon his knees, and ſtedfaſtly lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, at length he burſt forth into theſe words; *O Lord, I have been wicked, and juſtly mayſt thou withdraw thy grace from me; but Lord for thy mercy ſake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth for feare of death or any corporall paine.* Being afterwards together with Maſter *Norman* brought to judgement in *Holy Roodhouſe*, the King himſelf being preſent, much means was uſed to draw this *David Straton* to make a recantation; but he perſevered in his conſtancy, ſtill denying that he had offended, and ſo they were both condemned to the fire, and after dinner *Anno* 1534. they were both firſt hanged and afterwards burnt.

His Prayer.

Tentation reſiſted.

Not long after the burning of theſe two holy men; There was one Deane *Thomas Forret*, who uſed to preach every Lords day to his Pariſhioners, out of the Epiſtles and Goſpels as they fell in order: This was counted a great novelty, for none uſed to preach but the Friars, and therefore they envying of him, accuſed him to the Biſhop of *Dunkelden* as an heretick, and one that ſhewed the myſteries of Scripture to the vulgar people.

Thomas Forret.

The Biſhop inſtigated by the complaint of the Friars, called the ſaid *Deane Thomas* before him, to whom he ſaid, *My joy* Deane Thomas, *I love you well, and therefore, I muſt give you counſell how to governe your ſelf*; the Deane thanked him; and then he proceeded, *My joy* Deane Thomas, *I am informed that you preach the Epiſtle and Goſpel every Sunday to your people, and that you take not your dues from them, which is very prejudicial to the Churchmen; and therefore, my joy* Deane Thomas, *I would have you take your dues, or elſe its too much to preach every Sunday, for by ſo doing, you may make the people think that we ſhould do ſo alſo; Its enough for you when you find a good Epiſtle and Goſpel, to ſet forth and preach the liberty of holy Church, and let the reſt alone.*

Thomas anſwered, *My Lord, I preſume none of my Pariſhioners complains for my not taking my dues; and whereas you ſay its too much to preach every Sunday I think its too little, and wiſh that your Lordſhip would do the like. Nay, nay,* Dean Thomas, ſaid the Biſhop; *let that be, for we are not ordeined to preach*; Then ſaid *Thomas*, *whereas you bid me preach when I meet with a good Epiſtle and Goſpel; I have read them all over, and I know no bad ones amongſt them, but when your Lordſhip ſhews me ſuch, I will paſſe by them.* Then ſaid the Biſhop, *I thank God I never knew what the Old and New Teſtament was; and,* Deane Thomas, *I will know nothing but my Portuiſe and Pontificall. Go your ways and let all theſe fancies be, for if you perſevere herein, you will repent you when tis too late.*

Groſſe ignorance.

I truſt, ſaid *Thomas*, *my cauſe is good and juſt in the preſence of God, and therefore I care not what follows thereupon*, and ſo he went his way; But

His martyrdome.

shortly after he was summoned to appear before the Cardinal, by whom he was condemned and burned for a chief heretick and teacher of heresies.

Notwithstanding all their bloody tyranny, the knowledge of God did wonderfully increase in that Kingdome, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those dangerous days was much used to the comfort of many, which so enraged the popish Party, that *Anno* 1538. there were burned in one fire foure persons of good quality.

Ierome Russel. *Alexander Kennedy.*

The year after there were apprehended *Ierome Russel*, a man of a meek and quiet nature, and *Alexander Kennedy* of about eighteen years old, these two poor servants of Jesus Christ being brought before the Arch-bishop and his Associates to judgement, *Kennedy* at first was faint, and would faine have recanted, but when all place of repentance was denied him, the spirit of God (which seasonably comes in with comfort,) began to refresh him, yea the inward comfort began to burst forth, as well in his visage, as in tongue and word; for with a cheerful countenance and joyful voice, falling on his knees, he said,

Humane infirmity.

Joy in tribulation.

O eternal God, how wonderful is that love and mercy that thou beareſt unto mankind, and to me a vile Caitiffe and miserable wretch above all others! for even now when I would have denied thee, and thy Sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, my only Saviour, and so have cast my self into everlasting damnation, thou by thine own hand hast pulled me from the very bottome of hell, and made me to feele that heavenly comfort which takes from me that ungodly feare wherewith before I was oppressed. Now I defie death, do with me what you please, I praise God I am ready; Then did they raile upon him and *Jerome*, who also said unto them, *This is your houre and power of darkneſſe; Now sit yee as Judges, and we stand wrongfully accused, and more wrongfully to be condemned; But the day will come when our iunocency will appear, and yee shall see your own blindneſſe, to your everlasting confusion. Go forward and fulfil the measure of your iniquity.*

Their condemnation and martyrdome.

Shortly after they were condemned to die, and as they went to execution, *Ierome* comforted *Kennedy*, saying to him; *Brother, feare not, greater is he that is in us, then he that is in the world; the paine that we are to suffer is short, and shall be light, but our joy and consolation shall never have an end. Let us therefore strive to enter into our Master and Saviours joy, by the same straight way which he hath taken before us. Death cannot hurt us, for it is already destroyed by him for whose sake we now suffer.* And thus passing cheerfully on, they constantly triumphed over death and Satan, in the midst of the flaming fire where they gave up their spirits to God.

Anno 1543. Cardinal *Beton* coming to *Edenburgh*, caused many godly persons to be called before him, and when he could prove nothing else against them, he caused foure men to be hanged upon suspition that they had eaten a Goose upon a Friday: and a woman with her child sucking on her breast, to be drowned for refusing to pray to the *Virgin Mary*.

Popish cruelty

Many

Many others he caused to be banished, others to be imprisoned at Saint *Iohnstons*, amongst whom was one *Iohn Rogers* a godly and learned man, that had fruitfully preached Christ Jesus to the comfort of many in *Angus* and *Meannes*, whom he caused to be murthered in prison, and then thrown over the wals, giving it out that, by attempting to escape, he had broken his neck. *John Rogers.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

The Life of Master George Wiseheart, *or* Wischard, *who died*, Anno Christi, 1546.

George Wiseheart was borne in *Scotland*, and brought up first at School, from whence he went to the University; after which he travelled into several countries, and at last came to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted into *Bennet Colledge*; He was tall of stature, and of a melancholy constitution; He had black haire, a long beard, comely of personage, and well-spoken, courteous, lowly, lovely, willing to teach, desirous to learn; for his habit, he wore a Frize gowne, a black fustian doublet, plain hose, course canvas for his shirts, falling bands, &c. All which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly; saving a French Cap that he wore, which he kept a twelve month. He was modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousnesse. His charity was extraordinary, he forbore his food one meal in three, one day in foure, that he might the better relieve the poor. His lodging was upon straw, and he had course new Canvas sheets, which when once foule, he gave away; He had by his bed-side a tub of water, in which in the dark night he bathed himself; He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some about him thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his deliverer; and he after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them; His learning was no lesse sufficient then his desire of it; He was always ready to do good to his ability; both in his private chamber and publick schools, he read divers Authors, yea he always studied how to do good to all.

His Character

His charity.

A special Providence.

Anno 1544. Some of the Nobility of *Scotland*, coming to treat with King *Henry* the eighth, about the marriage between his sonne Prince *Edward*, and their young Queen *Mary*, at their return, Master *Wischard* went with them into *Scotland*, being a man of admirable graces, and singularly learned both in divine and humane sciences; He first preached in *Rosse*, and then in *Dundee*, where with the great admiration of all that heard him, he went over the Epistle to the *Romanes*, till at the instigation of the Cardinal one *Robert Misle*, a principal man there, and formerly

Popish malice.

formerly a Professor of Religion, inhibited him from preaching, requiring him that he should trouble their town no more, for he would not suffer it; and this was spoken to him in the publike place, whereupon he mused a space with his eyes bent unto heaven, and afterwards looking sorrowfully upon the speaker and people, he said, *God is witnesse that I never minded your trouble, but your comfort; yea your trouble is more dolorous to me then it is to your selves: But I am assured that to refuse Gods Word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall not preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you Ministers that shall neither feare burning nor banishment. I have offered you the Word of salvation; with the hazard of my life I have remained amongst you: Now ye your selves refuse me, and I must leave my innocency to be declared by my God; If it be long prosperous with you, I am not led by the spirit of truth: But if unlookt for trouble come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God who is gracious and mercifull; but if you turne not at the first warning, he will visit you with fire and sword*; and so he came down from the Pulpit. Some noble men being present, would have perswaded him to stay, or to have gone with them into the countrey, but by no means would he stay till he had past the river *Tay*.

A Propheſie.

Then went he into the West-countrey, where he made offers of Gods Word, which was gladly received by many, till the Bishop of *Glasgow*, by the instigation of the Cardinal, came with his Traine to the town of *Ayre* to resist *Wischard*; The Earle of *Glencarne* and some other Gentlemen heariug of it, came thither also with their retinue, and when they were all come together, the Bishop would needs have the Church himself to preach in. Some opposed, but *Wischard* said, *Let him alone, his Sermon will not do much hurt, let us go to the Market-Crosse*, and so they did, where he made so notable a Sermon, that his very enemies themselves were confounded.

He goeth into the West.

He is opposed by the Bishop.

Wischard remained with the Gentlemen in *Kyle*, preaching sometime in one place, sometimes in another: but coming to *Machlene* he was perforce kept out of the Church; Some would have broken in, but he said to one of them, *Brother, Iesus Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the Church, and himself often preached in the Desert, at the Sea side and other places. Its the Word of Peace that God sends by me: the blood of none shall be shed this day for the preaching of it*; and so going into the fields, he stood upon a bank, where he continued in preaching to the People above three houres; and God wrought so wonderfully by that sermon, that one of the wickedst men in all the countrey, the Laird of *Sheld* was converted by it, and his eyes ran down with such abundance of tears, that all men wondred at it. Presently news was brought to *Wischard* that the plague was broke out in *Dundee*, which began within foure days after he was prohibited preaching there, and raged so extreamly, that its almost beyond credit how many died in twenty foure houres space; This being related to him, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends, he would needs go thither, saying

The power of the Word.

His Propheſie accompliſhed.

ing; *They are now in trouble and need comfort; Perhaps this hand of God will make them now to magnifie and reverence that Word of God, which before they lightly eſteemed.*

His ſecond coming to *Dundee*.

Coming to *Dundee*, the joy of the faithful was exceeding great, and without delay he ſignified that the next day he would preach; and becauſe moſt of the inhabitants were either ſick, or imployed about the ſick, he choſe the Eaſt-gate for the place of his preaching, ſo that the whole were within, and the ſick without the gate; His text was *Pſal.* 107. *He ſent his Word and healed them, &c.* wherein he comfortably intreated of the profit and comfort of Gods Word, the puniſhment that comes by the contempt of it, the readineſſe of Gods mercy to ſuch as truly turn to him, and the happineſſe of thoſe whom God takes from this miſery, &c. By which Sermon he ſo raiſed up the hearts of thoſe that heard him, that they regarded no death, but judged them more happy that ſhould then depart, rather then ſuch as ſhould remain behind; conſidering that they knew not whether they ſhould have ſuch a Comforter with them. He ſpared not to viſit them that lay in the greateſt extremity, and to comfort them. He provided all things neceſſary for ſuch as could take food, the town being very bountiful to them, through his inſtigation. But whilſt he was thus buſying himſelf for the comfort of the afflicted, the devil ſtirred up the Cardinal, who corrupted a deſperate popiſh Prieſt, called *John Weighton*, to ſlay him. And on a day the Sermon being ended, and the People departed, ſuſpecting no danger, the Prieſt ſtood waiting at the bottome of the ſtairs with a naked dagger in his hand, under his gown; But Maſter *Wiſchard* being of a ſharp piercing eye, ſeeing the Prieſt as he came down, ſaid to him, *My friend what would you have?* and withal clapping his hand upon the dagger, took it from him; The Prieſt herewith being terrified, fell down upon his knees, confeſſed his intention, and craved pardon; A noiſe being hereupon raiſed, and it coming to the ears of thoſe which were ſick, they cryed, *Deliver the Traytor to us, or we will take him by force*, and ſo they burſt in at the gate, but *Wiſchard* taking him in his armes, ſaid, *Whoſoever hurts him ſhall hurt me, for he hath done me no miſchiefe, but much good, by teaching me more heedfulneſſe for the time to come*; and ſo he appeaſed them, and ſaved the Prieſts life.

Charity.

He is in danger of being murthered.

Gods Providence.

He preſerves the murtherer.

When the plague was almoſt quite ceaſed, he took his leave of them, ſaying, that God had almoſt put an end to the battel, and that he was now called to another place; for the Gentlemen of the Weſt had written to him to meet them in *Edinburgh*, where he ſhould diſpute with the Biſhops, and ſhould be publickly heard, which he willingly aſſented to: But firſt he went to *Montroſſe*, to ſalute the Church there, where he ſometimes preached, but ſpent moſt of his time in private meditation, in which he was ſo earneſt, that night and day he continued in it; during which time, the Cardinal again conſpired his death, cauſing a letter to be ſent to him, as if it had been from his familiar friend, the Laird of *Kinnur*, deſiring him with all poſſible ſpeed to come to him, for that he was taken with a ſudden ſickneſſe; In the mean time

He goes to *Montroſſe*.

Meditation.

Popiſh malice.

he had provided ſixty men armed to lie in wait within a mile and an half of *Montroſſe* to murther him as he paſſed that way; The letter coming to his hands by a boy, who alſo brought him an horſe to ride on; accompanied with ſome honeſt men his friends, he ſet forwards; but ſuddenly ſtopping and muſing a ſpace, he returned back again, which they wondring at, asked him the cauſe, to whom he ſaid; *I will not go, I am forbidden of God, I am aſſured there is treaſon: Let ſome of you go to yonder place and tell me what you find*; which they doing, found out the treaſon, and haſtily returning back, they told Maſter *Wiſchard* of it, whereupon he ſaid; *I know that I ſhall end my life, by that bloodthirſtie mans hands, but it will not be on this manner.*

A Propheſie.

The time approaching wherein he ſhould meet the Gentlemen at *Edinburgh*, he took his leave and departed; By the way he lodged with a faithful brother called *Iames Watſon* of *Inner Gowry*; in the night time he gat up and went into a yard; which two men hearing, privily followed him; There he walked in an Alley for ſome ſpace, breathing forth many ſobs and deep grones, then he fell upon his knees, and his grones increaſed; Then he fell upon his face; thoſe that watched him hearing him weeping and praying, in which poſture he continued near an houre, then getting up he came to his bed again; Thoſe which attended him, making as though they were ignorant of all, came and asked him where he had been? but he would not anſwer them; the next day they importuned him again, ſaying, Be plain with us, for we heard your mourning and ſaw your geſtures; then he with a dejected countenance, ſaid, *I had rather you had been in your beds*; but they ſtill preſſing upon him to know ſomething, he ſaid, *I will tell you; I am aſſured that my warfare is near at an end, and therefore pray to God with me that now I ſhrink not when the battel waxes moſt hot*; When they heard this, they fell a weeping, ſaying, *This is ſmall comfort to us*; Then ſaid he, *God ſhall ſend you comfort after me. This Realme ſhall be illuminated with the light of Chriſts Goſpel as clearly as any Realme ſince the days of the Apoſtles; The houſe of God ſhall be built in it, yea it ſhall not lack, in deſpite of all enemies, the top-ſtone; Neither will it be long before this be accompliſhed; Many ſhall not ſuffer after me, till the glory of God ſhall appeare and triumph in deſpite of Satan: But alaſſe! If the people ſhall afterwards prove unthankful, then fearful and terrible ſhall the plagues be that ſhall follow.*

His fervent Prayer in the night.

A Propheſie.

Then went he forward on his journey, and came to *Leith*, but hearing nothing of thoſe Gentlemen that were to meet him, he kept himſelf private a day or two: then did he grow very penſive, and being asked the reaſon of it, he ſaid, *What do I differ from a dead man, but that I eat and drink: Hitherto God hath uſed my labours for the inſtruction of others, and to the diſcloſing of darkneſſe, and now I lurk as a man aſhamed that dare not ſhew his face*: hereby they perceived that his deſire was to preach, wherupon they ſaid to him, *It's moſt comfortable to us to heare you, but becauſe we know the danger wherein you ſtand, we dare not deſire it*; *But* ſaid he, *if you dare heare, let God provide for me as beſt pleaſeth him*; and ſo it

He comes to *Leith*.

Faith, and Courage.

was

was concluded that the next day he should preach in *Leith*; his text was of the *Parable of the Sower*, Mat. 13. The Sermon ended, the Gentlemen of *Lonthain*, who were earnest Professors of Iesus Christ, would not suffer him to stay at *Leith*, because the Governour and Cardinal were shortly to come to *Edinburgh*, but took him along with them, and so he preached at *Brunstone*, *Languedine*, and *Ormstone*; then was he requested to preach at *Enneresk* neer *Muscelbrugh*, where he had a great confluence of people, and amongst them Sir *George Dowglas*, who after Sermon said publickly, *I know that the Governour and Cardinal will heare that I have been at this Sermon: but let them know that I will avow it, and will maintain both the doctrine, and the Preacher to the uttermost of my Power*; This much rejoyced those that were present.

His departure from *Leith*.

Amongst others that came to hear him preach there, were two Gray-friars, who, standing at the Church-door, whispered to such as came in: which *Wischard* observing, said to the people, *I pray you make room for these two men, it may be they come to learn*; and turning to them he said, *Come neer, for I assure you, you shall heare the Word of truth, which this day shall seale up to you either your salvation or damnation*; and so he proceeded in his Sermon, supposing that they would be quiet; but when he perceived that they still continued to disturb all the People that stood near them, he said to them the second time with an angry countenance; *O Ministers of Satan, and deceivers of the souls of men; will yee neither heare Gods truth your selves, nor suffer others to heare it? Depart and take this for your portion; God shall shortly confound and disclose your hypocrisie within this Kingdome; yee shall be abominable to men, and your places and habitations shall be desolate.* This he spake with much vehemency, and turning to the people, he said, *These men have provoked the Spirit of God to anger*; and then he proceeded to the end of his Sermon.

Popish malice

A Propheſie.

Afterwards he preached in divers other places, the people much flocking after him; In all his Sermons foretelling the shortnesse of time that he had to travell, and the near approaching of his death.

Coming to *Haddington*, his auditory began much to decrease; the cause, as it was conceived, was this, The Earle *Bothwell*, who had great observance in those parts, by the instigation of the Cardinal, had inhibited both those of the town and country from hearing of him. Presently after, as he was going to Church, he received a letter from the West-country Gentlemen, and having read it, he called *Iohn Knox*, who had diligently waited upon him since he came into *Lothaine*, to whom he said that he was aweary of the world, because he saw that men began to be weary of God; for saith he, the Gentlemen of the West have sent me word, that they cannot keep their meeting at *Edinburgh*; *Iohn Knox* wondring that he should enter into conference about these things so immediately before his Sermon, contrary to his custome, said to him; *Sir, Sermon time approaches, I will leave you for the present to your meditations.* Then did Master *Wischard* walk up and down about half an houre, his sad countenance declaring the grief of his

He goes to *Haddington*.

John Knox: See his life in my first part.

his mind: at laſt he went into the Pulpit, and his Auditory being very ſmall, he began on this manner: *Oh Lord, how long ſhall it be that thy holy word ſhall be deſpiſed, and men ſhall not regard their own ſalvation? I have heard of thee, O* Haddington, *that in thee there uſed to be two or three thouſand Perſons at a vain and wicked play: and now to heare the Meſſenger of the eternal God, of all the Pariſh can ſcarce be numbred one hundred preſent. Sore and fearful ſhall be the plagues that ſhall enſue upon this thy contempt; with fire and ſword ſhalt thou be plagued, yea thou* Haddington *in ſpecial, ſtrangers ſhall poſſeſſe thee; and you the preſent inhabitants ſhall either in bondage ſerve your enemies, or elſe you ſhall be chaſed from your own habitations, and that becauſe ye have not known, nor will know the time of your viſitation.*

A Propheſie.

This Propheſie was accompliſhed not long after, when the *Engliſh* took *Haddington*, made it a garriſon, enforced many of the inhabitants to flie: oppreſſed others; and after a while, a great plague breaking forth in the town, whereof multitudes died, the Engliſh were at laſt forced to quit it, who at their departure burnt and ſpoiled great part of it, leaving it to be poſſeſſed by ſuch as could firſt ſeize upon it, which were the *French* that came as Auxiliaries to *Scotland*, with a few of the ancient inhabitants, ſo that *Haddington* to this day never recovered her former beauty, nor yet men of ſuch wiſdome and ability as did formerly inhabit it.

His apprehenſion by *Bothwel.*

That night was Maſter *Wiſeheart* apprehended in the houſe of *Ormeſton*, by the Earle *Bothwel*, ſuborned thereunto by the Cardinal. The manner was thus; After Sermon he took his laſt farewel of all his friends in *Haddington*; *Iohn Knox* would faine have gone with him, but he ſaid, *Return to your children, and God bleſſe you; One is ſufficient for one ſacrifice*; Then went he to the Laird of *Ormeſtons* with ſome others that accompanied him. After Supper he held a comfortable diſcourſe of Gods love to his children, then he appointed the 51. Pſalm to be ſung, and ſo retired to his chamber.

Before midnight the houſe was beſet: and the Earle *Bothwell* called for the Laird of the houſe, and told him that it was in vain to reſiſt, for the Governour and Cardinal were within a mile with a great power; but if he would deliver Maſter *Wiſchard* to him, he would promiſe upon his honour that he ſhould be ſafe, and that the Cardinal ſhould not hurt him; Maſter *Wiſchard* ſaid, *Open the gates, the Will of God be done*; and *Bothwel* coming in, *Wiſchard* ſaid to him, *I praiſe my God that ſo honourable a man as you, my Lord, receive me this night; for I am perſwaded that for your honours ſake you will ſuffer nothing to be done to me but by order of law? I leſſe feare to die openly, then ſecretly to be murthered:* Then ſaid *Bothwel, I wil not only preſerve your body from all violence that ſhall be intended againſt you without order of law, but I alſo promiſe in preſence of theſe Gentlemen, that neither the Governour, nor Cardinal ſhall have their will of you, but I will keep you in mine owne houſe, till I either ſet you free, or reſtore you to the ſame place where I receive you*; Then ſaid the Lairds, *My Lord, if you*

Bothwels promiſe.

wake

make good your promiſe, which we preſume you will, we our ſelves will not only ſerve you, but we will procure all the Profeſſors in Lothain *to do the ſame, &c.* Theſe promiſes being made in the preſence of God, and hands being ſtricken by both Parties, the Earle took Maſter *Wiſchard* and ſo departed.

Maſter *Wiſchard* was carried to *Edenburgh*; But gold and women eaſily corrupt fleſhly men; for the Cardinal gave *Bothwel* gold; and the Queen, that was too familiar with him, promiſed him her favour, if he would deliver Maſter *Wiſchard* into *Edenburgh* Caſtle, which he did; and ſhortly after he was delivered to the blood-thirſtie Cardinal: who, ſeeing that it was forbidden by their cannon law for a Prieſt to ſit as a Iudge upon life and death; he ſent to the Governour, requeſting him to appoint ſome Lay-Judge to paſſe ſentence of death upon Maſter *Wiſchard.*

He is carried to *Edinburgh.*

Bothwel falſifies his promiſe.

The Governour would eaſily have yielded to his requeſt, but that *David Hamilton*, a godly man, told him, that he could expect no better an end then *Saul*, if he perſecuted the truth which formerly he had profeſſed, &c. Hereupon the Governour ſent the Cardinal word, that he would have no hand in ſhedding the blood of that good man; The Cardinal being angry, returned this anſwer, that he had ſent to him of meer Civility, and that he would proceed without him, and ſo to the great grief of the godly, the Cardinal carried Maſter *Wiſchart* to Saint *Andrews*, and put him into the tower there; and without any long delay he cauſed all the Biſhops, and other great Clergy men to be called together to Saint *Andrews.*

He is carried to St. *Andrews.*

Feb. ult. 1546. Maſter *Wiſchard* was ſent for to appear before them, to give an account of his ſeditious and heretical doctrine, as they called it; The Cardinal cauſed all his retinue to come armed to the place, which was the Abbey-church, whither when Maſter *Wiſchard* was brought, there was a poor man lieing at the door, that asked his almes, to whom he flung his purſe; when he came before the Cardinal, there was a Dean appointed to preach; whoſe Sermon being ended, *Wiſchard* was put up into the Pulpit to heare his charge: and one *Lawder*, a Prieſt, ſtood over againſt him, and read a ſcrowle full of bitter accuſations and curſes, ſo that the ignorant people thought that the earth would have opened and ſwallowed up *Wiſchard* quick: but he ſtood with great patience without moving, or once changing his countenance; The Prieſt having ended his curſes, ſpat at Maſter *Wiſchards* face, ſaying, *What anſwereſt thou? thou Runnegate, Traytor, Thief, &c.* Then did Maſter *Wiſchard* fall upon his knees, making his Prayer unto God; after which he ſaid, *Many and horrible ſayings unto me a Chriſtian man, many words abominable for to hear, have ye ſpoken here this day, which not only to teach, but even to think, I ever thought it great abomination, &c.* Then did he give them an account of his doctrine. Anſwering every article as farre as they would give him leave to ſpeak.

His accuſation

His patience.

But they without having any regard to his ſober and godly anſwers,

preſently condemned him to be burnt. After which ſentence he falling upon his knees, ſaid,

His Prayer.

O immortal God, how long wilt thou ſuffer the rage, and great cruelty of the ungodly to exerciſe their fury upon thy ſervants, which do further thy Word in this world, whereas they on the contrary ſeek to deſtroy thy truth, whereby thou haſt revealed thy ſelf to the world, &c. O Lord, we know certainly that thy true ſervants muſt needs ſuffer for thy names ſake perſecutions, afflictions, and troubles in this preſent world; yet we deſire that thou wouldeſt preſerve and defend thy Church which thou haſt choſen before the foundations of the world, and give thy people grace to heare thy Word, and to be thy true ſervants in this preſent life.

Popiſh ſubtilty

Then were the common people put out, the Biſhops not deſiring that they ſhould heare the innocent man ſpeak, and ſo they ſent him again to the Caſtle, till the fire ſhould be made ready; In the Caſtle came two Friars to him, requiring him to make his Confeſſion to them, to whom he ſaid, *I will make no Confeſſion to you, but fetch me that man who preached even now, and I will ſpeak with him*; Then was the Sub-Prior brought, with whom he conferred a pretty while, till the Sub-prior wept, who going to the Cardinal, told him that he came not to intercede for Maſter *Wiſchards* life, but to make known his innocency to all men; at which words the Cardinal was very angry, ſaying, *We knew long ago what you were.*

The Captain of the Caſtle with ſome friends coming to Maſter *Wiſchard* asked him if he would break his faſt with them: yea, ſaid he, very willingly, for I know you to be honeſt men; In the mean time he deſired them to hear him a little, and ſo he diſcourſed to them about the Lords Supper, his ſufferings and death for us, exhorting them to love one another, laying aſide all rancour and malice as becomes the members of Ieſus Chriſt, who continually intercedes for us to his father. Afterwards he gave thanks, and bleſſing the bread and wine, he took the bread and brake it, giving it to every one, ſaying, eat this, remember that Chriſt died for us, and feed on it ſpiritually; ſo taking the Cup, he bade them remember that Chriſts blood was ſhed for them, &c. Then he gave thanks and prayed for them, and ſo retired into his chamber.

He adminiſtreth the Sacrament.

Preſently came two Executioners to him from the Cardinal; one put on him a black linnen coat, the other brought him bags of powder, which they tied about ſeveral parts of his body, and ſo they brought him forth to the place of execution; Over againſt which place, the Caſtle-windows were hung with rich hangings, and Velvet Cuſhions laid for the Cardinal and Prelates, who from thence fed their eyes with the torments of this innocent man; The Cardinal fearing leſt *Wiſeheart* ſhould be reſcued by his friends, cauſed all the Ordnance in the Caſtle to be bent againſt the place of his execution, and commanded his Gunners to ſtand ready all the time of his burning; Then were his hands bound behind his back, & ſo he was carried forth; In the way ſome beggars

The Cardinals feare.

beggars met him, asking his almes for Gods ſake: To whom he ſaid, My hands are bound wherewith I was wont to give you almes: but the merciful Lord, who of his bounty and abundant grace feeds all men, vouchſafe to give you neceſſaries both for your bodies and ſouls. Then two Friars met him, perſwading him to pray to our Lady to mediate for him; to whom he meekly ſaid, *Ceaſe, tempt me not I intreat you*: and ſo with a rope about his neck, and chaine about his middle, he was led to the fire: then falling upon his knees he thrice repeated; *O thou Saviour of the world have mercy upon me*; *Father of heaven I commend my ſpirit into thy holy hands*: Then turning to the people, he ſaid: Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters, I beſeech you be not offended at the Word of God for the torments which you ſee prepared for me; but I exhort you that ye love the Word of God for your ſalvation, and ſuffer patiently, and with a comfortable heart for the Words ſake, which is your undoubted ſalvation and everlaſting comfort; I pray you alſo ſhew my brethren and ſiſters which have often heard me, that they ceaſe not to learne the Word of God which I taught them, according to the meaſure of grace given to me, for no perſecution or trouble in this world whatſoever; and ſhew them that the doctrine was no old wives fables, but the truth of God; for if I had taught mens doctrine I had had greater thanks from men: but for the Word of Gods ſake I now ſuffer, not ſorrowfully, but with a glad heart and minde; For this cauſe I was ſent that I ſhould ſuffer this fire for Chriſts ſake; behold my face, you ſhall not ſee me change my countenance: I feare not the fire; and if perſecution come to you for the Words ſake, I pray you *feare not them that can kill the body, and have no power to hurt the ſoul, &c.* Then he prayed for them which accuſed him, ſaying, I beſeech thee Father of heaven forgive them that have of ignorance, or of an evil mind, forged lies of me: I forgive them with all my heart; I beſeech Chriſt to forgive them that have condemned me this day ignorantly: Then turning to the people again, he ſaid, I beſeech you brethren exhort your Prelates to learne the Word of God, that they may be aſhamed to do evil and learn to do good, or elſe there ſhall ſhortly come upon them the wrath of God which they ſhall not eſchew; Then the Executioner upon his knees, ſaid, Sir I pray you forgive me, for I am not the cauſe of your death, and he calling him to him, kiſſed his cheeks, ſaying, *Lo here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office*, and ſo he was tied to the ſtake, and the fire kindled.

His Prayer at death.

His exhortation to the People.

He prays for his Perſecutors

The Captain of the Caſtle coming near him, bade him be of good courage, and to beg for him the pardon of his ſin; to whom Maſter *Wiſchard* ſaid, *This fire torments my body, but no whit abates my ſpirits*, then looking towards the Cardinal, he ſaid, He who in ſuch ſtate from that high place, feeds his eyes with my torments, within few days ſhall be hanged out at the ſame window to be ſeen with as much ignominy as he now leans there with pride; and ſo his breath being ſtopped, he was conſumed by the fire.

A Propheſie.

This

This Propheſie was fulfilled, when after the Cardinal was ſlain, the Provoſt raiſing the town, came to the Caſtle gates, crying, *What have you done with my Lord Cardinal? where is my Lord Cardinal?* To whom they within anſwered, *Return to your houſes, for he hath received his reward, and will trouble the world no more:* But they ſtill cryed, *We will never depart till we ſee him*; Then did the *Leſlies* hang him out at that window to ſhew that he was dead, and ſo the people departed.

But God left not the death of this holy man long unrevenged: for the people did generally cry out of the cruelty uſed againſt him, eſpecially *John Leſley*, brother to the Earle of *Rothes*, and *Norman Leſley* his Couſin, fell foule upon the Cardinal for it: but he thought himſelf ſtrong enough for all *Scotland*, ſaying, *Tuſh, a fig for the fools, and a button for the bragging of hereticks. Is not the Lord Governour mine, witneſſe his eldeſt ſonne for a pledge at my table? Have I not the Queen at my devotion? Is not* France *my friend? why ſhould I fear any danger?* yet he had laid a deſigne to cut off ſuch as he feared and hated, which was diſcovered after his death by letters and memorials found about him. He kept himſelf for his greater ſecurity in his Caſtle: and on a Friday night there came to the towne of Saint *Andrews*, *Norman Leſley*, *William Kircaldy*, *John Leſley*, and ſome others; and on the Satturday morning they met together not far from the Caſtle, waiting till the gate was opened, and the draw-bridge let down, for the receiving in ſome lime and ſand, to repair ſome decays about the Caſtle, which being done, *Kircaldy*, with ſix more, went to the Porter, falling into diſcourſe with him, till the *Leſlies* came alſo with ſome other company: the Porter ſeeing them, would have drawn the Bridge, but he was prevented, and whilſt he endeavoured to keep them out at the gate, his head was broken, & the Keys taken from him; The Cardinal was aſleep in bed, for all night he had for his bedfellow, Myſtris *Mary Ogleby* who was a little before gone from him out at the Poſterne gate, and therefore the Cardinal was gone to his reſt.

The Cardinals pride, and carnal confidence

The Caſtle ſurprized.

Popiſh uncleanneſſe.

There was about one hundred workmen in the Caſtle, which ſeeing what was done, cryed out, but, without hurt, they were turned out at the wicket gate; Then *William Kircaldy* went to ſecure the Poſtern leaſt the Cardinal ſhould make an eſcape that way: The reſt going to the Gentlemens chambers, who were above fifty, without hurting them, they turned them all out at the gate; They which undertook this enterpriſe were but eighteen men; The Cardinal, awaked with the noiſe, asked out at the window what was the matter? Anſwer was made, that *Norman Leſley* had taken his Caſtle: then did he attempt to have eſcaped by the Poſterne, but finding that to be kept, he returned to his chamber: and with the help of his Chamberlaine fell to barricadoing up the door with cheſts, and ſuch things: Then came up *John Leſley* and bids open the door: The Cardinal asked, who was there? He anſwered *John Leſley*: The Cardinal ſaid, I will have *Norman*, for he is my friend: Content your ſelf, ſaid the other, with thoſe that are here

here: and ſo [illegible] fell to breaking open the door; in the mean time the Cardinal hid a box [illegible]nder ſome coles in a ſecret corner. Then he ſaid to them, [illegible] ſave my life? *John Leſley* anſwered, It may be that we will. Nay, ſaid the Cardinal, ſweare unto me by Gods wounds that you will, and then I will open the door; then ſaid *John*, that which was ſaid, is unſaid, and ſo he called for fire to burn down the door, whereupon the door was opened, and the Cardinal ſate him down in his chair, crying, *I am a Prieſt, I am a Prieſt, ye will not ſlay me?* Then *Iohn Leſley*, and another ſtroke him once or twice; But Maſter *Iames Melvin*, a man that had been very familiar with *Wiſchard*, and of a modeſt and gentle nature, perceiving them both to be in choller, plucked them back, ſaying, *This work and judgment of God, although it be ſecret, ought to be done with great gravity.* And ſo preſenting him the point of his ſword, he ſaid, Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpecially of ſheding of the blood of that notable inſtrument of God, Maſter *George Wiſheart*, who though he was conſumed by the fire before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are ſent to revenge it; for here before my God I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any hurt thou couldeſt have done me, moveth me to ſtrike thee; but only becauſe thou haſt been, and ſtill remaineſt an obſtinate enemy againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and his holy Goſpel; and ſo he thruſt him through the body, who falling down, ſpake never a word, but *I am a Prieſt, I am a Prieſt, Fie, Fie, all is gone.*

The Cardinal ſlain.

The death of this Tyrant was grievous to the Queen Mother, with whom he had too much familiarity, as with many other women; as alſo to the Romaniſt, though the people of God were freed from their fears in a great meaſure thereby.

Anno 1550. There was one *Adam Wallace*, a man that had no great learning, but was zealous in godlineſſe, and of an upright life; him the Biſhop of Saint *Andrews* cauſed to be apprehended, and carried to *Edenburgh*, where after awhile he was brought to judgement before Duke *Hamilton*, *Huntly*, and divers others; The Biſhops and their inſtruments accuſed him: Firſt, that he took upon him to preach; to which he anſwered, that he never judged himſelf worthy of ſo excellent a vocation, and therefore never took on him to preach; yet he denied not, that in private places he uſed to read the Word, and out of it to exhort ſuch as were willing to hear him. Knave, quoth one, what have you to do to meddle with the Scriptures? I think, ſaid he, its every ones duty to labour to know the will of God, and to get aſſurance of his ſalvation, which is to be found in the Old and New Teſtament. What then, ſaid another, ſhall we leave to the Church-men to do? To whom he anſwered, their work is publickly to preach the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and to feed the flock which he hath redeemed with his own blood, as all true Paſtors are commanded to do, &c. The Biſhops being angry

Adam Wallace.

His accuſation

The Miniſters work.

hereat, cauſed his charge further to be read; as that he denied Purgatory, Praying to Saints, and ſo forth, &c. To which he anſwered, that he had oft read over the Bible, but found no mention of Purgatory, nor command to pray to the Saints, or for the dead; Therefore I beleeve, ſaid he, they are but meer inventions of men, deviſed for covetouſneſſe ſake. Then did they ask him what he thought of the Maſſe? He anſwered, I ſay as my Lord Jeſus Chriſt ſaid, *That which is greatly eſteemed before men, is an abomination before God*; Then cryed they all out, *Hereſie, Hereſie*, and ſo adjudged him to the fire, which he patiently underwent the ſame day upon the Caſtle-hill.

His martyrdome.

Anno 1553. *Henry Forreſt* was accuſed of hereſie, but when they brought him to trial, nothing could be proved againſt him, whereupon they ſent him to Friar *Langius* to be confeſſed. The Friar amongſt other queſtions, asked him what he thought of *Patrick Hamilton*, who had been formerly burned for Religion? He anſwered that he was a good man, and that his articles were to be maintained. This wicked Friar diſcovered his Confeſſion, which was taken as a ſufficient proof againſt the poor man, who thereupon was condemned to be burnt. As he went to the place of execution, he complained of the Friar who had betrayed him, ſaying: Let no man truſt the falſe Friars after me; They are deſpiſers of God, and deceivers of men; and ſo in the flames he reſigned up his ſpirit unto God.

Henry Forreſt.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

His martyrdome.

Anno 1558. *Andrew Oliphant* accuſed one *Walter Mill*, formerly a Prieſt; who being at prayer, *Oliphant* ſaid to him, *Riſe up Sir Walter.* But when he had ended his prayers, he ſaid, *My name is Walter: I have been too long one of the Popes Knights.* Then ſaid *Oliphant*, Thou keepeſt my Lords too long here, therefore make an end. He anſwered, *I muſt obey God rather then men:* When he was brought forth to judgment, they asked him concerning Prieſts marriage: he anſwered, *It is Gods Ordinance, that they which cannot abſtaine, ſhould marry. But you abhorre it, vowing chaſtity, which you cannot keep, but take other mens wives and daughters*; Then they asked him if there were not ſeven Sacraments? he anſwered, *Give me two, and take you the reſt*; after other queſtions they asked him if he would recant? He anſwered, *I am corne and not chaffe, I will not recant the truth*: Then they commanded him to go to the ſtake: but he ſaid, *By the law of God I am forbidden to lay hands on my own ſelf, therefore do you put me into the fire, and you ſhall ſee my reſolution.* Having made his Prayer to God, he ſaid to the people; Although I have been a great ſinner, yet it is not for that, but for Gods truth contained in his Word of the Old and New Teſtament that I now ſuffer; and God out of his abundant mercy doth honour me ſo far, as to make me amongſt other of his ſervants, ſeale his truth with my blood; Dear friends, as you would eſcape eternal death be no more ſeduced with lies of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, &c. but only truſt in God, and ſo

Walter Mill.

Popiſh uncleanneſſe.

His ſpee ch at death.

His martyrdome.

so he quietly slept in the Lord; and was the last man that died for religion in *Scotland*.

Collected out of the History of the Reformation in Scotland.

CHAP. XL.

The Persecution of the Church in Ireland, *Anno Christi*, 1642.

THough the barbarous cruelty used by the *Irish* against the *English*, go usually under the name of Rebellion, yet I rather look upon it as, and chuse to call it a persecution, because their cruelties were exercised upon Protestants only, so farre as ever I could hear; neither were the *English* Papists murthered, yea they joyned with the *Irish* in murthering of their brethren. Besides, the Jesuites, Priests and Friars, were the chief instigators to these murthers, stirring up continually all sorts, both of the Gentry and Communalty to shew the utmost of their zeal therein; and when their designe was so surely laid, that they thought it impossible to be prevented; they did in their publick devotions recommend by their Prayers the good successe of a great designe, tending much to the advancement of the Catholick cause; and that they might stir up the people with the greater animosity and cruelty, to put it in execution; They every where declamed loudly against the Protestants, saying, That they were Hereticks, not to be suffered any longer to live amongst them; that it was no more sin to kill one of them, then to kill a dog; and that it was a mortal and unpardonable sin to relieve or protect any of them. *Popish malice.*

They also with much accrimony represented the severe courses taken by the Parliament of *England* to suppresse the Romish Religion, and utterly to extirpate the Professors of it: They told them that in *England* they had caused the Queens Priests to be hanged before her face, and that they held her self under a most severe discipline; and that the like cruel laws should be made against Popery in *Ireland*, *&c.* *Popish lies.*

When their plots were ripe for execution, we find their first proceedings against the *English* very various; some of the *Irish* only stripping and expelling of them; Others murthering man, woman, and child without mercy; yet all resolving universally to root out all the Protestants out of *Ireland*; yea, so deeply malicious were they against the *English* Protestants, that they would not endure the very sound of that language, but would have all such punished as spake *English*; and the names of all *English* places changed into old *Irish*. *The malice against the English.*

In many places they killed the *English* Cowes and Sheep, meerly

becauſe they were *Engliſh*: ſometimes they cut off their legs, or cut out a piece of their buttock, and ſo left them to live in pain: yea in ſome places, what they could not devoure, they killed, and left in great multitudes ſtinking in the fields.

Popiſh malice and cruelty.

The Prieſts gave the Sacrament unto divers of the *Iriſh*, upon condition that they ſhould neither ſpare man, woman nor child of the Proteſtants, ſaying, that it did them a great deal of good to waſh their hands in their blood. One *Halligan*, a Prieſt, read an excommunication againſt all thoſe, that from thenceforth ſhould relieve or harbour any *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, or *Welch* man, or give them almes at their doors, whereby many were famiſhed to death. The Friars with tears exhorted them not to ſpare any of the *Engliſh*; They boaſted, that when they had deſtroyed them in *Ireland*, they would go over into *England*, and not leave the memorial of an *Engliſh* man under heaven.

They openly profeſſed, that they held it as lawful to kill a Proteſtant, as to kill a ſheep or a dog. One of their Prieſts ſaid, that it was no more pity or conſcience to take their lives or eſtates from them, then to take a bone out of a dogs mouth.

The day before this Maſſacre was to begin, the Prieſts gave the People a diſmiſſe at Maſſe, with free liberty to go out and take poſſeſſion of all their lands, which they pretended to be unjuſtly detained from them by the *Engliſh*. As alſo to ſtrip, rob, and deſpoil them of all their goods and cattel; the Proteſtants being, as they told them, worſe then dogs, for they were devils, and ſerved the devil, and therefore the killing of ſuch was a meritorious act, and a rare Preſervative againſt the pains of Purgatory; for that the bodies of ſuch of them as died in this quarrel ſhould not be cold, before their ſouls ſhould aſcend up into heaven, ſo that they ſhould not need to fear the pains of Purgatory; and this cauſed ſome of theſe murtherous *Cains* to boaſt, after they had ſlain many of the *Engliſh*, that they knew that if they ſhould die preſently they ſhould go ſtrait to heaven.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

The chief Gentlemen of the *Iriſh*, when this perſecution firſt began, perſwaded many of their Proteſtant neighbours, that if they would bring their goods and cattel to them, they would ſecure them from the rage of the common people, and hereby they got abundance peaceably into their hands, whereof they cheated the Proteſtants, refuſing to reſtore them again; yet ſo confident were the Proteſtants at firſt of their good dealing in regard of former familiarity, that they gave them Inventories of all they had; nay, digged up ſuch of their beſt things as they had hidden in the ground, and depoſited them in their cuſtody. They alſo gat much into their hands by faire promiſes, and deep oaths and engagements, that if they would deliver them their goods, they would ſuffer them with their wives and children quietly to depart the countrey, yet having got what they could, they afterwards murthered them.

Having

Having thus ſeized upon all their goods and cattel, ranſack't their houſes, and gotten their perſons under their power, the next work was to ſtrip man, woman, and child ſtark naked, and ſo to turn them out a doors, not ſuffering them ſo much as to ſhelter themſelves under buſhes, or in the woods, ſtrictly prohibiting all the *Iriſh*, under great penalties, not to give them any relief as they paſſed in the high ways; and their great deſigne herein was, that they on whom they would not lay their hands and cruelly murther in cold blood, might miſerably periſh through cold, nakedneſſe, and want; and therefore if any of them gat any old rags to cover their nakedneſſe with, they ſtripped them again and again, ſometimes twice or thrice over; the *Iriſh* women being very active herein, yea they taught their very children to do the like; yea they would not leave to the women ſo much as a ſmock or an hairlace. So that many of them being ſtarved, fell down dead in the high ways: Others that gat to any *Engliſh* towne, by reaſon of famine and cold ſuffered by the way, died ſo ſoon as they came thither.

Prodigious cruelties.

Many ſtarved and ſtript.

In the town of *Colerain*, of theſe miſerable people, that fled thither for ſuccour, many thouſands died in two days, ſo that the living being not able to bury them, laid the Carcaſſes of thoſe dead perſons in great ranks in vaſt and wide holes, piling them ſo cloſe and thick as if they had packed up herrings together.

One *Magdalen Redman* depoſed that ſhe, and divers others Proteſtants, amongſt whom were twenty two widdows, were firſt robbed, and then ſtripped ſtark naked, and when they had in an houſe covered themſelves with ſtraw, the bloody Papiſts threw burning ſtraw in amongſt them on purpoſe to burn them; Then did they drive them ſo naked into the wild woods in froſt and ſnow, ſo that the ſnow covered their skins, where a long time it lay unmelted, and ſome of their children died in their armes with the extremity of the cold; and whereas ſome of theſe poor ſouls went towards the *Burre* for ſhelter, the cruel *Iriſh* turned them again, ſaying, they ſhould go to *Dublin*, and when they went towards *Dublin*, they beat them back, ſaying, they ſhould go to the *Burre*, and ſo toſſed them to and fro, that ſome of them died; Thoſe which through many difficulties gat to the *Burre*, many of them died there; and thoſe that ſurvived, lived miſerably by reaſon of their many wants.

Yet though theſe bloody Villains exerciſed ſuch inhumane cruelties towards the poor Proteſtants, they would commonly boaſt, that theſe were but the beginnings of their ſorrows, and indeed they made it good; for having diſarmed the *Engliſh*, robbed them of their goods, and cattel, ſtript them of their cloaths, and having their perſons in their power, they furiouſly broke out into all manner of abominable cruelties, horrid maſſacres, and execrable murthers, ſo that it would make any Chriſtians eare to tingle, and his heart to ake to hear the mention of them.

For there were multitudes murthered in cold blood, ſome whilſt

Horrible murthers.

they were at plough, others as they ſate peaceably in their houſes, others travelling upon the high ways, all without any manner of provocation given by them, were ſuddenly deſtroyed.

In the Caſtle of *Liſgool* were about one hundred and fifty men, women and children conſumed with fire. At the Caſtle of *Moneah* were one hundred ſlain altogether. At the Caſtle of *Tullah*, which was delivered to *Mac Guire* upon compoſition, and faithful promiſes of faire quarter, as ſoon as he and his entred the Court, they began to ſtrip the people, and moſt cruelly put them to the ſword, murthering them all without mercy.

Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

At *Liſſen keah* they hanged and killed above one hundred of the *Scottiſh* Proteſtants, ſhewing them no more favour then they did to the *Engliſh*. Yea the County thereabouts being well planted and peopled, was in a moſt horrible manner quite deſtroyed. In the Counties of *Armagh* and *Tyrone*, where the Proteſtants were more numerous, their murthers were more multiplied, and with greater cruelty, if it were poſſible, then in other places.

An Iriſh Monſter.

Mac Guire coming to the Caſtle of *Liſſenskeah*, deſired in a friendly manner to ſpeak with Maſter *Middleton*, who admitting of him, as ſoon as he was entred, he firſt burned the Records of the County which were kept there; Then he demanded one thouſand pounds which was in his cuſtody of Sir *William Balfoores*, which as ſoon as he had, he cauſed Maſter *Middleton* to hear Maſſe, and to ſwear that he would never alter from it, and then immediately cauſed him, his wife and children to be hanged up: hanging and murthering above one hundred Perſons beſides in that place.

Multitudes drowned.

At *Portendown* Bridge there were one thouſand men, women, and children carried in ſeveral companies, and all unmercifully drowned in the river, the Bridge being broken down in the midſt, and the People driven and forced on till they tumbled down into the water. Yea in that Country there were foure thouſand Perſons drowned in ſeveral places, the barbarous Papiſts driving on the poor ſouls, when they had miſerably ſtripped them unto the places of their ſufferings like ſwine, and if any were ſlack in their pace, they pricked them forward with their ſwords and pikes, yea to terrifie the reſt, they killed and wounded ſome; and when they were caſt into the river, if any aſſayed to ſwimme to the ſhore, the Rebels ſtood and ſhot at them.

Popiſh treachery.

In one place one hundred and fourty *Engliſh* were taken and driven like cattel for many miles together. Other companies they carried out under pretence of ſafe conduct, thereby cauſing them to march cheerfully till they had got them to ſome place fit for execution, and then murthered them there. One hundrd and fifteen men, women and children they ſent with Sir *Philem Oneales* paſſe, till they had brought them to the bridge of *Portendowne*, and then forced them all into the water, and ſuch as by ſwimming, or other means ſought to eſcape, they either knocked them on the head, and after drowned them,

or

or elſe ſhot them to death in the water. One Miſtreſſe *Campbel* being forced by them to the river, and finding no meanes to eſcape their furie, ſuddenly claſped one of the chief of them in her armes, and ſo both tumbling into the river, they were drowned together. At another time one hundred and forty Proteſtants being thrown in at the ſame place, as any of them ſwam to the ſhore, the bloody villains with the but-end of their muſquets knockt out their brains. A juſt reward.

At *Armagh*, *O Cane* gate together all the Proteſtants thereabouts, pretending to conduct them to *Coleraine*, but before they were gone a dayes journey, they were all murthered; and ſo were many others, though they had protections from Sir *Phileme O Neale*. The aged people in *Armagh* were carried to *Charlemount*, and there murthered.

Preſently after the town of *Armagh* was burnt, and five hundred perſons of all ſorts were there murthered & drowned. In *Killoman* were fourty eight families murthered. In one houſe twenty two Proteſtants were burned; In *Kilmore* all the inhabitants were ſtript and maſſacred, being two hundred families: Some they ſet in the ſtocks till they confeſſed where their mony was, and then maſſacred them; The whole County was a common butchery, where many thouſands periſhed in a ſhort time, by ſword, famine, fire, water, and all other cruel manner of deaths, that rage and malice could invent. Prodigious cruelties.

To many, theſe bloody Villains ſhewed ſo much favour as to diſpatch them preſently, by no means allowing them ſo much time as to pray. Others they impriſoned in filthy dungeons full of dirt and mire, and there clapping bolts on their legs, ſuffered them to periſh at leaſure. One told *Iohn Cowder* that they would kill him, but firſt bid him ſay his Prayers, and when he kneeled down to pray, they preſently cut off his head. When ſome others upon their knees begged but leave to pray before they were ſlain, they would bid them bequeath their ſouls to the devil; others would ask them, why do you deſire to pray, your ſouls are already with the devil? and ſo would immediately ſlaughter them. At *Caſel* they put all the Proteſtants into a loathſome dungeon, where they kept them twelve weeks in great miſery. Some they barbarouſly mangled and left them languiſhing upon the high ways, crying out but for ſo much mercy as to be diſpatched out of their pain; ſome they hanged up twice or thrice: Others they buried alive. Some when they were half hanged, they caſt into pits, covering them with a little earth, where they ſent out moſt lamentable grones for a good while after. They deny them liberty to pray. Some buried alive.

In Queens County, an *Engliſh* man, his wife, five children, and a maid were all hanged together, then put into an hole, the youngeſt child being not dead, put up the hand and cried *Mammie*, *Mammie*, and yet without mercy they buried it alive.

Thomas Maſon in *Laugal* was extreamly beaten and wounded, yet his wife and ſome others carried him away, whereupon theſe villains cruelly hacked, ſlaſhed and wounded them, and then dragged the ſaid

Maſon

Maſon into an hole, and there threw ſtones on him, with the weight whereof they kept him under: there he lay languiſhing and groaning till his own wife, to put him out of pain, ſtopped his breath with her handkerchief.

At *Clownes* ſeventeen men were buried alive, yet ſo as their pitiful cries were heard afar off.

Some were hung up on. tenter-hooks.

Some were deadly wounded, and ſo hanged upon tenter hooks. Some with ropes about their necks were drawn through the water. Some with ropes about their middles were drawn through woods and bogs.

In Caſtle *Cumber* one of theſe cut-throats took two boys, wounded them, and hung them upon a butchers tenters. Some were hanged up, and taken down ſeveral times to make them confeſſe their money, which when they had done, they preſently murthered them. Some were hung up by the armes, and then with their ſwords they made experiment how many blows an *Engliſh* Proteſtant would endure ere he died. Some had their bellies ript up, and ſo were left with their guts running about their heels.

Blaſphemy.

An ancient woman coming towards *Dublin*, was ſtript ſeven times in one day, and they bade her go and look for her God, and bid him give her cloaths again.

Many had their bellies ript.

In *Kilkenny* they cruelly beat an *Engliſh* woman, till they forced her into a ditch, where ſhe died; then they took her child, a girle, of about ſix years old, ript her belly and let out her guts.

One they forced to go to Maſſe with them, yet afterwards wounded him, ript his belly, took out his guts, and ſo left him alive.

A *Scotiſh* man they ſtripped and knocked on the head, who afterwards coming to himſelf, went into the town naked; Then did they again take him and hewed him all to pieces; They alſo ript up his wives belly, ſo that a child dropped out of her womb; Many other women great with child they hung up, then ript their bellies, and let the infants fall out. Sometimes they gave their children to be devoured of ſwine and dogs. One *Iohn Stone* with his ſon, two ſons in law, and their wives, they took and hung them all up; and one of the young women being great with child, they ript her belly, took forth her child, and uſed ſuch beaſtly barbarous actions to her as are not fit to be mentioned. At the *Newry* they ript up a womans belly that was great with two children, throwing them to be devoured of ſwine. Alſo another woman being delivered of a child in the fields: They which had formerly killed her father and husband, killed her alſo with two of her children, and gave the new-born infant to be devoured of dogs.

In the County of *Armagh* they robbed, ſtripped, and murthered abundance of Proteſtants, whereof ſome they burned, ſome they ſlew with the ſword, ſome they hanged, and ſome they ſtarved to death; and meeting Miſtris *Howard*, and Miſtris *Frankland* with ſix of their chil-

children, and themſelves both great with child, with their pikes they killed and murthered them all, ript open the Gentlewomens bellies, took out their children, and threw them into a ditch. A young *Scottiſh* womans child they took by the heeles, and daſhed the braines out againſt a tree; the like they did to many other children.

Children had their brains daſhed out.

Anne Hill going with a young child on her back, and four more by her ſide, theſe cruell perſecutors pulled the child off her back, trod on it till it died, ſtripped her ſelf and the other foure children ſtarke naked, whereby they died of cold.

Some others they met with, hanged them up upon a Windmill, and before they were halfe dead, cut them in pieces with their Skeins. Many other Proteſtants, eſpecially women and children they pricked and ſtabbed with their Skeins, Forks and Swords, ſlaſhing, cutting and mangling them in their heads, faces, breaſts, armes and other parts, yet killed them not, but left them wallowing in their blood, to languiſh, ſtarve and pine to death, and when they deſired them to kill them out of their paine, they refuſed; yet ſometimes after a day or two, they would daſh out their brains with ſtones or clubs, which they accounted as a great favour.

One goodwife *Harvey* at *Kilkenny* was forced to go to Maſſe, yet afterwards, together with her children was ſtripped, and one of her daughters had her belly ripped that her intrails fell out; and her ſelf was ſo beaten and wounded, that ſhe hardly eſcaped with life.

The Caſtle of *Liſgoole* being ſet on fire by theſe mercileſſe Papiſts, a woman leaped out at a window to ſave her ſelfe from burning, but they preſently murthered her; the next morning her child was found ſucking at her breaſt, which they murthered alſo. And whereas many Proteſtants with their wives and children fled into vaults and ſellers to hide themſelves, they were all murthered there. One *Jane Addis* they ſtabbed, and then putting her child of a quarter old to her breaſt, bid it *ſuck Engliſh baſtard*, and ſo left it to periſh there.

Many burned.

One *Mary Barlow* had her husband hanged before her face, and her ſelf with ſix children were all ſtript ſtark naked in froſt and ſnow, after which, ſheltring themſelves in a Cave, they had nothing to eat for three weeks, but two old Calves skins, which they beat with ſtones and ſo eat them haire and all, her children crying to her rather to go out and be killed then to famiſh there.

Some periſh by famine.

In the cold weather many thouſands of Proteſtants of all ranks, ages, and ſexes, being turned out ſtark naked, periſhed of cold and hunger. Thouſands of others were drowned, caſt into ditches, bogs, and turfpits. Multitudes were incloſed in houſes, which being ſet on fire they were burnt miſerably. Some that lay ſick of ſeavors they drew out of their beds and hanged them. Some men, women, and children they drove into boggie pits, and if any of them endeavoured to get out, they knockt them on the heads.

Some aged men & women, theſe Barbarians enforced their own children to carry them to the river where they were drowned: yea ſome children were compelled unnaturally to be the Executioners of their own Parents: wives were forced to help to hang their own husbands, & mothers to caſt their own children into the water, after all which themſelves were murthered. In *Slego* they forced a young man to kill his owne father, and then hanged him up: In another place they forced a woman to kil her husband, then cauſed her ſon to kill her, and then immediatly hanged the ſon, and this they did that they might deſtroy both ſoul and body. Yea ſuch was their deteſtable malice againſt the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, that they taught their children to kill *Engliſh* children; One of theſe Villains wives was very angry with the ſouldiers, becauſe they did not bring the greaſe of a fat Gentlewoman, whom they had ſlain, with them for her to make candles of.

Unnatural cruelties.

children kill *Engliſh* children.

The *Iriſh* women that followed the Camp, egged on the men to cruelty, always crying out, *Kill them all, ſpare neither man, woman, nor child.* They took the child of one *Thomas Straton*, being about twelve years old, and boiled him to death in a Cauldron. One Goodwife *Lin* and her daughter were carried into a wood, where they firſt hanged the mother, and then the daughter in the haire of the mothers head. Some women and children of the *Iriſh*, meeting an *Engliſh* woman great with child, ſtript her to her ſmock, then pulled off her ſmock, and ſo rent and abuſed her that the poor woman falling into labour, both ſhe and her child died under their hands.

Some boiled in Cauldrons.

In ſome places they plucked out the eyes and cut off the hands of the Proteſtants, and ſo turned them out into the fields to wander up and down till they periſhed. The very women in ſome places ſtoned the *Engliſh* women to death, together with their children. One man they ſhot through both his thighs; then digging a hole in the ground they ſet him in it upright upon his feet, and than filled up the hole, leaving out only his head, where they left him till he pined and languiſhed to death. Of another man they held his feet in the fire till he was burned to death.

Some had their eyes pulled out.

In *Munſter* they hanged up many Miniſters in a moſt barbarous manner. One Miniſter they ſtripped ſtark naked, and drove him through the town, pricking him forwards with darts and rapiers, and ſo purſuing of him till he fell down dead.

Neither did all the malice that they bore to theſe poor Chriſtians, end with their lives when they had ſlain them, but extended after death to the denying burial to their Carcaſſes, caſting ſome into ditches, leaving others to be devoured of ravenous beaſts and fouls; yea ſome that had been formerly buried they digged up, and left them as dung upon the face of the earth.

Theſe barbarous Villains vowed that if any Parents digged graves to bury their children in, they ſhould be buried therein themſelves. They ſtripped one *William Loverden* naked, then killed him before his wife and children, cut off his head, and held it up for them to gaze at;

and

and when his wife had buried him in his garden, they digged him up, and threw him into a ditch. Divers Miniſters bones that had been buried ſome years before they digged up, becauſe they were, as they ſaid, Patrons of Hereſie.

Poor children that went out into the fields to eate weeds and graſſe, they killed without all pity. And a poor woman, whoſe husband was taken by them, went to them with two children at her feet, and one at her breaſt, hoping to beg her husband, but they ſlew her and her ſucking infant; brake the neck of another, and the third hardly eſcaped: And which was a great aggravation of their wickedneſſe, they exerciſed all this cruelty upon the *Engliſh* Proteſtants who never provoked them thereto, yea that had always lived peaceably with them, adminiſtring help and comfort to them in diſtreſſe, putting no difference betwixt them and thoſe of their own Nation, cheriſhed them as friends and loving neighbours. Notwithſtanding, all which courteſies, they now ſhewed them no favour or pity. Alas, who can comprehend the fears, terrours, anguiſh, bitterneſſe, and perplexity that ſeized upon the hearts of the poor Proteſtants, finding themſelves ſo ſuddenly ſurprized without remedy, and inextricably wrapt up in all kind of outward miſeries, which could poſſibly by man be inflicted upon humane creatures! What ſighs and groans, trembling and aſtoniſhment, what ſhrikes, cries, and bitter lamentations of wives, children, ſervants and friends, howling and weeping, finding themſelves without all hope of deliverance from their preſent miſeries! How inexorable were their barbarous tormentors that compaſſed them on every ſide, without all bowels of compaſſion, or the leaſt commiſeration and pity? One *Ellen Millington* they put into an hole, faſtning her in with ſtones, and left her there to languiſh to death, bragging how many of them went to ſee her kick and toſſe in the hole. Yea they boaſted upon their ſucceſſe, that the day was their own, and that ere long they would not leave one Proteſtant Rogue living, but would utterly deſtroy every one that had but a drop of *Engliſh* blood in them; their women crying out, ſlay them all, the *Engliſh* are fit meat for dogs, and their children are baſtards, Yea ſo implacable was their malice, that they vowed that they would not leave an *Engliſh* beaſt alive, nor any of the breed of them. How grievous was it to any Chriſtian heart to heare a baſe Villain boaſt, that his hands were ſo weary with killing and knocking down Proteſtants into a bog, that he could not lift up his armes to his head. Another boaſted that he had been abroad and had killed ſixteen of the rogues. Others boaſted that they had killed ſo many, that the greaſe and fat which ſtuck upon their ſwords, might well make an *Iriſh* candle. Yea two boyes boaſted, that at ſeveral times they had murthered and drowned thirty ſix women and children.

Theſe mercileſs Papiſts having ſet a Caſtle on fire, wherein were many Proteſtants, they rejoycingly ſaid amongſt themſelves, Oh how ſweetly do they fry.

At *Kilkenny* when they had committed many cruel murthers, they brought ſeven Proteſtants heads, amongſt which one was the head of a Reverend Miniſter, all which they ſet upon the Market-croſſe, on a Market day, triumphing, ſlaſhing, and mangling of them; and putting a gag into the Miniſters mouth, they ſlit up his cheeks to his ears, and laying a leaf of a Bible before it, they bid him preach, for his mouth was wide enough; it cannot be imagined with what ſcorn and deriſion they acted theſe things, and with what joy and exultation their eyes beheld the ſad ſpectacle of the Proteſtants miſeries; what greedy delight they took in their bloody executions.

An *Engliſh* woman, whom they had ſtripped ſtark naked, gat a little ſtraw, which ſhe tied about her middle to cover her nakedneſſe, but theſe impudent villaines ſet fire to it, boaſting what brave ſport they had, to ſee how the fire made the *Engliſh* Jade dance.

At *Kilmore* they put many Proteſtants, men, women, and children together into a thatched houſe, and then ſet fire on it, boaſting of the lamentations and out-cries that they made whilſt they were in burning, and how the children gaped when the fire began to burne them; taking pride, and glorying in imitating thoſe cries.

Prodigious cruelties.

They took one Miſtris *Maxwel* being in labour, and threw her into a river, boaſting that the childs arme appeared, and that it was half-born when the mother was drowned.

Theſe bloody Perſecutors took great pleaſure and delight in their cruelty, and to encreaſe their miſery, when they butchered them, they uſed to ſay, *Thy ſoul to the devil.* One of them coming into an houſe with his hands and cloaths all bloody, made his boaſts, that it was *Engliſh* blood, and that his skiene had pincked the clean white skins of many of them, even to the hilt thereof. When any of them had killed a Proteſtant, many of them would come one after another, each of them ſtabbing, wounding, and cutting of his body in a moſt deſpiteful manner, and then leave it naked to be devoured of dogs, beaſts, and fouls; and when they had ſlain any number of them, they would boaſt that they had made the divel beholding to them, in ſending ſo many ſouls to hell.

But its no wonder that they carried themſelves ſo towards theſe innocent Chriſtians, when they ſpared not to belch out their execrable blaſphemies againſt God and his Holy Word.

Bibles burnt.

In one place they burnt two Proteſtant Bibles, and then ſaid it was hell-fire they burnt. Other Bibles they took, cut in pieces, and then burnt them, ſaying, that they would do the like to all Puritane Bibles. In the Church at *Powerſcourt* they burnt the Pulpit, Pues, Cheſts and Bibles belonging to it. Others of them took the Proteſtants Bibles, and wetting them in dirty water, did ſeveral times daſh them on the

Blaſphemies.

faces of the Proteſtants, ſaying, *I know yau love a good leſſon, here is an excellent one for you, come to morrow and you ſhall have as good a*

Sermon

Sermon as this. Others they dragged by the haire of the head into the Church, there ſtripped and whipped them in a moſt cruel manner, ſaying, *If you come to morrow you ſhall heare the like Sermon.* They took the Bible of a Miniſter called Maſter *Edward Slack*, and opening of it, they laid it in a puddle of water, and then ſtamped upon it, ſaying, a plague on it, this Bible hath bred all the quarrel, and that they hoped within a few weeks all the Bibles in *Ireland* ſhould be uſed as that was, or worſe.

They did moſt deſpitefully upbraid the Profeſſion of the truth to thoſe bleſſed ſouls, whom neither by threats nor terrours, pains nor torments they could draw to forſake their Religion. And though ſome by extream torments were drawn to profeſſe the change of their Religion, yet did they find no more favour with theſe hel-hounds, who with great ſcorn uſed to ſay, *That it was fit to ſend them out of the world whilſt they were in a good mood.* Apoſtates murthered.

At *Glaſlough*, a Prieſt with ſome others drew about fourty or fifty *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Proteſtants to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and then he told them that they were in a good faith, and for fear they ſhould fall from it and turn hereticks, he with his companions preſently cut all their throats.

Iohn Nicholſon and *Anne* his wife, being received into the Protection of one *Fitz-Patrick*, he laboured to perſwade them to go to Maſſe, and to joyne in the preſent maſſacre; but they profeſſed, that rather then they would forſake their Religion they would die upon the ſwords point; Then he would have had the woman burne her Bible, but ſhe told him, rather then ſhe would burn her Bible, ſhe would die the death; whereupon the Sabbath morning after they were both of them cruelly murthered; but he that acted the villany was ſo tormented in conſcience, and dogged with apparitions of them, as he conceived, that with inward horrour he pined away. Conſtancy, and courage. Gods judgements on Perſecutors.

In the County of *Tipperary* near the Silver-works, ſome of theſe barbarous Papiſts met with eleven *Engliſh* men, Proteſtants, ten vvomen, and ſome children, whom they firſt ſtripped off their cloaths, and then with ſtones, poleaxes, skeins, ſwords, &c. They moſt barbarouſly maſſacred them all; this was done on a Sabbath evening, the day having been very faire and cleare; but juſt at that time God ſent a fearful ſtorme of thunder, lightning, wind, haile and rain, ſo that the murtherers themſelves confeſſed, that it was a ſigne of Gods anger againſt them for their cruelty, yet they perſiſted in their bloody act, hacking, hewing, ſlaſhing and ſtabbing of them, ſo that moſt of them were cut in pieces, then tying withs about their necks, they threw them into an hole which they made for the purpoſe; yet it pleaſed God, that one *Scottiſh* and an *Engliſh* man, though they had many grievous wounds, and were left for dead, after a while revived, and with much difficulty eſcaped with their lives; but as God ſhewed his great mercy in preſerving them, ſo he ſhewed his juſt judgement upon *Hugh Kennedy*, the chief of theſe murtherers, who preſently fell into a moſt deſperate

desperate madnesse and distraction, neither resting day nor night, till about eight days after he drowned himself.

Popish perfidiousnesse.

In the County of *Mayo*, about sixty Protestants, whereof fifteen were Ministers, were upon covenant to be safely conveyed to *Galway* by one *Edmund Burk* and his souldiers; but by the way this *Burk* drew his sword, teaching thereby the rest of his company to do the like; and so they began to massacre these poor Protestants, some they shot to death; some they stabbed with their skeins, some they thrust through with their pikes; some they cast into the water and drowned, the women they stript stark naked, who lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, so that very few of them escaped with life.

Many knocked on the head.

In the town of *Sligo* fourty Protestants were stript and locked up in a Cellar; and about midnight a Butcher, provided for the purpose, was sent in amongst them, who with his axe knocked them all on the heads.

In *Tirawly*, thirty or fourty *English*, who had formerly yielded to go to Masse, were put to their choyce whether they would die by the sword, or be drowned? they chose the latter, and so being driven to the Sea-side, these barbarous villaines with their naked swords forced them into the Sea; the mothers with their children in their armes wading to the chin, were afterwards overcome by the waves, where they all perished.

But present death was counted too great a favour, and therefore of some they twisted withs about these foreheads: till the blood sprang out at the crown of their heads: Others they hanged, and let down several times, &c.

A boy murthered by his Master.

The sonne of Master *Montgomery*, a Minister, aged about fifteen years, met with one of these blood-suckers, who formerly had been his schoolmaster, who drew his skein at him, whereupon the boy said, *Good Master, whip me as much as you will, but do not kill me*; yet this mercilesse Tyger, barbarously murthered him without all pitie. A *Scottish* man was first wounded, and then buried alive in a ditch.

Barbarous cruelty, and impudence.

In the Towne of *Sligo*, all the Protestants were first stript, and robbed of all their estates; afterwards they were summoned to go into the Goale, and such as refused, were carried in; and then about midnight they were all stripped stark naked, and there most cruelly and barbarously murthered with swords, axes, skeins, &c. some of them being women great with child, their infants thrust out their armes and legs at their wounds; after which execrable murthers, they laid the dead naked bodies of the men upon the naked bodies of the women in a most immodest posture, where they left them till the next day to be looked upon by the *Irish*, who beheld it with great delight; Also *Isabel Beard*, great with child, hearing the lamentable cries of those that were murthered, ran forth into the streets, where she was barbarously murthered, and was found the next day with the childs feet coming out of the wounds in her sides: many o-

thers

thers were murthered in the houſes and ſtreets: But by Gods juſt judgment the river of *Sligo*, which was before very full of fiſh, whereby many were nouriſhed, for a long time after it afforded no fiſh at all. A Prior alſo that had a hand in the murther of *Iſabel Beard*, and caſting her into the river, preſently after fell mad.

About *Dungannon* were three hundred and ſixteen Proteſtants in the like barbarous manner murthered: About *Charlemount* above foure hundred; about *Tyrone* two hundred and ſix.

One *Mac Crew* murthered thirty one in one morning: Two young Villains murthered one hundred and forty poor women and children that could make no reſiſtance: An *Iriſh* woman with her own hands murthered forty five.

At *Portendowne* Bridge were drowned above three hundred. At *Lawgh* were drowned above two hundred: In another place three hundred were drowned in one day. In the pariſh of *Killamen* there were murthered one thouſand two hundred Proteſtants. Many drowned.

Many young children they cut into quarters and gobbets: eighteen *Scottiſh* infants they hanged upon a clothiers tenterhooks. One fat man they murthered, and made Candles of his greaſe; another *Scottiſh* man they ript up his belly, took one end of his ſmall guts, tyed it to a tree, and forced him round about it till he had drawn them all out of his body, ſaying, that they would try whether a dogs or a *Scotch* mans guts were the longer. They made candles of their greaſe.

By the command of Sir *Philem O Neale*, Maſter *James Maxwell* was drawn out of his bed, being ſick of a Feavor, and murthered; and his wife being in child-birth, the child half borne, they ſtript her ſtark naked, drove her about a flights ſhoot, and drowned her in the black-water; the like, or worſe they did to another *Engliſh* woman in the ſame town. They took one Maſter *Watſon*, and cutting two collops out of his buttocks they roaſted him alive. Of a *Scottiſh* woman great with child, they ript up her belly, cut the child out of her wombe, and ſo left it crawling on her body. Prodigious cruelties.

Maſter *Starkey*, Schoolmaſter at *Armagh*, being above one hundred years old, they ſtripped ſtark naked; then took two of his daughters being Virgins, whom they ſtripped ſtark naked alſo, and then forced them to lead their aged father under the armes a quarter of a mile to a turfpit, where they drowned them all three, feeding the luſts of their eyes, and cruelty of their hearts with the ſame object at the ſame time. Popiſh uncleanneſſe.

In ſome places they ſhewed the like cruelty to the *Engliſh* beaſts, which they would not kill out-right, but uſed to cut collops out of them, delighting to heare their roaring, and ſo the poor cattel would ſometimes live two or three days in that torment. Their cruelty to the cattel.

To one *Henry Cowel* a gallant Gentleman, they profered his life, if he would marry one of their baſe Truls, or go to Maſſe, but he choſe death rather then to conſent to either. *Henry Cowel.* Conſtancy.

Alſo to one *Robert Ecklin* a child about eleven years old, they profered his life if he would go *Robert Ecklin.* A childs conſtancy.

to

to Masse, but he refused, saying, *That he saw nothing in their Religion for which he would change his own.*

Many of the Protestants they buried alive, solacing themselves in hearing of them speak to them, whilst they were digging down old ditches upon them.

Childrens beastly cruelty

They used also to send their children abroad in troops armed with long wattles and whips, wherewith they used to beat dead mens bodies about their privy members, till they beat them off, and then would return very joyful to their Parents, who received them, as it were in triumph for their good actions.

Popish uncleanness.

If any women were found dead, lying with their faces downwards, these bruitish persons used to turn them on their backs, viewing and censuring every part of them, especially those parts that are not fit to be named, which also they abused so many ways, and so filthily, as chast ears would not endure the naming thereof.

Monstrous cruelty to a boy.

They brake the back-bone of a young youth, and so left him in the fields, and some days after he was found, having like a beast eaten all the grasse round about him; yet neither then would they kill him out-right, but removed him to a place of better pasture, wherein was fulfilled that saying, *The tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.*

Many burnt.

In the County of *Antrim* they murthered nine hundred fifty foure Protestants in one morning, and afterwards about twelve hundred more in that County. Near *Lisnegarvy* they forced above twenty foure Protestants into an house, and then setting fire on it, they burned them all, counterfeiting their out-cries in derision to others.

Sir *Philem O Neal* boasted that he had slain above six hundred at *Garvagh*: and that he had left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the Baronry of *Munterlong*. In other places he murthered above two thousand persons in their houses, so that many houses were filled with dead bodies.

Above twelve thousand were slain in the high ways as they fled towards *Down*. Many died of famine, many were starved to death for want of clothes, being stript of all in a cold season; Some thousands were drowned. So that in the very Province of *Ulster* there were about one hundred and fifty thousand murthered by sundry kinds of torments and deaths.

One hundred and fifty thousand murthered in *Ulster*.

Gods judgements on persecutors.

These bloody Persecutors themselves confessed that the Ghosts of divers of the Protestants which they had drowned at *Portendown* Bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the river, sometimes singing of Psalmes; sometimes brandishing naked swords: sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner; so that many of the Popish *Irish* which dwelt near thereabouts, being affrighted herewith, were forced to remove their habitations further off into the country.

The Popish *English* were no whit inferiour, yea rather exceeded

the

the natural *Iriſh* in their cruelty againſt the Proteſtants that lived amongſt them, within the pale, being never ſatisfied with their blood till they had ſeen the laſt drop thereof.

Anne Kinnard teſtified that fifteen Proteſtants being impriſoned, and their feet in the ſtocks, a Popiſh boy being not above fourteen yeers old, ſlew them all in one night with his skeine. Another not above twelve yeers old, killed two women in another place. An *Engliſh* Papiſt woman killed ſeven men and women of her neighbours in one morning. And it was uſuall for the Papiſts children to murther the Proteſtants children, and ſometimes with their woodden ſwords, ſharp and heavie, they would venture upon people of riper yeers. Boyes, and women murtherers.

An *Engliſh* woman, who was newly delivered of two children, ſome of theſe villains violently compelled her in her great pain and ſickneſſe to riſe from her bed, and took one of the infants that was living, and daſhed his brains againſt the ſtones, and then threw him into the river of the *Barrow*; the like they did by many other infants. Many others they hanged without all pity.

The Lord *Mont Garret* cauſed divers *Engliſh* ſouldiers that he had taken about *Kilkenny* to be hanged, hardly ſuffering them to pray before their death; they died very patiently, and reſolutely in the defence of the Proteſtant faith, and one of them, being an *Iriſh* man, had his life offered if he would turne Papiſt, but he rather choſe to die, and ſo was executed with the reſt. Souldiers hanged. Conſtancy.

Some of theſe perſecutors meeting a poor young girle that was going to ſeek her friends, they firſt half hanged her, and then buried her quick.

One *Fitz Patrick* enticed a rich Merchant, that was a Proteſtant, to bring all his goods into his houſe, promiſing ſafely to keep them, and to redeliver them; when he had thus gotten them into his poſſeſſion, he took the Merchant and his wife, and hanged them both: the like he did by divers others. Popiſh perfidiouſneſſe.

Some *Engliſh* mens heads that they had cut off, they carried to *Kilkenny*, and on the market day ſet them on the Croſſe, where many, eſpecially the women, ſtab'd, cut, and ſlaſhed them, every one accounting themſelves happy that could but get a blow at them.

One of the heads being a Miniſters, a woman ſtruck ſo hard with her fiſt, that the ſame night her hand grew black and blew, and ſo rankled that ſhe was lame of it a quarter of a yeer after: Another woman that looked on thoſe heads with much rejoycing, preſently after fell ſo diſtracted, that neither night nor day ſhe could reſt, but cryed out continually that ſhe ſaw thoſe heads before her eyes. Gods judgements on Perſecutors.

One *Engliſh* Proteſtant, ſaying, that he would believe the devil as ſoone as the Pope, they preſently hanged him up in an apple tree till he died.

A poor Proteſtant woman with her two children going to *Kilkenny*

Some worried with dogs.

upon buſineſſe, theſe bloody miſcreants baited them with dogs, ſtabbed them with skeins, pulled out the guts of one of the children whereby they died; and not far off they took divers men, women, and children and hanged them up; and one of the women being great with child, they ripped up her belly as ſhe hanged, ſo that the child fell out in the cawle alive. Some after they were hanged they drew up and down till their bowels were torn out.

How many thouſands of Proteſtants were thus inhumanely murthered by ſundry kinds of deaths in that one Province of *Ulſter* we have heard before; What the number of the ſlain was in the three other Provinces, I find not upon Record; but certainly it was very great; for I find theſe paſſages in a general Remonſtrance of the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in the Province of *Munſter*. "*We may* (ſay they) "*compare our woe to the ſaddeſt Parallel of any ſtory; Our Churches are* "*demoliſhed, or which is worſe, profaned by ſacrifices to idols: our ha-* "*bitations are become ruinous heaps: No quality, age, or ſexe priviledged* "*from Maſſacres and lingring deaths, by being robbed, ſtript naked, and ſo* "*expoſed to cold and famine. The famiſhed infants of murthered Pa-* "*rents ſwarme in our ſtreets, and for want of food periſh before our faces,* "*&c. And all this cruelty that is exerciſed upon us, we know not for what* "*cauſe, offence, or ſeeming provocation its inflicted on us, (ſin excepted)* "*ſaving that we were Proteſtants, &c. We can make it manifeſt that the* "*depopulations in this Province of* Munſter, *do well near equal thoſe of the* "*whole Kingdome, &c.*

The *Munſter* Remonſtrance

And thus in part we have heard of the mercileſſe cruelties which the bloody Papiſts exerciſed towards the Proteſtants; Let us now conſider at leaſt ſome of Gods judgements upon the *Iriſh*, whereby he hath not left the innocent blood of his ſervants to be altogether unrevenged. Some particular inſtances have been mentioned before: as alſo the apparitions at *Portendown* Bridge which affrighted them from their habitations, concerning which it is further teſtified, that by their own confeſſion, the blood of thoſe that were knocked on the head, and then thrown into the river at that Bridge, remained for a long time upon the ſtones, and could not be waſhed away; as alſo that oftimes they ſaw apparitions ſometimes of men, ſometimes of women riſing breaſt-high above the water, which did moſt extreamly ſcreech and cry out for vengeance againſt the *Iriſh* that had murthered them there.

Gods judgements on Perſecutors.

Apparitions at *Portendown* Bridge.

Catherine Coke teſtified upon oath, that when the *Iriſh* had barbarouſly drowned one hundred and eighty Proteſtants, men, women, and children at *Portendown* Bridge, about nine days after ſhe ſaw the apparition of a man bolt upright in the river, ſtanding breaſt-high, with his hands lift up to heaven, and continued in that poſture from *December* to the end of *Lent*, at which time ſome of the *Engliſh* army paſſing that way ſaw it alſo, after which it vaniſhed away.

Elizabeth Price teſtified upon oath that ſhe and other women whoſe husbands and children were drowned in that place, hearing of theſe appa-

apparitions, went thither one evening, at which time they ſaw one like a woman riſe out of the river breaſt-high, her haire hanging down, which, with her skin, was as white as ſnow, often crying out, *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge*, which ſo affrighted them that they went their way.

Divers Proteſtants were thrown into the river of *Belterbert*, and when any of them offered to ſwim to the land, they were knocked on the head with poles, after which their bodies were not ſeen of ſix weeks: but after the end thereof, the murtherers coming again that way, the bodies came floting up to the very Bridge where they were.

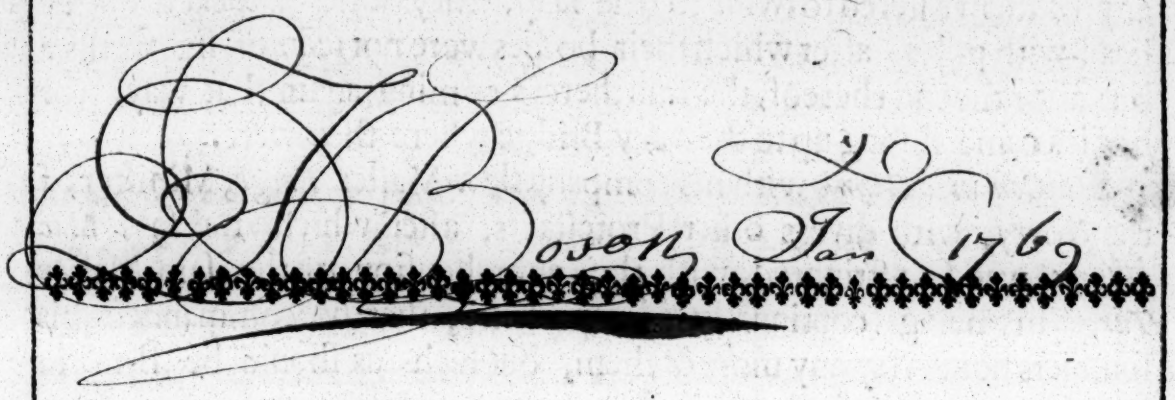
Sir *Con mac Gennis* with his company ſlew Maſter *Turge*, Miniſter of the *Newry*, with divers other Proteſtants, after which the ſaid *Mac Gennis* was ſo affrighted with the apprehenſion of the ſaid Maſter *Turge* his being continually in his preſence, that he commanded his ſouldiers not to ſlay any more of them, but ſuch as ſhould be ſlain in battel.

A young woman being ſtript almoſt naked, there came a Rogue to her, bidding her give him her money, or he would run her through with his ſword. Her anſwer was, you cannot kill me except God give you leave, whereupon he ran three times at her naked body with his drawn ſword, and yet never pierced her skin, whereat he being confounded, went his way and left her; This was atteſted by divers women that were preſent and ſaw it. A miracle.

But beſides theſe fore-mentioned judgements of God which befell them for their inhumane cruelties; we may obſerve how the hand of God hath been out againſt them ever ſince, and that in a ſpecial manner by emaſculating and debaſing of their ſpirits; whereby it hath come to paſſe, that ordinarily few *Engliſh* ſouldiers have chaſed multitudes of them, and generally in all the battels and fights that have been betwixt them, they have been always beaten, though the ods was great of their ſide; And as they made themſelves formerly drunk with the innocent blood of the unreſiſting Proteſtants; ſo now God hath given them their fill of blood in jealouſie and fury. Many thouſands of them have periſhed by the ſword of warre; And how heavy hath the hand of God lain further upon them this preſent year, 1650. in that terrible and univerſal plague that hath been ſcattered all over the nation, whereby many thouſands more of them have periſhed, and God is ſtill fighting againſt, and probably will continue their deſtruction, till they either ſhall truly be humbled for their horrid ſins, or be utterly conſumed from the face of the earth.

Amen; *Even ſo come Lord Ieſus, come quickly.*

Theſe particulars were atteſted upon Oath by ſundry Perſons before Commiſſioners appointed to take their Examinations.



Here place the tenth Figure.

A



The Life of Maſter Thomas Cartwright, *who died*, Anno Chriſti, 1603.

THomas *Cartwright* was born in *Hertfordſhire*, about the year 1535. and being by his Parents kept at *Schoole* till he was fit for the Univerſity, He went to *Cambridge* and was admitted into Saint *Iohns Colledge*, *Anno* 1550. There he followed his ſtudies exceeding hard, and being a man of excellent natural parts, he profited in learning more then ordinary; He never uſed to ſleep above five houres in a night, which cuſtome he continued to his dying day.

His birth.

His ſtudiouſneſſe.

Three years after, at the death of *King Edward* the ſixt, he left the Univerſity, and betook himſelf to the ſervice of a Counſellor, yet followed his ſtudies very hard, as taking more pleaſure therein, then in the ſtudie of the law; Thus he continued till the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* reigne, at which time his Maſter meeting with Doctor *Pilkinton*, Maſter of Saint *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, he told him of his mans learning and ſtudious diſpoſition; the Doctor deſired to ſpeak with him, and thereby perceiving his great abilities, and hopefulneſſe, with his Maſters conſent he took him again to Saint *Iohns* Colledge, where his proficiency and Progreſſe both in the Arts and Tongues, was ſo eminent, that *Anno* 1560. he was choſen Fellow in that Colledge, and about three years after he was removed to a fellowſhip in *Trinity*-Colledge, where for his great worth, he was ere-long made one of the eight Senior-fellows.

He is a Lawyers Clarke.

His return to *Cambridge*.

Anno 1564. *Queen Elizabeth* coming to *Cambridge*, great preparation was made for her entertainment, and foure of the eminenteſt men in the Univerſity, being choſen to keep a Philoſophy act before her, he was one of them, who performed it with extraordinary abilities, and to the great content and ſatisfaction both of the Queen and other auditors. *Anno* 1567. He commenced Bachelor of Divinity, and three years after he was choſen to be the Lady *Margarets* Divinity-Reader. He read upon the firſt and ſecond chapters of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, and performed it with ſuch acuteneſſe of wit, and ſolidity of judgement, as cauſed admiration in his hearers: and even at that time he was ſo famous for his Miniſtry, that when his turn came to preach at Saint *Maries*, the Sextone was faigne to take down the windows, by reaſon of the multitudes that came to heare him.

His diſputation before the Queen.

He is choſen Profeſſor.

His multitude of hearers.

In his Lectures he was occaſioned to diſcover his judgement about Church-diſcipline, which the Doctors and Heads in the Univerſity took

took very hainously, as being dangerous and destructive to the present Hierarchie, whereupon he was convented before the vice-Chancellour, Doctor *May*, and other Doctors, and examined upon sundry articles, or propositions of doctrine delivered by him publickly in his lectures, and elswhere, which they affirmed to be contrary to religion received, and allowed by publick authority in this Realme, and thereupon they demanded whether he would stand to, or revoke the said opinions and doctrines delivered by him.

He is questioned before the vice-Chancellor.

Master *Cartwright* upon deliberation, desired that he might have leave to set down in writing what his judgement in those things was, and what he would stand to, which being granted, he drew up in six Propositions what his judgemrnt was; and setting his hand to it, delivered it to the Vice-chancellor, who thereupon admonished him to revoke the same, and upon his refusal, punished him by the substraction of his stipend, and so he continued in his Lecture that yeare; but the year after Doctor *Whitgift* being chosen vice-Chancellour, he again convented him before him, requiring his absolute answer whether he did mind to teach his Auditors otherwise, revoking that he had before taught, or whether he would abide in the maintenance of the same? Unto this Master *Cartwright* answered, that for the Propositions delivered by him under his hand to Doctor *May*, and now shewed to him, they were his own hand writing, such as he had openly taught, and still continued fully determined to maintain and defend as truths. Hereupon after Master *Cartwright* had a while withdrawn, and the vice-Chancellor had conferred with the other Doctors, Master *Cartwright* was again called for, and this definitiue sentence was pronounced against him by the vice-Chancellour Doctor *Whitgift*, that perceiving that no admonition would help, but that he still persisted in the same mind, he did therefore pronounce him the said Master *Cartwright*, to be removed from his said Lecture, and by his final decree or sentence did then and there remove him, and declare the said Lecture to be void; and that he minded, according to the foundation thereof, to proceed to the Election of a new Reader. And further he did then and there by vertue of his office, inhibit the said Master *Cartwright* from preaching within the University and the Jurisdiction of the same.

He is expelled the University

Now that the Reader may be better satisfied what the Articles were which Master *Cartwright* drew up, and signed with his hand, and for which this sentence was passed upon him, I shall here set them down in his own words, as I have them transcribed out of the Original, standing upon Record in the Registry of the University of *Cambridge*.

The Articles for which he was expelled.

1. *Archiepiscoporum, & Archidiaconorum nomina simul cum muneribus, & officiis suis sunt abolenda.*

2. *Legitimorum in Ecclesia ministrorum nomina, qualia sunt Episcoporum, & Diaconorum separata à suis muneribus in verbo dei descriptis simpliciter sunt improbanda, & ad institutionem Apostolicam revocanda: ut Episcopus*

piſcopus in verbo, & precibus, Diaconus in pauperibus curandis verſetur.

3. *Epiſcoporum Cancellariis, aut Archidiaconorum Officialibus, &c. regimen Eccleſiæ non eſt committendum, ſed ad idoneum miniſtrum, & Presbyterum ejuſdem Eccleſiæ deferendum.*

4. *Non oportet miniſtrum eſſe vagum, & liberum, ſed quiſque debet certo cuidam gregi addici.*

5. *Nemo debet miniſterium tanquam candidatus petere.*

6. *Epiſcoporum tantum autoritate, & poteſtate miniſtri non ſunt creandi: multo minus in Muſæo, aut loco quipiam clanculario: ſed ab Eccleſia electio fieri debet.*

Hiſce reformandis, quiſque pro ſua vocatione ſtudere debet (vocationem autem intelligo) ut magiſtratus authoritate, miniſter verbo, omnes precibus permoveant.

Per me Thomam Cartwright.

Maſter *Cartwright* being thus driven from the Univerſity, not long after, finding the way for the exerciſe of his Miniſtry in *England* obſtructed, he went beyond the Seas to viſit other reformed Churches, where he grew acquainted with the famouſeſt men for piety and learning in Chriſtendome, with whom he kept correſpondence all his life after. He was alſo highly prized by them, inſomuch as *Beza* writing about that time into *England* to a friend of his, hath this expreſſion; *Eſt quidam Anglus nobiſcum nomine Thomas Cartwright, &c.* Here is now with us your Countriman *Thomas Cartwright*, then whom I think the Sun doth not ſee a more learned man, &c.

His travels beyond ſea.

Beza's teſtimony of him.

He was alſo choſen Preacher to the *Engliſh* Merchants at *Antwerp*, and afterwards at *Middleburrough*, where he did very much good by his Miniſtry, the Lord bleſſing his labours exceedingly in thoſe parts, and when he underſtood that the Merchants, by whom he was maintained, through their great loſſes decayed in their eſtates, he returned his ſalarie to them again.

He is Preacher to the Engliſh Merchants.

Not long after he came over into *England*, being earneſtly ſollicited thereunto by letters from Maſter *Dearing*, Maſter *Fulk*, Maſter *Wiburne*, Maſter *Leaver*, and Maſter *Fox*; about which time the Non-conformiſts having drawn up an admonition to the Parliament for the Reformation of the Church, Doctor *Whitgift*, who was then preferred to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Canterbury*, anſwered the ſame in Print, whereupon the Miniſters which wrote the Admonition, conſulting, but not agreeing upon the choiſe of one to reply to Doctor *Whitgift*, Maſter *Cartwright* was at laſt choſen by lot to undertake it, and performed it ſo well, that his very adverſaries were heard to advance and commend him for it.

He is choſen to anſwer Dr. *Whitgift*.

Yet was he with divers other of the Non-conformiſts brought into the High Commiſſion Court, where for refuſal of the Oath *ex Officio*, they were clapt up in priſon, and afterwards proceeded againſt in the Star-chamber; but it pleaſed God ſo to order it by his Providence that

His impriſonment.

those very witnesses which were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were dismissed, and sent home much more honoured and beloved then they were before.

His contempt of the world.

Whilst Master *Cartwright* was Prisoner in the Fleet, he had thirty pounds sent him from a noble friend, of which he took but ten shillings, returning the rest with many thanks to the donor; and when the Earle of *Leicester* offered him the Provostship of *Eaton-Colledge*, saying, that it was a hundred pounds a year more then enough, besides the conveniency of the place; Master *Cartwright* answered, *That the hundred pounds more, then enough was enough for him.*

His favour with the Earle of *Leicester*.

King *James* sends for him into *Scotland*.

About the yeare 1580. His fame was so spread through the Reformed Churches, that King *James*, then King of *Scotland*, sent for him, profering to make him Professor in the University of Saint *Andrews*: whereof twenty yeers after, upon King *James* his coming into *England*, Master *Cartwright* makes mention in his Epistle before his Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*, which he dedicated to King *James*, returning humble thanks for that Royal favour. The Arch-bishop of *Dublin* also sent for him into *Ireland*, proffering him preferment in that Kingdome.

He is sent to for counsel.

He was sent to from divers eminent Divines beyond the seas, wherein they craved his advice for the direction of young men in the method of their studies, as also in the behalf of the Churches in general, for his counsel in regulating their proceedings in the waitiest affairs.

He is made Master of the Hospital at *Warwick*.

Also about the same time the Earle of *Leicester* preferred him to be Master of his Hospital at *Warwick*, which place was worth to him about one hundred pounds *per annum*: His imployment was to pray with the poor men twice a day, to catechise twice a week, and to preach once on the Lords day at the Parish Church: This place he willingly and thankfully accepted of, because he was therein exempted from the Jurisdiction of the Prelates.

His esteem in the country.

His carriage and deportment was such, that there was not a Noble man or Gentleman of quality in all the Country that looked Heavenward, or was of any account for Religion and learning, but they sought to enjoy his company and found much pleasure and content therein; for his conversation was such, that scarce a word came from his mouth that was not of some good use and concernment.

His diligence in the *Ministry*

He was of a very laborious and indefatigable spirit; it was his meat and drink to be doing the Will of his heavenly father; so that besides all his pains in Writing, and in the Hospital, he preached every Sabbath-day in the morning about seven a clock in the lower parish of *Warwick*, and, when he could be suffered, in the upper Parish in the afternoon; Besides which, he preached a Lecture on Satturdays in the afternoon in the upper Church, in which he went over a great part of the *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes* with singular judgement and profit; and this he did of his owne free Will, without demanding or receiving one penny for his pains. And whereas he was sometimes suspended

ded by the Biſhops from preaching in the Churches, his manner was at thoſe times to preach in the Hoſpital, whither many reſorted to hear him, though they were ſure to be brought into the Biſhops Courts for the ſame.

Preſently after his coming to *Warwick*, the *Engliſh* Seminary at *Rhemes* publiſhed their Verſion of the New Teſtament, and Annotations upon it in *Engliſh*, which coming over into *England*, it was looked upon by all as a book of dangerous concernment, and therefore fit to be anſwered by the ableſt pen that could be found; Hereupon (as I have heard) Queen *Elizabeth* ſent to *Beza* to requeſt him to undertake the anſwer; but he modeſtly excuſed it, and returned anſwer that ſhe had one in her own Kingdome, far abler then himſelf to undertake ſuch a task, and upon further enquiry declared that it was Maſter *Thomas Cartwright*.

He is importuned to anſwer the Rhemiſt Teſtament.

Then Sir *Francis Walſingham*, a man of eminent place and power, who herein, as in other affairs, was accounted the mouth and hand of the Queen and State, wrote to Maſter *Cartwright*, earneſtly requeſting him to undertake the work, aſſuring him alſo of ſuch aid as ſhould further him in the finiſhing thereof; for which end he ſent him one hundred pounds towards the charges of buying books, and procuring Writers which were to be employed by him therein; This was *Anno* 1583.

Encouraged by Sir *Francis Walſingham*.

The ſame year alſo he was earneſtly ſollicited by the moſt learned men of the Univerſity of *Cambridge* by a ſolemne Epiſtle, with joint conſent written to him to undertake the anſwer, wherein amongſt other paſſages they have theſe expreſſions; *With you we are earneſt (moſt Reverend* Cartwright*) that you would ſet your ſelf againſt the unhallowed endeavours of theſe miſchievous men, either by refuting the whole book, or at leaſt ſome part thereof. It is not for every man Work-man-like to frame Gods Tabernacle, but for* Bazaleel *and* Aholiab; *neither is every one raſhly to be thruſt forth into the Lords battels; but ſuch Captains are to be choſen from amongſt* Davids *Worthies; Of which as we acknowledge you to be, by the former battels undergone for the wals of our City the Church; *we doubt not if you wil enter this warre, which truly you ought according to the Zeale and Piety you bare to your Country and Religion, but that you fighting for Conſcience and Country (yea even for the very inmoſt holy place of the Temple) will be able to tread underfoot the forces of the Jebuſites, which ſet themſelves to aſſault the Tower of* David. *Moreover, (which may marvellouſly ſharpen the edge of your courage) you are not now to fight with a brother or fellow of the ſame Religion (which maketh the Conflict more faint) but with the moſt inveterate enemies of Ieſus Chriſt, &c.* Then they thus conclude. *You ſee to what an honourable fight we invite you. Chriſts buſineſſe ſhall be undertaken againſt Satans Champions. We ſtir you up to fight the battels of our Lord; where the victory is certain, which the triumph and applauſe of the Angels will enſue. Our Prayers ſhall never be wanting unto you. Chriſt without doubt, whoſe cauſe is defended, will be preſent with you. The Lord Ieſus much increaſe your*

He is ſollicited thereto by the Doctors of *Cambridge*.

* Church-diſcipline.

your courage and ſtrength, and keep you very long in ſafety for his Churches good. Vale. This was ſubſcribed by *Roger Goad*, *William Whittaker*, *Thomas Crook*, *Iohn Ireton*, *William Fulk*, *Iohn Field*, *Nicholas Crane*, *Giles Seintler*, *Richard Gardener*, *William Charke*, *&c.*

And by the Miniſters of *London* and *Suffolke*.

But beſides theſe, the Reverend Miniſters of *London*, and *Suffolke* did by their ſeveral letters earneſtly exhort him to this work; Maſter *Cartwright* was at laſt by theſe importunities drawn to undertake it, and neither diligence nor conſtancy was wanting in him to have carried it on to perfection; but he met with ſuch great diſcouragements and hinderances from potent adverſaries, that he was forced often to lay pen aſide; yea Arch-biſhop *Whitgift* ſent him a poſitive command that he ſhould deal no further in it; yet afterwards by an Earle and privy Counſellor of great note, and ſome other noble Perſonages, he was at laſt drawn to take pen in hand again; But receiving new diſcouragements, and having ſuch continual employment in the Miniſtry, he lived not to perfect that work.

His diſcouragements in the work.

The work left imperfect.

Whilſt he was at *Warwick*, being ſilenced by the Biſhops, he was requeſted by the Lord *Zouch*, Governour of *Gernſey*, to go with him into that Iſland, with whom he continued ſome time, and in the mean ſpace he ſubſtituted one Maſter *Lord*, a godly and holy Miniſter, then living at *Woolſtone*, in his room at the Hoſpital in *Warwick*, allowing him the greateſt part of the profits of the place during his abode there; and the reſt he cauſed to be diſtributed amongſt the poore.

His going into *Gernſey*.

His contempt of the world.

He was far from ſeeking after great places or great things in the world, and for riches he ſought them not, yea he rejected many opportunities whereby he might have enriched himſelf; His uſual manner was, when he had good ſummes of gold ſent him, to take only one piece, leaſt he ſhould ſeem to ſlight his friends kindneſſe, and to ſend back the reſt with a thankfull acknowledgement of their love, and his acceptance of it, profeſſing, that for that condition wherein God had ſet him, he was as well furniſhed as they for their high and great places.

His charity.

His manner was not to keep any more mony in his purſe, but what might ſerve for charitable uſes; He was very bountiful to poor Schollers; He diſtributed mony every Sabbath-day amongſt the poore of the town of *Warwick*, beſides what he gave to the Priſoners, and upon other occaſions both at home and abroad.

For his houſhold affairs, he never tronbled himſelf with them, but wholly left them to be ordered and managed by the Prudence of his wife.

His Prudence.

His ſtudiouſneſſe.

He was very careful to regulate and order the buſineſſes of the Hoſpital for the beſt advantage of the poor brethren. He continued his diligence and aſſiduity in his ſtudies even in his old age, and his uſual manner was to riſe at two, three, and foure a clock at the lateſt, both ſummer and winter, notwithſtanding his bodily infirmities were ſuch, that he was forced to ſtudy continually kneeling upon his knees.

He

He was of a very meek and quiet ſpirit as appears in thoſe conflicts which he had with Doctor *Whitgift*, and Doctor *Sutcliffe*, wherein he uſed ſoft words and hard arguments; he could not endure ſo much as in private to hear his adverſaries reproached, and if any in his preſence uſed diſgraceful ſpeeches of them, he would ſharply reprove them for it, ſaying, that its a Chriſtians duty to pray for, and not to reproach his adverſaries, and when *Martin mar-Prelates* book came forth, he ſhewed much diſlike of the Satyrical and tart language uſed therein. His meekneſſe

He was alſo very humble, not enduring to heare any thing ſpoken in his own commendation, or any titles given him, which in the leaſt meaſure favoured of ambition; He affected not popularity, but avoided it as much as poſſibly he could. His humility.

Indeed all his ambition was to advance the Kingdome & cauſe of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and to promote Gods glory. It was the great joy and rejoycing of his heart to heare of the welfare and proſperity of the Churches at home and abroad; for this he earneſtly and daily prayed; and when he heard any ill tidings, with *Nehemiah* he ſat down and mourned, and faſted, and prayed before the God of heaven, ſo that all that converſed with him might eaſily diſcern that nothing did affect him in any degree like the good or ill tidings of the Churches ſtate. His ſympathy with the Church.

He was frequent in prayer every day, and in his younger years hath riſen many times in the night to ſeek out private places to pray in. And as his labours were very great in the work of the Miniſtry, ſo it pleaſed the Lord to make them very ſucceſſeful for the converſion and confirmation of many, and for terrour and reſtraint unto others. His frequency in Prayer. The ſucceſſe of his *Miniſtry*

There was one *Maſter Chaplin* a woollen Draper in *Warwick*, who made a Profeſſion of Religion, but many times brake out into ſcandalous practices; *Maſter Cartwright* on a time walking with him in his garden dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miſcarriages, and ſhewing him the diſhonour that he brought to God and the Goſpel thereby; This ſo wrought upon *Chaplin*, that he preſently ſunk down, and being carried home, died within a few houres after.

In his old age, he was much troubled with the ſtone and gout, which much empaired his ſtrength, yet would he not intermit his labours, but continued preaching when many times he could ſcarce creep up into the Pulpit. The Sabbath before his death, which was the laſt Sermon that he made, *December* the 25. he preached upon *Eccleſ.* 12.7. *Then ſhall the duſt return to the earth, and the ſpirit ſhall return to God who gave it.* The morning before his death which was the Tuesday following, he was two houres on his knees in private prayer: In which (as he told his wife) he found wonderful and unutterable joy and comfort, God giving him a glimpſe of heaven before he came to it, and within a few houres after he quietly reſigned His laſt Sermon. Joy unſpeakable.

up his ſpirit unto God, *December* the 27. *Anno Chriſti*, 1603. And of his age ſixty eight. Maſter *Dod* preached his Funeral Sermon.

During his abode in the Univerſity, he was of great power, and credit in the Regent-houſe, ſo that the Doctors feared leaſt the Preciſians (as they were then called) ſhould choſe him vice-Chancellour, whereupon they procured the alteration of the Statute, whereby the choiſe was formerly in the Regent-houſe; and confined the Election of the vice-Chancellor to one of thoſe two whom the Heads ſhould prick.

After long diſcontinuance Maſter *Cartwright* coming to *Cambridge*, was importuned to preach on a week day in Saint *Maries*, where there was a great confluence of all ſorts to heare him; grave men ran like boys in the ſtreets to get places in the Church. After Sermon he dined at Maſter *Chaddertons*, and many went to the houſe to ſee and hear him ſpeak.

The Life of Maſter Arthur Hilderſam, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1631.

His Parentage

ARthur Hilderſam was borne at *Stetchworth*, near *New-Market* in *Cambridg-ſhire*, *Octob.* 6. 1563. He was ſonne of *Thomas Hilderſam* of the ſaid town (a Gentleman of an ancient family) and *Anne Poole* his ſecond wife, daughter to Sir *Ieffery Poole*, fourth ſonne to Sir *Richard Poole*, (who was Couſin germane to King *Henry* the ſeventh) and *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Saliſbury*, that was daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, (the ſecond brother to King *Edward* the fourth) and *Iſabel* the eldeſt daughter and Co-heir of *Richard* the great Earle of *Warwick*, and *Salisbury*.

His education.

Thus much for his birth. For his Education; In his childhood he was brought up in the Popiſh manner, taught to ſay his Prayers in *Latine*, both his Parents and their Kindred, ſpecially his mother, being zealous Papiſts. When he was to be ſent abroad to ſchoole, his fathers aime was only to ſend him to a good ſchoole, where many Gentlemens ſons were taught; but God ſo ordered it, (by his good Providence) that his father unawares placed him at *Saffron-Walden* ſchool in *Eſſex*, with one Maſter *Desborough*, a godly man, and a religious Proteſtant, who taking great affection to him for his wit and diſpoſition, was very careful of him, and taught him not only that humane learning that was fitting his years, but the grounds of the Proteſtant Religion; This his Schoolmaſter was the firſt bleſſed inſtrument God was pleaſed to uſe of to work in him a liking and relliſh of the Reformed Religion. He continued with him till he

His converſion.

A ſpecial Providence.

he was fit for the Univerſity, which was not long. When he was about thirteen yeers of age, he was placed by his father (the good hand of God ſtill over-ruling him) with a very godly and religious Tutor in *Chriſts Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where he continued till after he was Maſter of Arts, where he gained much love and eſteeme for his piety, learning, ingenuity, affability and harmleſſe inoffenſive witty converſe.

When he had continued in *Cambridge* ſome two yeers or thereabouts; his father ſent him up to *London*, intending to ſend him to *Rome*, (being confident he ſhould neither want reſpect, encouragement, nor preferment for his great Unckles [Cardinal *Pooles*] ſake, brother to his mothers father) but he refuſing to go, his father kept him long at *London*, taking him from one Popiſh Ordinary to another, hoping that ſuch company, would at length have prevailed with him to have gone according to his deſire. But he continuing firme in his reſolution, not to go to *Rome*; his father reſolved to caſt him off, which ſoone after he did. Thus he, whom God had appointed to ſuffer much for him, began to *beare the yoake in his youth*; and in his tender yeeres became a Confeſſor in forſaking, father, friends, all preſent maintenance and probable hopes of great future preferment for Chriſts ſake.

His father caſts him off.

Lam. 3.27.

Being in this dejected and forlorne condition, *God that comforteth thoſe that are caſt down*, comforted him by meeting with Mr. *John Ireton* (then Fellow of *Chriſts* Colledge, after Rector of *Kegworth* in *Leceſter* ſhire, a man famous for piety and learning) in *London*, who at their meeting ſaid unto him, *Arthur, why art thou ſo long from thy book, and loſeſt ſo much time?* Alas Sir, ſaid he, I ſhall go no more to *Cambridge*, and thereupon told him his condition, and the occaſion of it. *Be not diſcouraged, ſaith Maſter Ireton, thou haſt a Noble kinſman, whom I will acquaint with thy caſe: and I doubt not but he will provide for thee.* Accordingly Maſter *Ireton* ſoone after went to the Right Honorable *Henry* Earle of *Huntingdon*, Lord Preſident of the North (whoſe mother and Maſter *Hilderſams* mother were brothers children) and repreſenteth to him the ſad condition of his poor kinſman: The Noble Earle gladly embraced this opportunity of doing good; and ſent for him, encouraged him, promiſed him maintenance, and gave order to Maſter *Ireton* to ſend him back to *Cambridge*, and to place him with a good Tutor, *For*, ſaid he, *I ſuppoſe his father did place him with a Papiſt.* But when Maſter *Ireton* aſſured him the contrary, he gave order he ſhould go to his former Tutor, of whoſe love to him and care of him, Maſter *Hilderſam* was wont often to ſpeak.

2 *Cor.* 7. 6.

A ſpecial Providence.

When Maſter *Hilderſam* was Maſter of Arts, he was ſoon after to Common-place, [a Colledge-exerciſe in Divinity, not different from a Sermon, but in length] he being loth to adventure upon that exerciſe, intreated one of the fellows (his eſpecial friend) to ſupply his place the firſt time; but he out of love refuſed to gratifie him in that,

that, and wiſhed him to remember one Maſter *Sidney Zouch*, Maſter of Arts of that Colledge, who getting one to ſupply his place the firſt time, and hearing afterwards ſome of his own year performe that exerciſe ſo well, that he deſpaired of doing the like, could never after be perſwaded either to common place, or preach, though he were a very able ſcholler. The firſt time he was to Common-place he was much afraid, but obſerving a very godly man (his friend) on th'other ſide of the Chappel, he thought that man prayed for him, which much encouraged him.

His firſt Sermon.

He was of ſo good repute for his Piety and Learning, that by the major part of the fellows he was choſen fellow of that Colledge; but Dr. *Barwell* (the *Maſter*) making uſe of his negative voice ſtopped him; and the matter came to the Viſitors, two of which, *viz.* Doctor *Perne*, and Doctor *Goad*, favouring his Competitor, *Maſter Willet*, (who was afterwards Doctor *Willet*) made him fellow. Not long after he was choſen Divine of *Trinity*-hall in the ſaid Univerſity: where he continued till *Septemb.* the 14. 1587. at which time by the foreſaid Right Honourable Earle he was called to be, and placed Preacher at *Aſhby-de la zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire*; The impropriate Tithes of the ſame pariſh being ſetled upon him for his life by the ſaid Earle, and continued to him by the favour of the two ſucceeding Earles, *George*, and *Henry*, until his death. He hath given publike notice to the world of his duty and thankfulneſſe to that noble houſe, in his Dedicatory Epiſtle to his Lectures on *Iohn.* 4.

His remove to *Aſhby*.

Ianuary 5. 1590. He married *Miſtris Anne Barfoot* (daughter to *Maſter Barfoot* of *Lamborn*-hall in *Eſſex*, (who was a very loving and careful wife of him, and the like mother of his children;) ſhe ſurvived him about eight years. He was ſilenced in *Iune* 1590. and reſtored again in *Ianuary*, 1591. He was inſtituted and inducted into the Vicaridge of *Aſhby*, *Octob.* 4. 1593.

His marriage

His firſt ſilencing.

He preached at the Aſſiſes at *Leiceſter* in the time of a great dearth, *Iuly* 20. 1596. a godly, learned, zealous, plain, and powerful Sermon upon thoſe words, 1 *King* 18. 17. 18. *And it came to paſſe when* Ahab *ſaw* Elijah, *that* Ahab *ſaid unto him, Art thou he that troubleth* Iſrael? *And he anſwered, I have not troubled* Iſrael, *but thou and thy fathers houſe, in that yee have forſaken the Commandements of the Lord, and thou haſt followed* Baalim. In the handling of which text he ſo offended Iudge *Anderſon*, that he manifeſted his anger and diſpleaſure both by his countenance and geſture, ariſing to go away; but Maſter *Hilderſam* ſpeaking ſome words unto him with miniſterial authority, he ſtayed till the Sermon was done. After Sermon, the Iudge would have had the Grand-Iury to have indited him; but in thoſe days it would have been hard to have found a Grand-Iury in *Leiceſterſhire* that would have done that. Some further and greater danger *Maſter Hilderſam* was in by reaſon of that Iudges diſpleaſure for that Sermon; but God in mercy prevented it.

His ſermon before the Judge.

Judge *Anderſon* angry with him.

In the year 1598. there was an attachment ſent out of the High-Com-

miſſion for his apprehenſion. In the beginning of King *James* his reign, when many petitioned for Reformation, (which Petitions were very modeſt, and moderate, ſubſcribed by above ſeven hundred and fifty godly able Preachers in but twenty five Countries, which Petition was directed to the Parliament, and other Petitions to his Majeſty, the Lords of the Councel, and to the Biſhops:) he with ſome few others of his brethren, were choſen and chiefly intruſted to manage that important buſineſſe, to proſecute the Petitions, to ſolicite the cauſe, and if required, to diſpute it. And whereas there were ſome appointed to deale (for thoſe that deſired Reformation,) in the Conference at *Hampton* Court, he, with Maſter *Stephen Egerton* of *London*, and maſter *Edward Fletewood* of *Lancaſhire*, delivered to them ſome ten demands and requeſts made by thirty reverend Miniſters, in the name of themſelves and many others, which they intreated them to ſolicite his Majeſty for, in the behalfe of the Church.

He manageth the Petition for reformation.

He was deprived and ſilenced by *William Chaderton*, then Biſhop of *Lincolne*, April, 24. 1605. for refuſal of ſubſcription, and conformity; yet after ſome time, by the connivence and favour of *William Overton*, then Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfeild*, he preached ſometimes in that Dioceſſe, ſpecially at thoſe two famous Exerciſes at *Burton* upon *Trent* in *Staffordſhire*, and *Repton* in *Derbyſhire*, which were the meanes of great good to the ſouls of many, both miniſters and private Chriſtians in the parts adjacent. He was the maine upholder of theſe two Exerciſes for many yeers.

His ſecond ſilencing.

The ſucceſſe of his Miniſtry.

In *Ianuary* 1608. by the favour of *William Barlow*, then Biſhop of *Lincolne*, he was allowed to preach again at *Aſhby* aforeſaid, where he began his Lectures on *Iohn* 4. 10. *Ianuary* 31. and continued that Lecture weekly on Tueſday, till *Novemb.* 12. 1611. Theſe Lectures being one hundred and eight, he publiſhed in his life time, 1628. having them all written by himſelf, before he preached them; which courſe he took when he began thoſe Lectures, and continued it to his dying day; blaming himſelf much that he began it no ſooner, and by that neglect, both himſelf and others were deprived (in a great part) of the benefit of his former labours.

He is reſtored to *Aſhby*.

His Lectures on *John* 4.

Novemb. 1611. he was ſilenced by *Richard Neales* meanes, then Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfeild*, who complaining to the King of him, the King commanded the Arch-Biſhop to write to the Biſhop of *Lincolne*, to ſend for maſter *Hilderſam*, and to ſilence him, which was accordingly preſently done. The occaſion of Biſhop *Neales* complaint to King *Iames* was this. One *Edward Wightman* a damnable Heretick (afterward burnt at *Lichfeild* for Blaſphemy and Hereſie,) dwelling in *Burton* upon *Trent* aforeſaid; and coming ſometimes to the Exerciſe there, the Biſhop and his friends gave out, that *Wightman* learned his opinions (at leaſt that of the ſouls ſleeping) of the Puritans, and at the aforeſaid Exerciſes, and of Maſter *Hilderſam* by name. Biſhop *Neale* informing King *Iames* of this, the

His third ſilencing.

Wightman burnt for hereſie.

Slander.

King commanded him, (when he went into the Country) to ſend for Maſter *Hilderſam*, and to hear what he could anſwer *Wightman* in this matter: The Biſhop accordingly ſent for Maſter *Hilderſam*, but would not hear his defence till *Wightman* came: *Wightman* being called to his ſecond publike hearing, *Novemb.* 26. 1611. (in the hearing of more then five hundred people) charged the Biſhop with ſundry wrongs he had done him, naming this for one, that he had given it out, that he had learned his opinions from Maſter *Hilderſam*: whereas I profeſſe (ſaid he) he neither taught, nor confirmed me in any of them; but was of all men ever moſt oppoſite unto me in them, and cauſed mine own friends to reject me for them. Maſter *Hilderſam* had long before in a private conference, in the preſence of Maſter *Aberly* the Miniſter of *Burton*, (who had intreated him to take ſome pains to reclaim *Wightman*,) ſhewed him that his opinion of the ſouls-ſleeping, was directly repugnant to the holy Scriptures, and an hereſie long ſince condemned in the Church: The places of Scripture he urged againſt him, were theſe, *Luke* 16. 22, 22. *and* 23. 43. *Phil.* 1. 23. Soon after he received a letter from *Wightman*, *March* 10. 1608. perceiving by that, and the report of others, that he grew more and more obſtinate in his errours, and laboured to draw others unto it: Maſter *Hilderſam* took occaſion in the next exerciſe held at *Burton*, viz. upon *March* 15. 1608. publickly and at large to confute his errour; the text that fell out that day to be handled, leading him directly unto it, *viz. Heb.* 9. 27. Above a moneth after the ſaid exerciſe, *viz. April* 21. 1609. *Wightman* ſent him another letter, wherein he revileth him for the ſaid ſpeech at the ſaid exerciſe, and took upon him after his manner to anſwer it; yet after this, *viz. November* 27. 1611. before the Biſhop, he impudently avouched to Maſter *Hilderſams* face, that at the conference forenamed, he ſhould ſay that the whole drift of the Scripture indeed did make for the opinion of the ſouls-ſleeping, but that the Church had otherwiſe judged of the matter. Maſter *Hilderſam* did proteſt, that he never ſpake or thought ſo, and offered by oath or any other means that ſhould be required to avow, that he ever held this his opinion to be directly contrary to the Scriptures, and a moſt deteſtable hereſie; Maſter *Aberly* alſo who was preſent at the conference, was ready to depoſe that Maſter *Hilderſam* ſpake no ſuch thing at that time, but the direct contrary. So that not only the reſt that were there, were fully ſatisfied; but the Biſhop himſelf alſo openly profeſſed, that he was aſſuredly perſwaded that *Wightman* had greatly wronged him in this that he had ſaid of him. Thus was Maſter *Hilderſams* innocency cleared in a publike audience, during the time of *Wightmans* trial at *Lichfield*, yet he remained under the cenſure of ſilencing, which was procured to be inflicted on him upon this occaſion; and the two forenamed exerciſes were put down; concerning which all the chief Gentlemen of worth in thoſe parts certified unto the Arch-biſhop *Bancroft* a little before his death, that the profit which that country (which above moſt other places of the land beſides, was known

known to ſtand in great need of ſuch means of inſtruction) received by them was exceeding great.

Maſter *Hilderſam* continued ſilenced a long time, yet could not live peaceably from men, though he lived quietly with men; for *December* 8. 1612. Letters miſſive were ſent out of the High-Commiſſion Court requiring his appearance there; accordingly he appeared, *April* 22. 1613. at which time he was judicially admoniſhed and injoyned, that (ſaving the catechizing of his own family only) he ſhould not at any time hereafter preach, catechize, or uſe any part of the office, or function of a miniſter, either publikely or privately, untill he ſhould be lawfully reſtored and releaſed of his ſaid ſuſpenſion.

He is cited into the High-Commiſſion Court.

In the Spring, 1614. he fell into a violent Feavor which held him long, the malignancy of which ſtruck up into the roof of his mouth, and the griſtle of his noſe, which endangered him much, but by the bleſſing of God upon the care and skill of Phyſitians and Chirurgions he was recovered.

His ſickneſſe.

In *Eaſter*-term 1615. by letters miſſive he appeared in the High-Commiſſion court again, which committed him to the *Fleet*, (for refuſal of the oath *ex officio*,) where he continued a Priſoner divers weeks; at length he was removed by *Habeas Corpus* unto the *Kings Bench*, where he continued a great while; in both places he endured impriſonment three moneths, then he was delivered out of priſon upon bond to appeare the firſt Court day, *Term. Mich.* 1615. but by dangerous ſickneſſe (whereof *affidavit* was made in Court,) he was hindred from appearing at that time.

His ſecond ſummons into the High-Commiſſion Court.

His impriſonment.

September 4. 5, 6. 1616. The Commiſſioners Doctor *Lamb*, Maſter *Owen*, Maſter *Middleton*, and others ſate at *Aſhby*, to examine witneſſes to prove the articles exhibited againſt Maſter *Hilderſam*, and his neighbours, Maſter *Dighton*, and Maſter *Holt*, where the deponents were, many of them, profeſſed adverſaries, ſpecially maſter *Hacket*, (then Vicar of *Aſhby*) who was the principal accuſer and informer of the Court againſt them, and ſo his teſtimony ought not in law to have been received againſt them. It might well have been diſcerned by the depoſitions of many of the deponents, what little credit was to be given to them, and that maſter *Hilderſam* might have had the moſt odious and capital crimes depoſed againſt him by ſuch witneſſes, who did not only in matter of fact affirme upon oath that which all the Pariſh knew to be notoriouſly falſe; but did alſo take upon them to know and deliver upon their oath, the reaſon and ground of his pretended practice, which (they having ever been, as all the neighbours knew, meer ſtrangers to him) was impoſſible for them to do it.

He is falſly accuſed.

The next terme the cauſe came to be heard and cenſured; but Maſter *Hilderſam* hearing of the heavy ſentence againſt maſter *Dighton*, and maſter *Holt*, *November* 21. 1616 (*viz.* to return back to priſon, there to remain till they conformed themſelves; they were alſo fined a thouſand pounds a piece, pronounced excommunicate, and ordered to be ſo publickly denounced, and injoyned to make their ſubmiſſions,

in conceptis verbis, in three ſeveral places; and laſtly they were condemned in expences and coſts of the ſuit) concealed himſelf, & did not appear at that the day of his calling and cenſuring, but did eight days before ſend a Copy of his anſwer to the ſeveral points that were depoſed againſt him, to his Advocate Doctor *Huſſey* to be ſhewed to the Court; Which anſwer in the judgment of rational, honeſt, indifferent men, was full and ſatisfactory.

To inſtance but in the proof of one article, and his anſwer thereunto. One *George Reding* depoſed, *That upon Palm-ſunday was two years he was one of thoſe that came up to the Communion-Table in* Aſhby *Church in ſeveral companies, and (though Maſter* Hacket *had before given warning that he would admit none that would not receive it kneeling) refuſed ſo to receive it, but would have received it ſtanding, and when they could not have it ſo, yet ſtood ſtill among them that kneeled, till the Communion was done.* To which depoſition Maſter *Hilderſams* anſwer was, That it is notoriouſly known to all the inhabitants at *Aſhby*, that I was at that time ſick in my bed, and for many weeks before and after utterly unable to ſtir out of my chamber, neither did I ever at any other time preſent my ſelf in that manner to the Communion Table, neither doth Maſter *Hacket* or any other deponent charge me with any ſuch matter. And this fellow that hath deviſed this againſt me, (whereof there was no colour at all of truth) would in all likelihood have ſworn any thing that might have done me hurt if he had been required to do it. Notwithſtanding this his anſwer to that, and his anſwer to all the reſt delivered as aforeſaid to his Advocate, the Court proceeded to cenſure him, *November* 28. 1616. Whereby he was pronounced a man refractory and diſobedient to the orders, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of *England*; and becauſe he yet refuſed to ſubmit himſelf, and to joyn in the adminiſtration of publick prayer and divine ſervice and Sacraments, as they are here lawfully adminiſtred; therefore he was by the Court pronounced a ſchiſmatical perſon, and a Schiſmatick, and thought well worthy of ſevere puniſhment. And in reſpect that he was the prime Ring-leader of all the ſchiſmatical perſons in that country, both of the Clergy and Laity, He was firſt fined two thouſand pounds to his *Majeſties* uſe, pronounced excommunicate, and ordered to be ſo publickly denounced, as alſo was ordered to be attached and committed to priſon; and ſo to be brought before the Commiſſioners, to be degraded from his miniſtry, and was further ordered to make his publike ſubmiſſion *conceptis verbis*, (as ſhall be preſcribed him by this Court) and laſtly he was condemned in charges.

His cenſure in the High-commiſſion court.

When he heard of this terribly cruel ſentence, it was his wiſedome now to conceal himſelf, which accordingly he did for a long time in the City; and God ſo hid him under the ſhadow of his wings, that his adverſaries could not meet with him.

A ſpecial Providenc.

During this time of his keeping cloſe, one *Maſter John Hartly*, one of the Elders of the Engliſh Congregation at *Leiden* in *Holland*, came with

He is ſent for to *Leyden*.

with letters of Credence from the Congregation, making offer to him of the Paſtors place, then vacant; which he reſolved to have accepted of, had not his wives unwillingneſſe to go over the ſeas, retained him here. The foreſaid fine of two thouſand pounds was eſtreated without abatement into the Exchequer, *March* 12. 1616. Whence ſeveral Proceſſes were iſſued to the Sheriffs of *Leiceſterſhire*, to enquire of his eſtate, but they by ſeveral returns anſwered they could find none. At length the ſaid fine was begged and granted by his Majeſty King *Iames* under the great Seal to Maſter *Williams*, Page to the (then) Marqueſſe of *Buckingham*; whereupon maſter *Hilderſam* compounded both with him, (giving him a great ſumme of mony,) and with the Regiſters alſo of the High-Commiſſion Court for their part of the fine, and obtained a diſcharge from them both. I ſuppoſe it will be hard to finde that any man was before, or ſcarce hath been ſince in that Court, ſo deeply fined and heavily cenſured, meerly for his judgement and conſcience, having done nothing either factiouſly or contemptuouſly againſt that Government and thoſe orders of the Church that were then eſtabliſhed. He was indeed always from his firſt entring into the miniſtry, a reſolved and conſcientious Non-conformiſt, as appeareth by the foregoing ſtory, and ſo continued to his dying day, witneſſe that clauſe in his laſt Will, *I do hereby declare and proteſt, that I do continue and end my days in the very ſame faith and judgement, touching all points of Religion, as I have ever been known to hold and profeſſe, and which I have both by my doctrine and practice and by my ſufferings alſo given teſtimony unto.* He was a great admirer, follower, and friend of Maſter *Thomas Cartwright* (famous for Religion and learning) who left his papers to maſter *Iohn Dod* and him, to peruſe and publiſh what they thought fit.

His conſtancy

Though he himſelf was a conſtant Non-conformiſt, yet ſuch was his ingenuity and Chriſtian charity, that he reſpected, eſteemed, and was very familiar with thoſe he knew to be religious and learned, though of another judgement. He did always oppoſe the ſeparation of the Browniſts, and the ſemi-ſeparation of Maſter *Jacob*, with whom, as alſo with ſome Ring-leaders of the former ſort, he had divers conferences and diſputes. He is called by Doctor *Willet* (his Contemporary, and ſometimes Competitor) *The Hammer of ſchiſmaticks whom they commonly call Browniſts*; as you have it in I. C. his Epiſtle to the Reader, before the forenamed Lectures on *Iohn.* 4. That is maſter *Iohn Cottons* of *New-England*, (his dear and familiar friend,) who there expreſſes his high opinion of the Author, thoſe Lectures, and his Treatiſe of the doctrine of the Lords Supper, printed 1608. annexed to a little Treatiſe of the like argument, ſet forth by a godly learned man (his intimate friend) maſter *William Bradſhaw*, of which Treatiſe of maſter *Hilderſams* maſter *Cotton* gives this Teſtimony. *That it hath been of ſingular good uſe to many poor ſouls for their preparation to that Ordinance. And in very deed* (ſaith he) *thoſe queſtions and anſwers do more fully furniſh a Chriſtian to that whole ſpiritual duty, then*

His humility, and charity.

He is oppoſed by the Browniſts, and Independents.

Maſter *Cottons* teſtimony of him.

then any other, in any language (that I know) in ſo ſmall a compaſſe; Maſter *Cotton* alſo mentioneth in the foreſaid Epiſtle a letter of Maſter *Hilderſams* to a Gentlewoman againſt Separation, which without his conſent, a Separatiſt (maſter *Francis Johnſon*) printed and refuted, *Which* (ſaith Maſter *Cotton*) *hath ſo ſtrongly and clearly convinced the iniquity of that way, that I could not but acknowledge in it both the Wiſedome of God, and the weakneſſe of the Separatiſt*; *His wiſedome, in bringing to light ſuch a beam of the light of his truth, by the hand of an adverſary, againſt the Authors mind*; *and the weakneſſe of the other, to advance the hand of his adverſary, to give himſelf and his cauſe ſuch a deadly wound in open view, as neither himſelf, nor all his Aſſociates can be able to heal.* His judgement and teſtimony of the Author and his Lectures on *Iohn.* 4. you may read in that Epiſtle. In a private Letter of his from *Boſton* February 3. 1629. to him, he mentioneth a Letter he received from a *Dutch* Miniſter in *London*, (one *Timotheus Van Vl-eren*) who telleth him, he had ſent ſundry of the books on *John* 4. to Miniſters beyond the Seas, who do read them with ſuch great ſatisfaction, that the ſaid *Dutch* Miniſter did in the name of many others intreat Maſter *Cotton* to beſeech Maſter *Hilderſam* to put forth his Sermons on *Pſal.* 51. and other his lucubrations. And accordingly Maſter *Cotton* in that Letter writeth thus; *Since the Sermons already on part of the Pſalme, do ariſe to a juſt and full volume, be entreated to hearken to the deſires of ſo many at home and abroad, and give them leave to be doing good, whilſt the reſt are preparing. You have cauſe to love the Lord your God with all your might; and therefore ſince thoſe Sermons might be ſhewing your love to God in working his work, before their fellowes, do not hold back any part of their ſervice to the Church, for the preſent time*: This his requeſt he renewed in another Letter of *July* 23. 1629.

Having mentioned the teſtimony and judgment of the Reverend Maſter *Cotton* concerning Maſter *Hilderſam* and his labours, whom in his Reply to maſter *Roger Williams* anſwer of his Letter, *p.* 117. he ſtileth *a man of a thouſand*, I ſhall inſert another teſtimony of a man deſervedly famous in the Church, Doctor *Preſton*, then Fellow of *Queens* Colledge in *Cambridge*, concerning the forementioned Lectures on *Iohn* 4. He having long deſired, at length obtained of Maſter *Hilderſam* the Copie of them, which he kept a long time, and peruſed, & being deſired to deliver his opinion of them, in his letter to the author, *November* 28. 1615, ſpeaketh thus, *I will ſay to you faithfully and ingenuouſly what I think without adding a word more then mine own heart is perſwaded of. Firſt in general, for putting them to the Preſſe, I do not only think that they are worthy of it; but ſo far as any intreaty of mine might prevail, I ſhould preſſe you to it, as depriving Gods Church of a very great benefit if you ſhould refuſe. In particular, beſides the profitableneſſe of the matter, theſe two things I obſerve in the reading of it, Firſt, throughout the whole carriage there appeareth a continued ſtrength (that I may ſo call it) without any failing or deficiency, without any inequality*

Dr. *Preſtons* teſtimony of his Lectures on *John.* 4.

quality, unevenneſſe of deformity of ſome parts with the reſt: Secondly, it is preſſe and ſuccinct (though large) the things choyce and pertinent, and throughly depending each on other: In brief, ſo it is, there is nothing that need be added, and nihil quod amputem. *So that when I went about to take out ſome things for mine owne uſe briefly, I could not almoſt tell what to leave out. To ſay all in a word, Sir, I do think it is ſuch as will anſwer to your name, and ſuch as men would look for from you. There are very few writings, but wherein we commonly ſee ſome failings in theſe two particulars, which I mentioned; Beſides, the method I much like, as very judicious; which hath not ruled you, but you it, in a ſeaſonable changing it, as your matter lyeth, ſo caſting the frame of it, that it extorteth not more then is neceſſary from you, nor cutteth off any thing that you would deliver: which one preciſe, uniform method ſtrictly kept often doth. I hope it will be a good help to Miniſters when they read it, and bring the method of doctrine and uſes into more credit.* Theſe are Doctor *Preſtons* own words in his letter. Unto this ample and laudible teſtimony given, by theſe two Worthies, this may be added, that his moſt grave and authoritative manner of preaching, did give an edge and excellency unto his miniſtry.

Though Maſter *Hilderſam* in the judgement of theſe eminent Divines at home and abroad, and moſt others that knew him, were a man of ſuch worth and ability, and whoſe labours were ſo uſeful in the Church: yet was he for a long time, by the then prevailing power in the Church, caſt aſide like a broken veſſel.

His ſtudiouſneſſe.

After his cenſure in the High-Commiſſion Court he lived privately a long time, ſometimes in the city, ſometimes in the countrey.

He was always, whether ſilent or having liberty to preach, a conſtant ſtudent; when he was in the country, and had conveniency of place and weather, he uſed to walk alone every morning near an houre to meditate. In the morning he read conſtantly a chapter, whence he gathered ſome obſervations, and wrote them in a book, with the reference to ſome common-place in the margent, which he referred to his Common-place book by numbers: The like he did out of many books that he read; in others which he read, he referred the moſt obſervable things in them to his Common-place book by the pages in them. As he was much in ſecret Prayer, ſo was he fervent therein, yea frequent in holy ejaculations audibly expreſſed, as was obſerved by ſome godly friends, whoſe occaſions brought them often near to the place where he ſtudied.

His care to profit by the Word.

He was always a diligent frequenter of the publick aſſemblies, whether he were in the city or countrey; he uſed often even in his old age to write Sermons in the Church. He ſo highly prized the miniſtry of the Word, that he would often ſay, *He never heard any godly Miniſter preach, though but of weak parts, but he got ſome benefit by him.*

He

He ſojourned in many families, and always by his godly and amiable carriage got love and eſteem of all in the houſe.

In all places where he did reſide, or whither he came occaſionally, he was always helpful in family-Prayers, in expounding the Scriptures read, and in the repetition of the Sermons preached in the publick Congregation; being alſo willing by private conference to inſtruct the ignorant, to ſatisfie the doubtful, to ſettle the wavering, to comfort the dejected, and to encourage all ſorts in the exerciſes of Religion.

He was much in the houſe of Miſtris *Katherine Redich* of *Newhall* in *Derbyſhire*, (widdow to *Alexander Redich* of *Redich* in *Lancaſhire* Eſquire, his boſome friend) his ancient acquaintance, and conſtant dear friend to his death, who ſurvived him not above eight days; the grief for his death haſtning (as it was ſuppoſed) her end. In her houſe at *Hamſtead* near *London*, *Auguſt.* 21. 1624. He fell ſick of a violent Feavor, which put him into ſuch danger that the Phyſitians doubted of his Recovery, he over-hearing ſome intimation of it, when he thought none were in the room, the Curtains being drawn about his bed, he was over-heard by one in the room to ſpeak audibly thoſe words of *Pſal.* 118. 17. *I ſhall not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* At that time there was as little hope of his preaching as of his Recovery; But God in great mercy ſoon after reſtored him both to health and liberty. The next year, *viz. Iune* 20. 1625. he was licenſed by Doctor *Ridley*, then Vicar-general to the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, to preach in the Dioceſe of *London*, *Lincoln*, and *Coventry*, and *Lichfield* under the ſeal of that office. By vertue of which licenſe he began to preach, *Auguſt.* 3. 1625. in *Aſhby*-Church aforeſaid, thoſe eight Sermons on *Pſal.* 35. 13. concerning Faſting, Prayer, and Humiliation for ſin, which were publiſhed ſince his death, *viz.* 1632. according to his own Copy left under his hand, by his ſonne Maſter *Samuel Hilderſam.*

September 28. 1625. he began his one hundred and fifty two Lectures on *Pſal.* 51. Publiſhed in the like nature, 1635.

After the laſt forementioned licenſing, he was ſilenced again, *March* 25. 1630. by notice given him from the Court at *Leiceſter* of the Kings inſtructions, for every Lecturer to read ſervice in Surplice and Hood, and he began to preach again, *Aug.* 2. 1631. and ſo continued till *December* 27. 1631. which was the laſt Sermon that he preached.

Soon after he fell ſick of his laſt ſickneſſe, and diſcerning it to increaſe, he ſent for his forenamed ſonne dwelling at *Weſt-Felton* in *Shropſhire*, fourty nine miles from *Aſhby*; He with his wife came to him with all convenient ſpeed, *January* 13. and ſtayed with him till his death.

Their company and attendance at that time (as always formerly,) was very contenting and comfortable. And of his daughter in law (who was by himſelf propounded as a meet wife for his deareſt Son, and

His ſickneſſe.

His recovery.

His Lectures at *Aſhby*, on *Pſal.* 35. 3.

His Lectures on *Pſal.* 51.

He is again ſilenced.

His laſt ſickneſſe.

and in whom he ever took much delight) he was heard, wich affection to ingeminate theſe words, *Never man had a kinder daughter in Law.*

His diſeaſe (though not diſcerned to be ſo at the firſt) proved the Scorbute, the which being a dull and melancholick diſtemper, indiſpoſed him to ſpeak much, yet as he ſhewed wonderfull patience through his whole ſickneſſe, ſo he uſed many holy and heavenly expreſſions to thoſe that attended him, or came to viſite him, who (he being ſo much beloved and honoured in the Country) were not a few.

He ſuggeſted unto ſome deare friends, his feares that Wolves would ere long come in amongſt them, and thereupon earneſtly exhorted them to continue ſtedfaſt in the truth, which they had received. And occaſion being given to mention thoſe words, 1 *Tim.* 3. 5. *How ſhall he take care of the Church of God?* looking to his ſonne, he ſaid, Oh *Son, Son*, that care of the Flock is the maine thing.

The moſt godly people in thoſe parts, his conſtant hearers (who had been either converted to Chriſt, or edified and confirmed in grace by his miniſtry) being very ſenſible of the great loſſe, which not themſelves only, but the whole Church of God alſo would ſuſtain by his death, (that they might not ſeem negligent in the uſe of any means within their reach, to prolong his life and their own comfort) did reſolve amongſt themſelves to ſet apart a day, that they might ſolemnly in publick ſeek the Lord by faſting and prayer in his behalf, wherein they had the hearty help of Maſter *Simeon Aſhe*, both in the morning and afternoon by Sermons, and Supplications; who did more owe himſelf unto Maſter *Hilderſam*, then to any other man, having been firſt placed in the Univerſity, under the tuition of famous Maſter *Thomas Hooker*, fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge, and afterwards directed and encouraged in his Miniſtry by his great care and love.

March 4. being the Lords day, he grew very weak, and was prayed for in the Congregation in *Aſhby* Church, both at the morning and evening exerciſe. His ſonne prayed with him divers times that day, and whilſt he was praying the laſt time, he departed and ſlept in the Lord, between nine and ten of the clock that night, *viz. March* 4. 1631. Thus he who had diligently heretofore kept the holy reſt of the Sabbath, did in the cloſe of the Sabbath reſt from his labours; and having glorified God often both in publick and private on that day before, was at laſt on that day received into glory. Maſter *Herring* (his dear and familiar friend) being then at *Coventry*, was ſent for the next day, and came and preached the Lecture in *Aſhby* Church on *Tueſday*, *March* 6. in the morning, (Maſter *Hilderſam* having taken order in his Will that there ſhould be no Funeral Sermon at his burial,) and then ſpake like himſelf, holily, diſcreetly, learnedly, and affectionately, concerning the loſſe that that Congregation, the Countrey and whole Church had ſuſtained by the death of him that was lately

His death.

His burial.

dead. In the afternoon of that day his body was born by neighbour Miniſters to the grave, accompanied by a great multitude both of Miniſters and others, who expreſſed much ſorrow and lamentation.

He lived in *Aſhby* aforeſaid for the moſt part (yet being often forced to remove his dwelling) of fourty three years and ſix months, with great ſucceſſe in his Miniſtry, love and reverence of all ſorts.

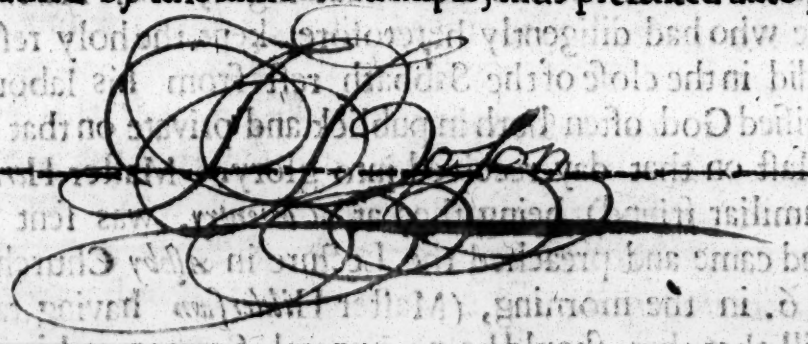
His charity.

He was very chritable to the poor himſelf, and in exciting of his auditors to contribute towards their relief. In few Country-Congregations in *England* the Collections for the poor were ſo large, as they were at the Quarter days at his Lectures.

The loſſe of poor *Aſhby* by his death was exceeding great; for he was the Peace-maker amongſt neighbours, and the patron of the poor; wickedneſſe was checked, and godlineſſe cheriſhed by his great care and wiſedome. He was a friend to every one in a good cauſe, and it was his unwearied delight to be Chriſtianly ſerviceable in any kind.

He lived to a great age, (conſidering that his pains in preaching did ordinarily weaken him ſo much) fixty eight years and five moneths; yet this happineſſe God vouchſafed to him, which was more then ordinary, that he outlived not his parts, but as his graces increaſed towards his end, ſo his abilities of invention, judgement, memory, elocution decayed not in his age. He left a precious memory behind him, had letters of commendation written in the hearts of many, of which ſome live here, ſome in glory. His books will prove more durable monuments of his name, then that his Sonne erected for him in *Aſhby*-Church.

And yet his name with the lively picture of his perſon, lives in his worthy Son, Maſter *Samuel Hilderſam*, whoſe learning *Cambridge* knew, while he was fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge; and whoſe preſent miniſterial labours and pious converſation at *Weſt-Felton* in *Shropſhire*, do perpetuate the honour of his reverend father, whoſe very memory he doth much reverence, and whoſe rich vertues both perſonal and miniſterial he doth happily imitate. And his good help from his fathers papers, and other ways, hath moſt conduced to the drawing up of this faithful relation, that God may be glorified, and many ſouls may be edified by this famous example, thus preſented unto publick view.



The

The Life of Maſter Hugh Clark, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1634.

HUgh *Clark* was born at *Burton* upon *Trent*, in the County of *Stafford*, *Auguſt* 15. 1563. of honeſt Parents, who were very careful of his education, both in Religion and Learning, and when he was fitted for the Univerſity, they ſent him to *Cambridge*, where he was admitted into *Jeſus* Colledge under the tuition of Maſter *Duport*, (afterwards Doctor *Duport*, and Maſter of that Colledge) in that place he followed his ſtudy very hard, and his Proficiency was very exemplary; but after two years and an half, the aire not well agreeing with his conſtitution, he removed to *Oxford*, and continued there till he was Maſter of *Arts*. He was a good Logician, and a very acute diſputant. The firſt place that he was called to exerciſe his miniſtry in, was about *Oundle* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he met with a people, that for the generality of them, were very ignorant and ungodly, and much addicted to the Profanation of the Lords day, by *Whitſon-ales*, *Morris-dancing*, *&c.* which ſins Maſter *Clarke* in his miniſtry much ſet himſelf againſt, endeavouring from Gods word to convince them of the evil, and denouncing Gods judgements in caſe of their obſtinate perſeverance in ſuch provoking courſes; but they, having been always trained up in ſuch practices, and having their hearts hardened againſt admonition, ſtill perſevered in their former courſes, and that the rather, becauſe they were oppoſed by the Word of God therein; but the judgement of God found them out for this their wickedneſſe; for ſhortly after, on a Lords day, the Leader of the Dance, being a luſty young man, in the midſt of their profane paſtimes ſuddenly fell down and died. Yet theſe obdurate perſons (though a little affected for the preſent) ſoon ſhaked off their fears, and returned to their vomit again.

His birth, and breeding.

His going to *Cambridge*.

His remove to *Oxford*.

His going into *Northamptonſhire*.

Gods judgements on Sabbath-breakers.

Maſter *Clark* the Sabbath following took occaſion from this ſad diſpenſion of God, to ſhew them the greatneſſe of their ſins, and how highly God uſed to be diſpleaſed with thoſe which took liberty to profane his holy day, withal quoting, *Ier.* 17. 27. *If thou wilt not hearken unto me to hallow the Sabbath-day, &c. Then will I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, and it ſhall devoure the Palaces of* Jeruſalem, *and it ſhall not be quenched*; opening, urging, and preſſing it home upon their conſciences: yet ſtill they kicked againſt theſe warnings, and the evening following returned to their ſports again; Amongſt theſe there was a

Smith that was a chief Ring-leader; But it pleaſed God the very next day, that two Husbandmen coming to his ſhop to ſharpen their ploughſhares, a ſpark from the red hot iron as he beat it on the anvil, flew into the thatch, which both the Smith and his neighbours ſaw, and ſtood gazing upon it, and might at firſt with one of their fingers have pulled it down, the thatch being low; but God took away their power of moving towards it, ſo that they ſaw it at firſt burn like a candle, then like a torch, and preſently the whole ſhop was on a fire, and the men running out, both ſhop, houſe, and all the Smiths goods were conſumed in the fire, and yet a neighbours houſe that ſtood very near it eſcaped.

Eſay 28. 15. This ſecond remarkable judgement was again by Maſter *Clark* preſſed upon their conſciences, yet nothing would prevail, but as if they had made a Covenant with death, and were at an agreement with hell, they ſtill perſiſted in their ungodly practices, and God who threatens to walk contrary to them that walks contrary to him, purſued them with one judgement after another; and amongſt others this was very remarkable; that upon a Sabbath day which they had highly profaned by drinking, dancing, &c. In the night, when they were retired to their ſeveral homes, there was heard a great noiſe and ratling of chains up and down the town, which was accompanied with ſuch a ſmell and ſtink of fire and brimſtone, that many of their guilty conſciences ſuggeſted unto them, that the devil was come to fetch them away quick to hell; This ſo terrified and wrought upon them, that they began to give better heed to the Miniſtry of Gods Word, and to break off their profane courſes for the greateſt part, ſo that there was an eminent reformation wrought amongſt them; at leaſt ſixteen of thoſe poor ſouls being effectually wrought upon, and brought home to Chriſt; and ſome others that relapſed to their former ways, God purſued them with his judgements till he had brought them to beggery.

Levit. 26. 27, 28.

A ſpecial Providence. During Maſter *Clarks* abode in this place, he had experience of Gods gracious protecting him from the rage of ſome deſperately wicked men, and amongſt others, this is very remarkable; Maſter *Clark*, having on a day preſſed Gods judgements againſt ſome ſinnes, that he ſaw ſome of the people much addicted to, there came the next morning a luſty young man [a ſervingman] to enquire for him, as deſirous to ſpeak with him. Maſter *Clark* being made acquainted with it, ſent for him up into his chamber, and knowing his vicious life took occaſion ſharply to reprove him, and to tell him of the danger that he was in by reaſon of the ſame, in caſe he perſevered in his lewd courſes. This round and faithful dealing, through Gods mercy, wrought ſo effectually upon him, that falling upon his knees he intreated him to forgive him: Maſter *Clark* anſwered, that he ſhould beg pardon at the hands of God, againſt whom he had ſinned, for he knew not for his owne part wherein he had offended him; yea, ſaid the other, *I have not only offended God by ſinning thus and thus againſt him,*

him, but you alſo, for I came hither with a full reſolution to ſtab you with this dagger here at my back, but God hath ſo overawed my ſpirit, that I have not had power to move an hand to accompliſh ſuch a wickedneſſe; and this reſolution of mine proceeded from the Sermon which you preached yeſterday, which ſo terrified my conſcience, that my whole body fell into ſuch a trembling, that I was not able to ſit, whereupon I roſe up and ſet my back to a Pillar to ſtay me, yet neither would that prevail to ſtay my trembling, &c. But now if you pleaſe to forgive me, I ſhall, by Gods grace, never entertain any ſuch deſperate thoughts again; Maſter *Clark* freely forgave him, and after ſome wholeſome and ſeaſonable admonitions, diſmiſſed him.

About this time the ſchiſme, and errors of the *Browniſts* began to ſpread in *Northamptonſhire*, and Maſter *Clark* had many bickerings and diſputations with ſome of the chiefe of them, whom he mightily confuted, and through Gods grace, reclaimed ſome of them.

His remove to *Woolſtone*.

Anno 1590. He was ſent for by *Roger Wigſtone* Eſquire, who lived at *Woolſtone* in the County of *Warwick*, by whom he was choſen to ſucceed Maſter *Lord*, an able and eminent Divine in the paſtoral charge in that place, and having preached ſometimes amongſt them, he was freely choſen by the People alſo. Then having his preſentation from Maſter *Wigſton* (who was a Gentleman of eminent Piety in thoſe days, and a great friend to godly Miniſters.) He went to Doctor *Overton*, Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, for his inſtitution; but the Biſhop having deſigned the living for one of his Chaplains, he endeavoured to perſwade Maſter *Clark* to deſert his title to it, promiſing that he would remember him when ſome other preferment ſhould fall; Maſter *Clark* conſidering his faire and direct call to the place, and therefore hoping that God had a work for him to do there, he abſolutely refuſed to gratifie the Biſhop in his requeſt, telling him that he could not with a good conſcience do it, and therefore importuned him for his inſtitution. Then did the Biſhop ſet his acuteſt Chaplains upon him to examine and diſpute with him, hoping thereby to get ſome ground of exception againſt him; but when that prevailed not, he framed other excuſes to defer the inſtituting of him, one while alledging that his Regiſter was not with him, and then that he had ſo many days allowed by the law to make enquiry after him; and hereby he made Maſter *Clark* to ride three or foure journeys without attaining his deſire, and this the Biſhop did, that the Living might fall into the Lapſe; Maſter *Clark* perceiving his drift, told him, that if he refuſed any longer to grant him inſtitution, he would bring his *Quare impedit* againſt him, which occaſioned the Biſhop at laſt to grant it him; but withal, he ſent at ſeveral times ſometimes an Apparitor, ſometimes one of his Chaplains, and other ſubtil perſons to attend his Prayers and Sermons, to ſee if they could catch any advantage againſt him, and upon trivial occaſions cited him oft to his Court, and thereby much moleſted him. At laſt the Biſhop himſelf being at *Coventry* upon a Sabbath-day, he with ſome of his ſervants came in

He is oppoſed by the Biſhop.

the morning to *Woolſtone*, foure miles off, and coming into the Church, he ſet him down in a ſeat juſt before Maſter *Clark*, none elſe of the Congregation knowing him. Maſter *Clark* ſeeing the Biſhop, abated nothing of his zeal and fervency in preaching and applying of the Word; inſomuch as the Biſhop being much netled by the Sermon, ſhifted and ſhufled up and down as if he had ſate upon thornes; an honeſt man by, obſerving it, fetched him a quiſhion, firſt to ſit on, and then another to lean on, but yet the Biſhop ſeemed very reſtleſſe.

His courage.

The Sermon and Prayer being ended, the Biſhop ſaid openly, *This is an hot fellow indeed, but I will coole him.* Maſter *Clark* hearing it, replyed, My Lord, if I have not faithfully delivered the truth of God, I beſeech you declare what I have ſaid amiſſe, that I may make my defence here before my people: The Biſhop anſwered as before, *You are an hot fellow indeed, but I will coole you*, and ſo depared. Maſter *Clark* replying, *Its good to be zealous in the work of the Lord.*

After this the Biſhop picked a quarrell againſt him, and ſuſpended him from preaching, whereupon Maſter *Clark* uſed to expound the Word; then did the Biſhop ſuſpend him from expounding; whereupon he Catechiſed with expoſition and application; then was he ſuſpended from Catechiſing alſo: whereupon at the uſuall times, in the Church, he cauſed an honeſt man, that was his neighbour, to read a Chapter, and at the end of every verſe to ask him the meaning of it, and what inſtructions and uſes might be gathered out of it. This ſo angred the Biſhop, that he proceeded to Excommunicate him: whereupon Maſter *Clark* repaired to Doctor *Whitgift*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and from him procured his Abſolution; and as he returned homewards, about *Dunſtable* he met Biſhop *Overton* going towards *London*, to whom he ſhewed his Abſolution, and ſo went on in his miniſtry as before. This ſo irritated the Biſhop, that he ſtill ſuborned ſome to watch him in all his publike Prayers and Sermons; about which time the perſecution growing hot againſt the Non-conformiſts, Maſter *Clark* in his Prayer requeſted of God to forgive the Queen her ſins, though in modeſt expreſſions; This the Biſhop being informed of, and ſuppoſing that he had now gotten that advantage, which he had long waighted for; he charged Maſter *Clark* with treaſon, and cauſed him to be committed to the common Jaile in *Warwick*, where he lay (bail being refuſed) till the Aſſiſes, and then the Biſhop cauſed him to be arraigned at the Barre, and had ſo exaſperated the Judge againſt him, that he would have had the Jury to find the Bill; But it pleaſed God to ſtir up the heart of a noble Gentleman, a Juſtice upon the Bench, from that good report which he had heard of Maſter *Clarke*, to ſtand up and publickly to tell the Judge, that before Maſter *Clarke* ſhould have any wrong, he would kneel before the Queen for him: This ſo far prevailed with the Jury, that he was acquitted.

He is ſuſpended, and excommunicated

Abſolved by the Arch biſhop.

He is accuſed of treaſon and impriſoned.

Sir *T. L.*

He is acquitted

Upon

Upon his releaſe *Maſter Clarke* repaired again to Arch-Biſhop *Whitgift*, complaining to him of all this wrong which he had received from the Biſhop; The Arch-Biſhop (very worthily) ſent for the Biſhop, and upon a fair and equall hearing of the buſineſſe betwixt them, he enjoyned the Biſhop to go down, and in *Maſter Clarks* Church upon a Sabbath day before the Congregation to acknowledge the wrong which he had done him, which the Biſhop accordingly did performe, and ever after upon all occaſions was *Maſter Clarks* great friend ſo long as he lived.

The Biſhop enjoyned to ask him forgiveneſſe.

Not long after the Devill ſtirred up new adverſaries againſt him in his own Pariſh, his miniſtry being very quick, powerfull and ſearching, ſo that ſome wicked perſons that found themſelves to be galled by it, railed upon him, threatning to kill him, ſo that *Mr. Clarke*, being a ſtrong luſty man, for a time walked not abroad without his Rapier in his hand for his own defence. At laſt, one of theſe wicked men, whoſe conſcience the miniſtry had galled, vowed his death; and as Maſter *Clarke* was coming from *Coventry*, he waylayed him in a Wood: *Maſter Clarke* in the evening came alone homewards with nothing but a wand in his hand; whereupon this man rode up to him, and falling into diſcourſe with him, Maſter *Clarke* took the opportunity to reprove him for his diſordered life, and ſo laid open Gods judgments due to him for the ſame, that he fell into a great trembling, confeſſed his intention to have killed him, and begged pardon. Yet ſtill he perſiſted in his wicked wayes, and Gods judgments found him out at laſt; for though he had a very good Living, yet he fell into miſery and want, and died in *Warwick* Jaile for debt.

P. *Pet.*

A ſpecial providence.

Maſter *Clarke* had in his Pariſh a Chapell of eaſe, which had two townſhips belonging to it, one of them two miles from the Pariſh Church, the Chapell it ſelf near two miles from it, and the profits of both (the tythes being impropriated) ſcarce amounting to a competent maintenance for one man; *Maſter Clarke* was faine to ſupply them both himſelf; & indeed God had extraordinarily fitted him for it, having given him a very ſtrong, able, and healthful body, ſo that for the greateſt part of his life there, which was about fourty foure years, he rode foure times a day winter and ſummer between the two Churches, read the Word, and preached foure times a day, adminiſtred the Sacraments, and performed all other miniſteriall duties in them both. He preached upon ſeveral texts in each of the Churches, ſo that divers godly perſons, old and young, went betwixt the Churches, hearing ſeveral Sermons to their great profit and comfort. Beſides this, every Holiday he ſupplied both the Churches, ſometimes preached, but conſtantly expounded in each of them, and for the moſt part twice a day alſo, and God ſo bleſſed his labours that he begat many ſons and daughters unto God.

His great pains.

The ſucceſſe of his Miniſtry.

He was very careful in the education of his children, firſt to train them up in the knowledge and feare of God; for which end he would take

His care in the education of his children.

take all opportunities to whet the Word of God upon them, when he lay down, and when he roſe up, and as he walked by the way, &c. and God ſo bleſt his labours, that he lived to ſee, to his great comfort, the work of grace wrought in the hearts of all his ſeven children: and next to this, his care was to traine up all his children in learning and to honeſt callings, often ſaying that if he could leave them no other portion, yet he would give them that education, that they ſhould be able to get their own livings in any part of the world, where God ſhould caſt their lot.

Towards the latter end of his life came forth the book for Recreations on the Sabbath day, and ſome yong perſons in the town where he lived, being encouraged thereby, and by a Popiſh Landlord which they had, would needs have a Whitſon-ale, and Morris-dance, an heatheniſh ſport, long before through Gods goodneſſe, baniſhed out of that town; Maſter *Clark* laboured by his Miniſtry to beat down the firſt riſing of this motion; but theſe perſons were ſo backed and encouraged by ſome that ſet them on, that they would needs proſecute their deſigne, notwithſtanding all the warnings given them by their faithful Paſtor; But God that hath ſaid, *He that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me, &c.* made their ſin quickly to find them out in a terrible judgement that ſuddenly enſued; for in that very barne, ſtanding near a Smiths ſhop, where their revels were moſt kept, there was a violent fire kindled, which notwithſtanding all help, quickly burnt it down, and in a ſtrange manner flying againſt the wind, it went from houſe to houſe, burning down all the houſes of the chief of thoſe which had an hand in theſe profane ſports.

Gods judgement on Sabbath-breakers.

Maſter *Clark* was a man (like *Apollos*) mighty in the Scriptures, and ſo ſtudied in the body of Divinity, that upon ſhort warning he could preach very pertinently and profitably; He had an excellent paire of lungs, and was exceeding powerful in his miniſtry, ſtriking ſhame and terrour into the hearts of the wicked, to whom he was a *Boanerges*, and yet withal he was a *Barnabas* to humbled, broken, bleeding ſouls.

His powerful manner of preaching.

His old age was accompanied with a lingring and painful diſeaſe, which yet he bore with great patience, and as he came neerer to heaven, ſo his motion thitherward was more quick and lively; Many godly perſons came to viſit him in his diſeaſe, and none of them went away without ſome ſpiritual and comfortable inſtructions from him.

His laſt ſickneſſe.

At laſt having long glorified God on earth, and finiſhed his work, he went to receive his wages, quietly reſigning up his ſpirit unto God. *November* 6. 1634. having lived ſeventy one years, two moneths, and nineteen days, and having been Paſtor of *Woolſtone* fourty foure years.

His death.

The Life of Doctor Potter, *who died* Anno Christi, 1642.

Arnaby Potter was born in *Westmerland*, *Anno Christi*, 1578. within the Baronry of *Kendal*, and brought up at schoole there, till he was fitted for the University; Thence he was sent to *Queens* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he was chosen first a scholar of the house, then a fellow, and afterward Provost. Whilst he was fellow, he was a very careful Tutor to many worthy Gentlemens sons, whom he trained up in learning, but especially in true religion. He was a very humble and meek man, a man of few words, a sweet Preacher, and a favourer of strict Professors of Religion. It was the fashion and custome of the fellows after dinner to sit or stand a while at the Hall door; and discourse usually of divers points of Religion, or of good Writers, and sometimes of other trivial matters. This man on a certain time when he heard them talk of many trivial things, said nothing, but observed what they said, and when they had done talking, he thus bespake them; Now, my masters, will you hear all your extravagant discourses? for I have strictly observed and marked what you said, and he told them every whit, and they admired him for his memory.

His birth, and education.

His preferments at *Oxford*.

His humility.

His holinesse.

It was his custome first to write one part of his Sermon, and to commit it to memory presently, and then another, so that he could preach with much facility, and upon a little warning; He was for a while a Lecturer at *Abington*, and at *Totnesse* in *Devonshire*, where he was much respected. Then he proceeded Doctor in Divinity, and was preferred by Sir *Edward Giles* to a Pastoral Charge, which Knight was a worthy Gentleman in his Country, and often chosen a Parliament man for *Devon*.

His Lectures at *Abington*, and *Totnes*.

Doctor *Potter* married the Lady *Giles* her daughter, when he was Doctor but of a years standing. Not long after, Doctor *Ayray*, a worthy Provost of *Queens* Colledge died; whereupon he was chosen to succeed him in the Provostship with the unanimous consent of the fellows, when he was far from the University, and never dreamed of any such preferment.

He is chosen Provost of *Queens* Colledge.

He was also Chaplain in ordinary to Prince *Charles*, and accounted at the Court the penitential Preacher. When he had been Provost about the space of ten years, he resigned his place and went to his pastoral charge in the Country, and there resided; yet he had not been there long, but King *Charles* his Master, cast a favourable aspect up-

He is chosen Bishop of *Carliſle*.

on him, and seeing he had not rewarded him for his long and faithful service, he chose him to be Bishop of *Carliſle*; and though many sued for the place, yet he said peremptorily that none but *Potter* should have it; and surely his gracious Master honoured not him so much, as he did himself and that age, in the freedome of his noble and unexpected choice.

His painfulnes

That which *Nazianzen* said of *Basil*, may be fitly and properly said of this Bishop, *He was promoted, he did not steal or shuffle himself into the chaire, he did not invade it, the honour sought and followed him.* When he was Bishop, he was a constant Preacher and Performer of Family-duty both evening and morning, and kept his Servants and Attendants in good order.

His Sermon at the beginning of the Parliament.

Being called to *London*, in the beginning of the Parliament, he made at *Westminster* a worthy and zealous Sermon, wherein he inveighed against the corruptions that were crept into the Church, especially in respect of Ceremonies so eagerly prest by sundry Bishops, as bowing to the Altar, and such like innovations. His Sermon was well approved of by the best; but he seeing the tumults that were then raised in *London* about the Parliament house, and hearing that he himself was censured as Popish, because a Bishop, he took it grievously to heart, sickned, and died there, about the great climatericall yeare of his age.

His death.

A favourer of godly Ministers.

He was a great favourer of zealous Professors and Lecturers, and therefore he was accounted by many a Puritanical Bishop, and indeed some at the Court in King *James* his time, said, that Organs would blow him out of the Church.

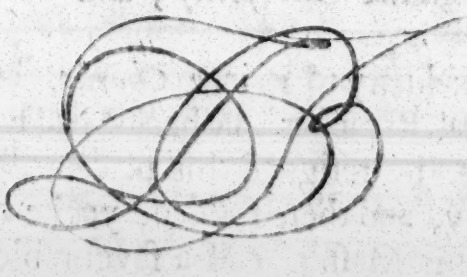
He was well-skilled in the *Hebrew* tongue, and for his further Progresse therein, disdained not to learne of one of the Fellows,* even when he was Provost.

* Mr. *Thomas Richardson* now Pastor of *Newbold Pace* in *Warwickshire*

An enemy to the book of sports.

He utterly disliked the book of sports for Recreation on the Sabbath-day, and told a Minister with whom he was acquainted, that if it were sent down to his Dioceſſe, he would sleight it, and urge none of his Jurisdiction to read it.

He was of a weak constitution of body, melancholick and leane, as being a hard Student, and therefore to recreate his spirits he loved vocal musick, and to this end he sent divers times for such schollers in the Colledge as could sing well, and he would bear a part with them in his lodgings after supper, where they made most excellent melody. He was the last Bishop that died as a Member of the Parliament, and was Bishop of *Carliſle* some fourteen years.



The Life of Maſter Richard Sedgwick, *who died* Anno Chriſti 1643.

Richard Sedgwick was borne at Eaſt *Deereham*, in the County of *Norfolke*, *Anno Chriſti* 1574. His father was a Clothier; but by reaſon of a great loſſe by fire, fell into decay. He had an Uncle living in *Yorkſhire*, who was very rich, and of large yeerly revenues, having no children; whereupon he took this *Richard* in his tender yeeres home to himſelf, and put him to ſchoole, with an intent to make him his heire; but God had laid up a better portion for him. His Uncle and his family were profane, hating the power of godlineſſe, and wedded to games and ſports; yet even in ſuch a Family God viſited him in mercy, and awakened his ſoul by working in him hearty deſires after himſelf. While the reſt of the Family were at their games and dancings, he would be in a corner mourning. His Uncle at firſt thought his retiredneſſe to have been bookiſhneſſe, and therefore rebuked him gently, and called upon him to take more liberty; but at laſt perceiving the truth of the thing, he began to hate him, and to deal roughly with him, and not being able to bring him to his Will, caſt him out of his Family, ſaying, that a Puritane ſhould never inherit his land. Before this, his father died, and his mother being induſtrious and ſparing, out of the little meanes ſhe had left her, maintained him at *Peter-houſe* in *Cambridge*, where he profited greatly in all kind of learning. He began the exerciſe of his miniſtry in *Kent*; where he being called to preach in the Cathedral at *Canterbury*, in his Sermon touching the corruption of the Prebends, and their Cathedral ſervice, he ſo farre diſpleaſed them, as that by threats they brought him to condiſcend, through weakneſſe, to promiſe to recant, and a day for this was appointed.

His birth, and education.

His converſion.

He is rejected by his uncle.

His going to *Cambridge*.

Humane infirmity.

Upon his return home, and his ſecond thoughts, he became very ſad, and in his Perplexity took his Bible and opened it, and at the firſt, lighted on that encouraging Word of God to *Jeremiah*, Jer. 1. 7, 8. *Whatſoever I command thee thou ſhalt ſpeak; be not afraid of their faces, for I am with thee to deliver thee, ſaith the Lord.* By this he was ſo ſtrengthned, that he reſolved to ſtand to what he had formerly delivered, whatſoever dangers did attend him. At the time appointed, he preached again in the Cathedral, having a very large Auditory, both of the Country and City, in which Sermon he confirmed what

A ſpecial providence.

His recovery.

He is perſecuted.

And entertained by Sir *Edward Bois*.

By Sir *Edward Anſlow*.

His great pains

His faithfulnes

His preaching at *Batterſey*.

His ſelf denial.

His marriage.

He is again perſecuted.

he had before delivered, earneſtly preſſing the Prebends to reform the abuſes amongſt them. By this they were ſo offended, that they complained of him to the Biſhop, and ſo perſecuted him, that he was forced to forſake his place, and to retire himſelf into private, and was entertained for a time by Sir *Edward Bois* the elder, a man eminent for Piety in thoſe days.

During this his retirement, he came upon occaſion to *London*, and by the means of Maſter *Egerton* Paſtor at *Black-friars*, was received into the family of Sir *Edward Anſlow*, who lived in the city during the winter, and in Summer at *Crawley* in *Surrey*, a place deſtitute of a preaching miniſtry. In this family his encouragement was great, but his labours abundant. Every day his uſual courſe was to pray in the morning at ſix a clock with the Husbandmen, and at ten to pray with the reſt of the family, and expound a chapter, in which courſe he went through the foure firſt books of *Moſes*; His courſe at night was after Prayer, to catechiſe the family by turns, wherein he uſed no reſpect of Perſons, the meaneſt not being left out, and the chiefeſt not forborne. On the Lords day, during his abode at *Crawley*, he preached twice conſtantly, and after publike exerciſe called the whole family in private to render an account of what was delivered in publick. In the winter, when the greateſt part of the family was at *London*, under an able Miniſtry, he was ready to help others, and by Providence was called to improve his talent at *Batterſey* in *Surrey*. Maſter *Wybourne*, a Reverend Divine, who conſtantly preached in that place, having by a fall broke his legge, and being diſabled thereby to continue his labours, deſiring his aſſiſtance. At this place the people were ſo affected with his Miniſtry, that they requeſted him to continue to preach among them, promiſing to ſtrain themſelves to provide him maintenance.

He had a faire call and opportunity (denying himſelf) to anſwer it, for Sir *Edward Anſlow* about this time had an eſtate befallen him in *Hertfordſhire*, whither he reſolved to go to dwell, in which place was an able and godly Miniſter, Maſter *Sedgewick* ſeeing that, by continuing in this family, he ſhould not have occaſion of exerciſing his publick Miniſtry, relinquiſhed fifty pounds annuity during his life, aſſured to him by this worthy Knight, and accepted of this call to preach at *Batterſey*.

Before his departure out of this family, he married a wife of an honeſt and religious ſtock in the City of *London*. He had not long exerciſed his gifts at *Batterſey*, bringing glory to God, but the devil again raiſed up perſecution againſt him. One Maſter *King*, Church-warden of the place, was offended at him, becauſe he freely reproved ſinne, and boldly ſpake againſt the corruptions that were then in the Church; by this man he was preſented into the *Commiſſaries* Court, and by his means cited to appear to anſwer certain articles. This was about the latter end of Queen *Elizabeths* reigne, not long before the coming in of King *James*; Upon this citation he reſolved to appear, and came to

London

London, and being at the door of the *Commiſſaries* houſe, Maſter *Egerton* his faithful and reverend friend, by Providence paſſing by, came to him, and having ſaluted him, told him he had heard of the oppoſition made againſt him at *Batterſey*, and asked him if he would accept of a Call to go beyond the ſeas; his anſwer was (having returned thanks for his kindneſſe) that he could not as yet reſolve him, foraſmuch as he ſtood accuſed at preſent, and was reſolved what ever came of it, to defend thoſe truths that he had publickly delivered; but yet profeſſing a willingneſſe to follow Providence, whitherſoever the Lord ſhould call him. Appearing before the Commiſſary, he met with courteous uſage, and was friendly diſmiſſed; for at this time thoſe men feared a change to be brought in by *King James*.

His Courage.

Not long after this he was called by the Merchant-adventurers to be Miniſter to their company beyond ſea, whither, breaking through all diſcouragements, he went. During his abode beyond the ſea at *Stoade*, and *Hamborough*, (which was about the ſpace of eleven years and an half) he by the advice of the godly learned, erected and eſtabliſhed Diſcipline in that Church. God did greatly bleſſe his Miniſtry, and he begat among that little company, many ſons and daughters unto God. He had Communion with the *Netherland-Dutch* Church at *Stoade*, and at *Altenou* near *Hamborough*, and with the godly that came out of *England*, admitting them, being deſirous to come to the Lords Table.

He is choſen by the Merchants.

He erects diſcipline in the Church

Converſion.

In his Miniſtry he was very ſearching, many coming and confeſſing thoſe things which he had never heard of, till it came out of their own mouths.

The efficacy of his Miniſtry.

In his carriage he was affable and courteous, yet grave and aweful, ſo that many durſt not for feare do thoſe things that otherwiſe they were diſpoſed to. The Merchants here found the benefit by the orderly carriage of their Factors there. Yet here the divel was not quiet, for one of the prime Merchants taking exceptions againſt his impartial dealing in his Miniſtry, and the order in the Church, threatned by ſuch a day, naming it, to have him over into *England*; but before that day came, himſelf was ſummoned by death to another place.

Gods judgement on a Perſecutor.

He was very charitable himſelf, allowing ſomething yearly towards the maintenance of the ſuſpended Miniſters here, and greatly furthered charity in others. By his direction and incouragement Maſter *Jones*, a rich Batchelour, and one of the Elders of his Church, bequeathed many thouſands of pounds to pious uſes, which to this day ſpeaks his praiſe.

His charity.

He was eminent in ſelf-denial, for being made Executour by the ſaid Maſter *Jones* of his laſt Will and Teſtament; whereby he might have gained much to himſelf, he never reſted till he had cauſed him to alter his Will, and to place others in his room.

His ſelf-denial.

Upon the diſſolving of that company of Merchants he came over into *England*, and being diſappointed of a place in *London*, intended for him by Maſter *Iones*, he went to *Monmouth* in *Wales*, and for ſome

His return into *England*.
His Lecture in *Wales*.

His call to *Wapping*.

time held the Lecture ſetled there. Afterward a Chappel being erected at *Wapping*, he was called to that place, and became the firſt Miniſter there. Here he abode to his death, being holy and exemplary in his life and converſation, and abundant in labours, preaching conſtantly thrice a week, and catechizing on the Lords day beſides.

His painfulnes.

The tenderneſſe of his fatherly care and love of this people, he expreſſed all the time of his living with them, but eſpecially in the time of the great ſickneſſe, when, remaining with them, he preached conſtantly every Lords day, and the Faſt-days, notwithſtanding all the danger that he was in, the infection in that place being much ſpread, and very violent. The Providence of God over him at that time was very remarkable; for although all the Families round about him were infected, and his houſe adjoyned to the place of Burial, yet neither himſelf nor any of his Family were any ways ſmitten with it.

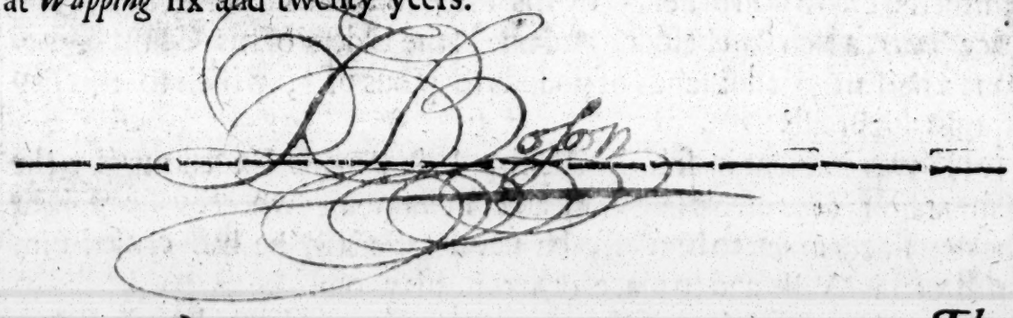
A ſpecial providence.

Many were his labours in private, being much ſought unto both for counſel and for comfort. What ſucceſſe God gave unto his Miniſtry, was evident by the many ſouls wonne and built up by him. He was very ſtudious and wrote much, yet was always averſe from publiſhing any thing, though often requeſted, ſaying, that the many books that were daily ſet forth, hindred the ſtudy and reading of the Holy Scriptures. Once, he committed to the Preſſe a Catechiſme fitted for his own Congregation, and before his death had finiſhed a large Tractate of the body of Divinity, which ſtill lies by.

His humility.

He ſought the good of all, and was a precious ſavour unto ſome, in whoſe hearts to this day his memory flouriſhes. He foreſaw the enſuing diſtractions with a grieved heart, and raiſed himſelf up to comfort by contemplating the approaching time wherein Chriſt and his truth, and his wayes ſhall have the preheminence. His judgement concerning ſome hath proved true, aſſerting often that their principles would not (if they continued in them) ſuffer them to ſit down on this ſide *Anabaptiſme*. He was a friend of truth and peace, and an inſtrument of refreſhing the bowels of the poor, many ſtrangers for his ſake giving in largely towards their relief. Having finiſhed his courſe, being ſpent with labours, he quietly and comfortably ended his dayes, and according to his laſt words, went unto his God *Anno Chriſti* 1643. and of his age 69. having continued his miniſtry at *Wapping* ſix and twenty yeers.

His death.



The

The Life of Maſter Robert Balſom, *who died* Anno Chriſti, 1647.

Robert Balſom was born at *Shipton-Mountague* in the County of *Somerſet*. Having ſpent ſome years in *New-In-hall* in *Oxford*; Upon his removal thence he was entertained by Maſter *Bernard* of *Batcomb* in the aforeſaid County, to teach ſchool, and preach ſometimes as his Aſſiſtant: Under whom he greatly improved his abilities for preaching: Upon the death of Maſter *Bernard*, preaching occaſionally at a neighbour Village call'd *Stoke*, among a company of poor untaught people, one that lived thereabouts, told him, that if ſuch a Miniſter ſhould come and preach among that people, where there was ſo ſmall encouragement, he ſhould think that God had a great work to do upon them: Hereupon Maſter *Balſom* promiſed to be their Miniſter, where he enjoyed about forty pounds a yeere. The ſucceſſe of his Miniſtry there was very great, inſomuch that he hath been heard ſay, that there were but few ſermons that he preached there, but he had intelligence, that ſome one or other was converted by them.

His call to *Stoke*.

The great ſucceſſe of his Miniſtry.

The troubles growing in thoſe parts, by reaſon of our Civill warres, after one or two yeers abode there, he was forced for his owne ſafety, to betake himſelf to *Warder* Caſtle in *Wiltſhire*, where he had not continued long, but the Caſtle was beſieged by the Kings party: Upon the newes of their approach, he was minded to have gone for *London*, but being deſired by Colonel *Ludlow*, the Governour of that Caſtle, he remained there during the ſiege: A little before the Caſtle was delivered up, as they were in Treaty about the ſurrender of it, Maſter *Balſom* walking upon the roof of the Caſtle, heard three ſouldiers ſay, That they had ſworne upon the Bible, to take away the life of one in the Caſtle: He asked one of them, who is that ye mean? Is it our Miniſter? They replyed, yes; for he is a Witch, which they affirmed upon this ground, becauſe the Caſtle had divers times been very ſtrangely relieved with proviſion: as at one time with a herd of Swine coming down to the gates, which they took in; and at another time by ſome Deer, and Conies, the ſiege then being not cloſe, but ſtraightning them at a diſtance: He asked them what was their names? They told him, they were the three merry boyes: He replyed, your names are very unſutable to the times; and ſo after ſome farther diſcourſe, parted with them.

His flight to *Warder* Caſtle.

Special providences.

Afrer

After the ſurrender of the Caſtle, and the enemies entry, they preſently ſeized on Maſter *Balſom*, and clapt him up in a cloſe low room. About twelve aclock at night, the key of the roome was given to the three ſouldiers that had ſworn his death: They having received the key, preſently entred the room where he was with another ſouldier, who was hanged the next morning: No ſooner came they into the room, but they put of their hats, and ſtanding ſtill, lookt on him at a diſtance, ſaying nothing to him: He ſuſpecting them to be the men that had ſworn to take away his life, ſpake to them thus, *Friends, what is your buſineſſe? are not ye the men that have ſworn to take away my life?* They anſwered to this purpoſe, We have taken a wicked oath, God forgive us, but we will do you no hurt; He deſired them to ceme near unto him, but they ſtood trembling, perſwaded him to make an eſcape, voluntarily offering him their beſt aſſiſtance: He anſwered, now I ſuſpect you, you are aſhamed to take away my life, now I am in your hands, but would perſwade me to a flight, that you might with the more colour kill me in the purſuit; they aſſuring him, they intended really the ſetting of him at liberty; He asked what they thought would become of them? they anſwered, they would go along with him; He replyed, that you ſhall not do, for if I be taken again, I ſhall be but in the ſame caſe I am; but if you be taken, it will coſt you your lives: and therefore I will rather ſuffer the utmoſt that God ſhall ſuffer them to inflict upon me, then hazard the lives of thoſe that have ſhewed themſelves ſo friendly to me.

Upon this they had him forth into the freſh aire, and in the mean time made clean his roome, and ſo left him. The next morning a Councel of Warre was call'd, and as they were debating to put him to death, a Captain in the Councel ſtood up, and ſaid, I will have no hand in the blood of this man, and ſo went out of the roome, and no farther progreſſe was made as concerning him. Afterwards they carried him in a cart to *Salisbury*; As he was carried thorough the towne to the Priſon, the people of the town entertained him with great ſcorne and contempt; and that night another Councel of Warre was call'd, and packt for the purpoſe, by which he was condemned to be hang'd: Hereupon the High Sheriffe of the County went unto him into the priſon, and after much ill language that he uſed towards him, he told him that he was come to tell him, that he muſt prepare himſelf to die, for he was condemned by the Councell of Warre, to be hang'd the next morning at ſix a clock, but withall, aſſured him, that if he would aske pardon of the King for his offence, and ſerve his Majeſty for the future, as he had formerly ſerved againſt him, he ſhould both ſave his life, and have what preferment he could reaſonably deſire: He anſwered, for me to ask pardon where I am not conſcious of an offence, were but the part of a fool; and to betray my conſcience in hope of preferment, were but the part of a knave; and if I had neither hope of heaven, nor fear

His remove to *Sarum*.

He is condemned to be hanged.

His courage and conſtancy.

fear of hell, I had rather die an honeſt man, then live a foole or a knave. The next morning he roſe about five aclock, being ſomething troubled that he had ſlept ſo long; About ſix aclock the officers came into the roome to bring him forth to execution: while he was preparing to go with them, he heard a Poſt ride in, asking haſtily, Is the priſoner yet alive? who brought with him a Reprieve from Sir *Ralph Hopton*, to whom he was carried to *Wincheſter*: As he came to the gates of the towne, Sir *William Ogle* the Governour met him, and told him, that he would feed him with bread and water for two or three dayes, and then hang him: Then he was brought to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who ſpake to him thus. Maſter *Balſom*, I little thought one day that you ſhould have been my priſoner, and I cannot but wonder, that ſuch men as you, ſhould be engaged in a rebellion againſt the King: To whom he replyed, Sir, I cannot but wonder, that ſuch men as you ſhould call this rebellion. Sir *Ralph* deſired him to give him an account of the grounds, upon which he and his party proceeded, promiſing him, that he ſhould not ſuffer for any thing that he ſpake to him: After about halfe an houres diſcourſe, he committed him to his own Marſhall, with this charge, *Keep this man ſafe, but uſe him well*: The Marſhall received him, and after ſome little rough entertainment, upon his entrance into his houſe, he at length uſed him with great ſeeming reſpect: Long he had not been there, but a Gentlewoman came to him with a pottle of ſack, urging him to preach a Recantation Sermon the next morning before the Lords, promiſing that if he would ſo do, the King would make him a Doctor; He replyed, Sure you do but mock me; for ſhould I preach upon ſuch ſhort warning, the Lords would never hear ſuch *extempore* ſtuffe; but if you be in good earneſt, and would make me a Doctor in deed, then let me have the ſame law ye uſe to give your Doctors, *viz.* a quarter of a yeeres time to make a Sermon, and by that time you may know more of my mind.

A ſpecial providence.

His remove to *Wincheſter*.

He is urged to recant.

The next morning an Order was brought for the conveying of him to *Oxford*, whither he was accordingly carried: He lighted firſt at the *Blew-bore*, whither they brought a company of the Queens followers, who with much fury often times ſwore that he ſhould not go alive out of the roome; But the Muſqueteers, who were ſet as a guard upon him, deſired them to be quiet, telling them that he was their priſoner, and ſhould not ſuffer there, but they would ſuffer with him. Thence he was conveyed to the Caſtle, where after two or three dayes abode, he enjoyed the ſame liberty with other priſoners; And a while after he ſet up an Expoſition Lecture in the priſon twice aday: To which, not only the priſoners, and ſome of the ſouldiers, but divers Courtiers, and many out of the towne often came: Being prohibited once or twice to go on in this Exerciſe, he anſwered, if ye are weary of me, I am not willing to trouble you any longer; ye may turn me out of your

His remove to *Oxford*.

doores when you will; but while I have a tongue to ſpeak, and people to ſpeak to, I will not hold my peace.

His Releaſe. After ſome months of impriſonment, he was releaſed by exchange; As he was departing thence, ſome Courtiers and others, that had formerly ſhewed him ſome favour, perſwaded him to cloſe with their party, and to ſtay with them: He utterly refuſing, divers of them accompanied him out of town; and as they were parting, one of them ſaid: Sir, If any of us ſhould fall into your hands, we ſhould deſire no better entertainment then you have had amongſt us; He replyed, Gentlemen, I could wiſh that ten thouſand of you might fall into our hands within this moneth, that ye might ſee how kindly we would deal with you. Thence he was ſent for by the Lord Generall *Eſſex* to be Chaplain in his Army, with whom he continued, during his command.

He is ſent for by the Earle of *Eſſex*.

His going to *Barwick*. Then he went to *Barwick*, where he was received with great affection of the people, and ſaw in a ſhort time great ſucceſſe of his labours in the miniſtry. During his abode there, two things were very remarkable: One, whereas there was a child that had beene ſtrangly viſited with ſuch a weakneſſe, as neither Phyſitians nor Divines could gueſſe at the cauſe, or find out a cure; Hereupon Maſter *Balſom*, moved ſome Chriſtians there to ſeek God with him, by Faſting and Prayer, which accordingly they did, and obtained a ſudden and extraordinary anſwer; For as the mother of the child came home from the Exerciſe, her child met her, and told her ſhe was very well, who before had kept her bed of a long time.

A ſpecial providence. The other thing remarkable was this; A *Scottiſh* Lord, by name, the Lord of *Granſon*, took up his habitation for a time in *Barwick*, and brought with him his family; In which amongſt others, was the Steward of his houſe, formerly reputed a godly man, who was very much afflicted in mind: Maſter *Balſom* came to viſit him, and adminiſtred ſome comfort to him for that time; But two or three dayes after, he being ſorely afflicted again, Maſter *Balſom* was ſent for, who finding him very much weakned and worn out by the violence of temptation, began to ſpeak comfortably to him: But perceiving that no words of comfort would faſten on him, he whiſpered to him in his eare to this purpoſe, I doubt there is ſomething within, that you ſhould do well to diſcover; Whereupon immediatly the mans tongue ſwelled out of his mouth, inſomuch that he was not able to ſpeak; Maſter *Balſom* continued ſpeaking to him, till at length, to the aſhoniſhment of thoſe in the rome, being many, and ſome of them perſons of quality, a ſhrill voyce was heard, as from out of his throat, (having not any uſe of his tongue) to this purpoſe: *What doſt thou talking to him of promiſes, and free-grace? He is mine*; Maſter *Balſom* apprehending it to be the voice of the Devill, replyed,

Poſſeſſion. Satan.

Balſom. No Satan, thou doſt not know any man to be thine while there is life in him.

Satan. *But this is a notorious wicked wretch, and therefore is mine.*

The

The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin;

Balsom. *If God would let me loose upon you, I should finde enough in the best of you, to make you all mine.*

Satan. But thou art bound Satan; and so turning himself to the people with a smiling countenance, he said, What a gracious God have we, that suffers not Satan to have his will upon us?

Balsom. Then the Devill began to curse and swear, and blaspheme the Trinity in a most fearfull and horrible manner.

Satan. The Lord rebuke thee.

Balsom. *But this man is mine, for he hath given himself to me; and sealed it with his blood.*

Satan. I do not beleeve that the father of lies speaketh truth, and I do beleeve, how confident soever thou art, that thou wilt lose thy hold before to morrow morning.

Balsom. The Devil continued to curse and swear further, saying, *How canst thou endure to hear thy God blaspheme? I will never give over blaspheming so long as thou stayest in the roome.*

Satan. I will pray for him.

Balsom. *Wilt thou pray for a man that is damned?*

Satan. I will go home and pray for him, and get all the force I can in the town to joyn with me.

Balsom. After this, there being no more voyce heard, Mr. *Balsom* went home about eleven a clock at night, where he found in his house divers Christians, which he intended to have sent for, waiting for him, and upon the sight of them, he spake to them to this purpose; Friends, I wonder at the providence of God, in bringing you hither at this time, for otherwise I must have sent for you, and so declaring to them what had hapned to the afflicted man, he desired them to spend some part of the night with him, in seeking God for him, which accordingly they did: The next morning Master *Balsom* going to visit him again, found him in a comfortable condition; and asking of him how he did? He answered, Through the goodnesse of God, I have overcome, and am now as full of comfort, as I was before of trouble; and so continued all that day chearfull, but in great weaknesse, and the next morning died, no disease appearing upon him.

A special providence.

After some time of Master *Balsom's* abode there, he was earnestly intreated to return into his own Country, to which, for some important reasons he was inclined, but was as earnestly importuned by many of the inhabitants of *Barwick*, either to abide with them, or to return again to them; and after many other Arguments, as he was just parting with them, as their last Argument to perswade him to stay with them, they presented him with a list of about threescore that had been (as they were verily perswaded) savingly wrought on by his Ministry, during the time of his continuance there. He left them, but with a mind of returning to them again, if providence crost it not; but his return was prevented by his death, which hapned about two yeers after, as he was endeavouring to get himself free from the place, where he then was, to return to them; In which space of time he did much good, as in converting many, so in reducing many that were drawn away by Sectaries.

The great successe of his ministry.

His death.

The Life of Master John Dod, *who died* Anno Christi, 1645.

His birth and education.

John Dod was born in *Cheshire*, at a town called *Shotlidge*, bordering on *Wales*, not far from *Malpas*. His Parents had a convenient estate, worth a hundred marks a year, which went to the eldest brother. This *John* was the youngest of seventeen, and much beloved of his Parents. He was sent to school to *West-Chester*, and when he was about fourteen years old, he was disposed of to *Jesus Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where (though he had little acquaintance, yet) the Lord prospering his studies, he was chosen first scholler, and after fellow; in that Colledge he there remained near sixteen years. The manner of his Conversion was thus.

His first going to *Cambridge*.

His conversion.

The Steward, or Boucher of the Colledge accused him to the Master, for the non-payment of a considerable summe of mony due for one of his Pupils, which Master *Dod* had truly paid, but he forgot to set it down. Hereupon there was a vehement contest betwixt them about this businesse, and the vexation of mind that he should be accounted a defrauder, did so trouble Master *Dod*, that he fell into a Feavor, and was dangerously sick; yet all this while he was but in a natural estate; for though he had some good skill in the Theorick part of Divinity, yet he was without any application, and his affliction was this, that he should be blamed for that, which he from the law and light of nature hated. All his sorrow as yet was but worldly sorrow, and as himself says, he neither did, nor could tell how to pray. At length the Lord put into his heart that Scripture, *Rom. 7. The Law is spiritual, but I am carnal, and sold under sinne*; and presently his sins came upon him like armed men, and the tyde of his thoughts was turned, and he left musing how he was wronged, and seriously considered how he had offended God, and he betook himself to great humiliation, and earnestly besought the Lord for pardon and peace in *Jesus Christ*: yet for some time he could find no comfort, but going on to seek the Lord, there follows after much humiliation, much consolation, and the Lord sealed to him that his sins were washed away with the blood of Christ. Then did he desire his accuser to come to him, and told him, that though he had accounted him to be his great enemy, yet now he acknowledged him to be his good friend, for that he was a means to bring him unto God; And afterwards it so fell out (by Gods good Providence) that it came to this mans remembrance that Master *Dod* had paid him the money, and he was very sorrowful for

for the wrong which he had done him, and did him all the right he could for the healing of his name, and Master *Dod* said, that he had not a more faithful friend in all the Colledge, during his abode there, then this man proved.

When he was some years standing Master of Art, he was appointed to oppose in the Philosophy Act at the Commencment, which he did with great approbation, insomuch as it was desired that he should dispute again the next Commencment, but that he avoided. When he preached his first Sermon in the University, he had bestowed much pains about it, binding himself to words and phrases, but in his Sermon he was at a Non-plus, whereupon he resolved afterwards never to pen his Sermon *verbatim*, but his usual manner was to write only the *Analysis* of his text, the proofs of Scripture for the doctrines, with the reasons and uses, and so leaving the rest to meditation, in which course he never found defect. And whereas Doctor *Fulke*, Doctor *Chaderton*, Doctor *Whitaker*, and some others had their frequent meeting to exponnd the Scriptures, and therein they chose the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; They were pleased from their loving respect to Master *Dod* to take in him amongst them.

His Disputation at the Commencement.

Note.

While he continued fellow of *Jesus* Colledge, by the importunity of some godly people of *Ely*, he went weekly and preached amongst them in that city, where the Lord gave a great blessing to his Ministry. His removal from *Cambridge* to *Hanwel* in *Oxfordshire* was thus occasioned, Master *Cope* (afterwards Sir *Anthony Cope*) a man of eminent note, who was much wrought upon by Master *Dods* Ministry, sent a letter to Doctor *Chaderton*, to provide him a Minister for *Hanwel*, which was then vacant. Doctor *Chaderton* moved Master *Dod* to go to the place, and after he had been a while, and preached several Sermons, by the desire and consent of the people, and by the approbation of the neighbour-Ministers who had heard him, he was setled as their Pastor. While he was at *Hanwel* he preached twice every Sabbath, catechising also in the afternoon, and kept a Lecture on the wednesday constantly, and besides this, he was one of the five Ministers who held up the Lecture at *Banbury*. He gave himself much to fasting and Prayer, and as his seeds-time was painful, so his Harvest was gainful, hundreds of souls being converted by his Ministry. He was given to Hospitality, delighting therein, keeping a constant table on the Sabbath and on the wednesdays Lecture; upon which days he had not under eight or twelve persons commonly dining with him, and he spent the time amongst them in spiritual exhortation and conference.

He preached a Lecture at *Ely*.

His removall to *Hanwell*.

His great pains there.

His frequency in fasting and prayer.

His hospitality.

He was about thirty years old when he came to *Hanwel*, and continued there above twenty years, where he had twelve children by his dear wife, formerly *Anne Bound*, daughter in law to the worthy servant of Jesus Christ, Master *Greenham* of *Draighton* near *Cambridge*, and daughter to Doctor *Bound*, she was one that truly feared God, and after her decease (by the perswasion of some friends) he took to wife

His second marriage.

Mistris *Cleiton*, who then lived at *Stratford Bowe*, she also was a godly woman, and he was contracted to her by Master *Egerton* of *Black-friars*, and married by his ancient and loving friend Doctor *Gouge*.

The great successe of his ministry.

But to return back again to *Hanwel*, it pleased the Lord to give a great blessing to his Ministry in that place; yet he had much trouble from the envy of some Ministers that lived about him, who though they seldome preached themselves, yet they would not suffer that their people should go from them, and hence he was frequently questioned in the Bishops Courts. And besides this (though some of *Hanwel* were very courteous and kind, yet) there were some others who were glad to get from him what they could, and to keep from him what they could, thinking that that which he had was too much.

Upon a time Master *Dod* took a journey to *Draighton*, to bemoan himself to his father in law Master *Greenham*, by reason of his crosses and hard usage; Master *Greenham* heard him what he could say, and when he had done, answered him thus, *Sonne, sonne, when affliction lieth heavy, sinne lieth light*; This deserves the rather to be remembred, because Master *Dod* used often to blesse God for it, saying also, that if Master *Greenham* had bemoaned him, which he expected, he had done him hurt, and he forgot not this speech in his old age, but made excellent use of it for himself and others.

His deprivation

He was suspended from his Ministry at *Hanwel* by Doctor *Bridges*, Bishop of *Oxford*. And (suspecting what would follow) the Sabbath before he went to the Visitation, he gave his hearers a farewel Sermon out of that text, *I will smite the shepheard and the sheep shall be scatte-ed*; the people did attend unto him with sad countenances, and weeping eyes. Being thus driven from *Hanwel*, he preached at *Fenni-Compton* in *Warwickshire*, where he had but small means, but he was desirous to be doing good. From thence he had a faire call unto *Cannons-Ashby* in *Northamptonshire*, where he lived quietly divers years, preached over the whole propheſie of *Daniel*, with some other Scriptures, having much kindnes from Sir *Erasmus Dryden*, (in whom there was a rare mixture of piety and learning) and good affection from Master *Cope*. He was silenced from preaching at *Ashby*, upon a complaint made against him by Bishop *Neal*, to King *Iames*, who commanded the Arch-bishop *Abbot* to silence him. Then he ceased for some time to preach publikely, yet in regard of his heavenly gift in conference, he might have been said daily to preach privately, he was in his element when he was discoursing of heavenly things. And God in goodnesse so ordered it, that when he was restrained from publick preaching, yet himself conceived that at that time his life was no lesse profitable then it had been in former times.

His preaching at *Fenny-Compton*.

His removal to *Cannons-Ashby*.

He is again silenced.

He had an excellent gift in conference.

He had much employment in comforting such as were wounded in their spirits, being sent for, not only nigh at hand, but also into remote countries.

His comforting of afflicted consciences.

There was a Gentlewoman who had a great worldly estate, and a loving husband, but she was so sadly assaulted with tentations, that she

ſhe often attempted to make away her ſelf; Maſter *Dod* was ſent for to come to her, and the Lord ſo bleſſed his councels, exhortations, and Prayers, that ſhe did not only recover out of her anguiſh of ſpirit, but ſhe was afterwards taken notice of for her ſingular Piety, and the Lord ſo ordered that this affliction was not only the means of her Converſion, but alſo of her husbands, ſo that both of them were a great mercy in the country where they lived, promoting religion according to their power, and entertaining and cheriſhing godly People: She lived divers years quieted in her heart, and being rich in good works; and when ſhe lay on her death-bed Maſter *Dod* was ſent for to her again, who ſpake of heaven, and to fit her for that glory, ſhe told him that ſhe felt the comforts of God, and that ſhe could as hardly at that time forbear ſinging, as formerly in child-bearing ſhe could forbear crying, and ſhortly after ſhe died.

Joy unſpeakabl

There was a Gentleman related to a noble family, ſo perplexed in his mind, that he hath been known in hard froſts to go barefooted, that the paine of his feet might divert his thoughts. Maſter *Dod* was ſent for to him, who was his ſpirituall Phyſitian to heale him.

Note.

It would be long to inſiſt on all particulars of this nature, the Lord having made him a happy inſtrument for the good of many.

When he had ſpent ſome years in this kind of ſervice, by the care and induſtry of Maſter *Richard Knightley* of *Preſton* (a worthy Patriot,) after the death of King *Iames*, his liberty was procured for preaching again publickly, and then he was ſetled at *Fauſley*, where he preached twice every Lords day. There he went over the Goſpel of *Iohn*, the Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, and other Scriptures.

He is placed at *Fauſley*.

He was much given to Hoſpitality at *Fauſley*, as he had formerly been at *Hanwel*, ſo that there was ſcarce any Sabbath in the year, in which he did not dine both poor and rich, commonly three or foure poor perſons, beſides thoſe that came from other places to hear him. He had ſo large an heart, that upon occaſion he hath given to ſome three ſhillings, to ſome ten ſhillings, to ſome twenty ſhillings, and when the poor came to buy butter or cheeſe, he would command his maid to take no mony of them.

His hoſpitality

His charity.

At *Fauſley* he had quietneſſe from the Courts, as alſo at *Aſhby*; for in neither of thoſe places were there any Church-wardens; He was beholding at *Fauſley*, to the Right Worſhipful family of the *Knightleys*, where his bones were laid.

He uſed to bear croſſes with much patience and meekneſſe, being wont to ſay, that *Sanctified afflictions were great promotions*, quoting that of the Apoſtle *Peter*, 1 Pet. 1.7. δοκίμιον πίστεως, &c. is much more precious then gold, which he conceived to ſignifie the affliction that trieth faith, and that the Word ſhould be rendred *exploratorium*, rather then *exploratio*.

The benefit of afflictions.

He always expected troubles, and prepared himſelf for them, and put this difference between the affliction, for which we are provided and

Troubles to be expected.

and others; that the one are but blows on the Harneſſe, but the other are blows on the fleſh.

Upon a time when an affliction was upon him, which went to his very heart, and in the expectation whereof he wept, yet when he ſaw that it was the Will of God that it ſhould be ſo, he ſaid to one whom he loved, *I will go and bleſſe God, for I beleeve this ſhall be for my good.*

His frequency in Faſting, and Prayer.

His diſeaſes.

He gave himſelf much to faſting and prayer, and when he faſted his cuſtome was to abſtain from the dinner of the day before to the Supper of the day after. His diſeaſes till he was above threeſcore, were only Feavers, and theſe for the moſt part high and violent; In the ſixty third year of his age, he had a Feavor in which there was ſmall hope of life; Doctor *Oxenbridge* was his Phyſitian, who waiting for the breathing out of the diſeaſe by ſweating, (in which at laſt he had his deſire) he came to Maſter *Dod*, and in the preſence of divers ſaid unto him, *Now I have hope of your recovery*; To which Maſter *Dod* anſwered, *You think to comfort me by this, but you make my heart ſad; it is as if you ſhould tell one who had been ſore weather-beaten on the ſea, and conceiving he was arrived at the Haven where his ſoule longed to be, that he muſt come back again to be toſſed with new windes and waves.*

His deſire of death.

In his greateſt health and proſperity he would ſpeak how he deſired to be diſſolved; Upon a time a Gentleman blamed him for it, ſaying, he liked not ſervants who would have their wages before they had done their work; but he ſeemed to be conſtant in this deſire, alledging theſe reaſons amongſt others, that God had given him a ſetled aſſurance of heaven, and a ſight of the excellency of heaven, and that the earth was but a priſon, and Heaven the Pallace; and there was perfect holineſſe and happineſſe.

The reaſons of his deſire.

His taking occaſions to do good.

He took all occaſions to do good; when he was in company, by godly ſpeeches ſeaſoning thoſe which came to him, that unleſſe it were their own fault they might be the better for him. Being invited to a great feaſt where there were ſundry Gentlemen, and ſome of them began to ſwear, he ſtopt them by diſcourſing of the greatneſſe of that ſinne, and that he might not burden their memories, he quoted three chapters; every one was the firſt: as the firſt of *Zachary*, the firſt of *Matthew*, and the firſt of *Iames*, and he opened thoſe Scriptures in ſuch ſort, that they were all huſhed, and did not again offend in that kind while he was preſent amongſt them.

How he prevented ſwearing.

His delight in the Law of God.

The Word of God was his great delight, his meditation was of it in the night, and his diſcourſe in the day; when thoſe that were with him were ſpeaking of earthly things, he would find out ſome way to bring in heavenly; when he could not ſleep in the night, he would ſay, that the meditation of the Word was ſweeter to him then ſleep; when he had preached twice on the Sabbath, and was aweary, yet to thoſe that came to him he would go on afreſh in holy diſcourſes; and the comforts which he found in his ſoul, made him ſometimes forget his body, that he hath been ſpeaking till he was ready to faint.

His

His eminency was in frequency, aptneſſe, freeneſſe, and largeneſſe of godly diſcourſe, in which reſpect it may be ſaid of him, that in the countrey where he lived, none were known who therein were equal to him. But he was *Micans inter omnes, velut inter ignes luna minores.*

His mercifulneſſe.

He was very merciful himſelf, and to move Parents that were rich to mercy, he would ſay thus, *You are caring and contriving to lay up for your children, but lay up for your ſelves a good foundation againſt the time to come, being rich in good works; you will lay up treaſure in the earth, which is an unſafe place; lay up treaſures in heaven, that is the ſure and ſafe place.*

His love, and charity.

He loved and honoured thoſe that feared God, though in point of Subſcription and Ceremonies they were not of his judgement; and as he ſowed, ſo he reaped: He was full of love himſelf, and greatly beloved of others; Doctor *Preſton*, whom good men loved for his excellent Piety and Learning, was a faithful friend of Maſter *Dods*, and often entertained him at his chamber, and eſteemed much of him for his ſpiritualnes in conference & converſation, and for his ability to open Scripture, and to comfort troubled ſpirits; when the Doctors Conſumption was upon him, which put an end to his life, he came to Maſter *Richard Knightleys* at *Preſton* in *Northamptonſhire*, which was but a mile from *Fauſley*, where Maſter *Dod* had his abode, and deſired him to ſpeak to him of death and heaven, and heard him with patience and thankfulneſſe; Maſter *Dod* prayed by him when he lay a dying, and preached his Funeral Sermon.

Dr. *Preſtons* love to him.

He comforts Mr. *Throgmorton.*

Alſo Maſter *Throgmorton*, a pious and painful Preacher of the Word; an approved good man, dying the ſame year of a Conſumption, came to *Aſhby* not far from *Fauſley*, to have the help of Maſter *Dods* comforts and councels. He was oppreſſed with melancholy, add a little before he gave up his ſoule to Chriſt, he asked Maſter *Dod*, *What will yee ſay of him that is going out of the world, and can find no comfort?* To whom he anſwered, *What will you ſay of our Saviour Chriſt, who when he was going out of the world found no comfort, but cryed out, my God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* This ſpeech refreſhed Maſter *Throgmorton*, and within a little ſpace of time after this, he went to his heavenly inheritance.

His weanednes from the world

Maſter *Dod* as he was of a weaned diſpoſition from the world himſelf: ſo he laboured to weane others; he put this difference between rich Chriſtians and poor, that for poor Chriſtians their father kept the purſe, but the rich Chriſtians keep the purſe in their own hands. But it might oftner fall out, and did; and therefore the purſe was better in the fathers hand then in the Chriſtians. He was wont to compare wicked men to waves of the ſea; thoſe which were of a great eſtate were great waves: thoſe which were of ſmall eſtate were ſmall waves, but all were reſtleſſe as waves.

What wicked men are like.

To a friend of his that was raiſed from a meaner eſtate to worldly greatneſſe, he ſent word that this was but as if he ſhould go out of a

boat into a barge or ship; but there ought to be a ſerious and godly remembrance that while we are in this world, we are upon the ſea.

Note.

He often repeated this, that nothing could hurt us but our own ſins; and they ſhould not hurt us, if we truly repented of them; and nothing could do us good but Gods favour, and that we ſhould be ſure of, if we unfeinedly ſought it; Speaking of *Davids* penning the 51. *Pſalm*, after his murder and adultery, he put this gloſſe upon it, that hearty and true repentance ſhall have cauſe to praiſe the Lord for his pardoning mercy.

Afflictions, Gods potions.

He ſaid afflictions were Gods potions, which we might ſweeten by faith and faithful Prayer, but vve for the moſt part made them bitter, putting into Gods Cup the ill ingredients of our ovvn impatience and unbelief; He gave this reaſon vvhy many of Gods people lived uncomfortably, for that they ſhut their eare againſt vvhat God ſaid, vvhere they ſhould open it, and they opened their eare to vvhat their carnal reaſon, and Sathan, and the vvorld ſaid, vvhere they ſhould ſhut it; but (ſaid he) the Pſalmiſt vvas vviſer, *Pſal.* 85. 8. He vvould heare none of them all, *I will heare what the Lord God will ſpeake.*

The power of his Miniſtry.

His preaching vvas ſearching, and vvhen ſome did ſuppoſe that he had informers and ſpies, becauſe he came ſo cloſe to them, he anſvvered, that the Word of God vvas ſearching, and that if he vvas ſhut up in a dark vault, vvhere none could come at him, yet allovv him but a Bible and a Candle, and he ſhould preach as he did.

His excellencie for ſimilitudes.

Benefits of death.

Benefit of Prayer.

He had an excellent gift in ſimilitudes, which did flow freely and frequently from him, as all thoſe knew, who either heard him preach publikely or diſcourſe privately: He called death the friend of grace, though it were the enemy of nature: and whereas the Word, and Sacraments, and Prayer do but weaken ſinne, death kils it. Speaking of Prayer, he ſaid a man was never in a hard condition, unleſſe he had a hard heart, and could not pray.

Benefit of faith

Having preached out of that text, *O woman, great is thy faith, be it unto thee even as thou wilt*, he invited ſome women to dinner, and told them it was a uſual ſaying, *Let a woman have her Will and then ſhe would be quiet*: Now the way for a woman to have her will, is to have a ſtrong faith, and to pray as that woman in the Goſpel did.

We ſhould not be weary of hearing.

Upon a time vvhen he had preached long, ſo that it vvas ſomevvhat late before he vvent to dinner, he ſaid, you ſhall have ſome Gentlemen will followv hounds from ſeven in the morning till foure or five in the afternoon, becauſe they love the cry of dogs, vvhich to me vvas unpleaſant hearing; ſo if vve love the Word, we ſhould be content though the miniſter ſtood above his houre; and he added, me thinks it is much better to heare a miniſter preach, then a Kennel of hounds to bark; ſpeaking of Recreation, he ſaid, he marvelled what the vocation of many was, who were ſo eager for recreation; and if we

we ſhould come into a houſe, and ſee many Phyſick-boxes and glaſſes we would conclude ſome body is ſick; ſo when we ſee Hounds, and Hawks, and Cards, and Dice, we may fear that there is ſome ſick ſoul in that family. Sinful recreations.

He told ſome friends that if he were to paſſe ſentence who was a rich man, he would not look into his purſe or cheſt how much gold he had laid up, but look into his heart what promiſes were treaſured up there; for we count him rich that is rich in bonds, and the pleading of the promiſes in Prayer is ſuing of the bonds. Promiſes greatriches.

Speaking to a miniſter who was to go to a place where there was but ſmall means, he told him that his care was to preach and do God ſervice, and then God would provide for him. When he preached at *Fauſley*, and vvas much reſorted unto, as it vvas vvith him in other places, he told a godly man of his acquaintance, that if the Countrey knevv ſo much by him, as he knevv by himſelf, they vvould not have him in ſo much admiration. His humility.

Speaking about going to law, his opinion was, that it was better to buy love then law; for one might have a great deale of love for a little, whereas he could have but a little law for a great deal. He would frequently ſay, that was well which ended everlaſtingly vvell, and that vvas ill vvhich ended everlaſtingly ill, and that a man vvas never undone till he vvas in hell. Love better then law.

This vvas a ſpeech vvhich he often uſed, that if it vvere lawful to envy any, he vvould envy thoſe that turned to God in youth, vvhereby they eſcaped much ſin and ſorrovv, and vvere like unto *Iacob* that ſtole the bleſſing betimes. The benefit of turning to God betimes.

This vvas a remarkable paſſage of Providence, that upon a time when it was late at night, it came into his mind that he muſt ſee a friend of his ſome two miles off; he had buſineſſe, and would have put it off, but his thoughts were reſtleſſe; whereupon he went; and when he came to the place, all the family were in bed, but only his friend, who was eſteemed truly godly, but at that time was overwhelmed with tentations; the occaſion whereof was, ſome cruelty offered to his children; Maſter *Dod* knew nothing, either of the tentation or occaſion of it: But knocking at the door, his friend opened the door to him, to whom he ſaid, I am come to you, I know not why my ſelfe, but I was reſtleſſe in my ſpirit untill I had done it; To whom his friend anſwered, you know not vvhy you came, but God knevv vvhy he ſent you, and vvithal pulled out a halter vvherevvith he had intended ſelf-murder at that time, vvhich by Gods goodneſſe vvas by this means prevented. A ſpecial providence.

Speaking of loſing for Chriſt, he teſtified from his ovvn experience, that for the loſſe of one carnal brother he had tvvo hundred ſpiritual brethren.

Before he vvas married, he could not maintain himſelf, and thereupon he vvas thinking hovv he ſhould maintain a vvife and children, his living not being great; but looking out of his ſtudy window, he

His faith.

ſaw a Hen and Chickens ſcratching for their living, and he conſidered thus with himſelf, The Hen did but live before, and had nothing to ſpare, and now ſhe had as much with that great family.

When he ſaw a Chriſtian to look ſad, he would uſe that ſpeech which *Ionadab* did to *Amnon*, *Art not thou a Kings ſonne?* He would ſay to thoſe that complained of loſſes and croſſes, that which *Eliphaz* did to *Job*, *Do the Conſolations of God ſeem ſmall to you?* God hath taken away your children, your goods, but he hath not taken away himſelf, nor Chriſt, nor his ſpirit, nor heaven, nor eternal life.

How afflictions may be leſſened.

He uſed to inſtruct Chriſtians how they ſhould never have a great affliction, nor long, and that was by looking upon things which were not ſeen, which are eternal, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17, 18. What can be great to him that counts the world nothing? and what can be long to him that thinks his life but a ſpan long?

Meekneſſe.

To perſwade them that are Chriſtians not to return railing for railing, he would ſay, that if a dog bark at a ſheep, a ſheep will not bark at a dog.

Comfort in dangers.

In theſe times of war, at the firſt beginning of them, when many well-affected people came to him, being affrighted with the Cavaliers, he encouraged them, uſing this ſpeech, that if a houſe were full of rods, what need the child feare, when none of them could move without their fathers hand; and the Lord was a loving father; ſtate and life and all was in his diſpoſing. When afterwards the Cavaliers came to his houſe, and threatned to knock him on the head, he anſwered with confidence, that if they did, they ſhould ſend him to heaven, where he longed to be, but they could do nothing except God gave leave; They broke open his Cheſts and Cupboards, and plundred him of his goods; but he ſaid to a friend of his, that he would not do them that honour to ſay they had taken ought from him, but it was the Lord, alledging that of *Iob*, who when he was ſpoiled by the *Chaldeans* and the *Sabeans*, yet he did not ſo much as name the inſtruments, but, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.*

His faith.

Cavaleers cruelty.

At length they came to him, when through weakneſſe he vvas unable not only to ſtir out of his chamber, but alſo out of his bed; they cut the Curtains of his bed, and pulled away the Pillowbeers from under his head, asking him whether he could ſpeak *Latine*, in all which loſſes, which were great, he never uttered one word of impatience; In his ſickneſſe when extream paine was upon him, aſſoon as the fit was over, he would ſay to his maid-ſervant that attended him, O think well of God for it, for it is moſt juſtly and wiſely done, whatſoever he ſendeth or doth; when his ſervants came to viſit him in the morning, he would ſay, have ye been with God to bleſſe him for your ſleepe this night? he might have made your bed your grave.

His patience.

Death not feared.

He would often ſay in his ſickneſſe, *I am not afraid to look death in the face; I can ſay, death where is thy ſting? death cannot hurt me.* He ſpake how death was a ſweet ſleep to a Chriſtian; adding that if Parents

ſhould

ſhould tell little children who had played all the day, that they muſt go to bed, they would be ready to cry: but a labouring man is glad when night comes that he might go to reſt; ſo wicked men, death is unwelcome unto them; but a child of God who hath laboured and ſuffered, is glad when death cometh, that he may reſt from his labours.

When he had been long ſpeaking to thoſe who came to him, and uſed to ask him queſtions, and hath been perſwaded to ſpare himſelf, he would ſay, heare but this one thing more, it may be I ſhall never ſpeak to you again, but if it ſhould be ſo, *Bleſſed is the ſervant whom his Lord when he cometh ſhall find ſo doing*; Hearken to a few words more. God hath heard all the words we have ſpoken, and conſidered with what hearts and affections we have ſpoken them.

Paſſionate rebukes unprofitable.

He uſed to compare rebukes uttered in paſſion to ſcalding potions, which the Patient could not take down; and his opinion was, that if we would do good unto others, we ſhould labour for meekneſſe of wiſedome, whereby we ſhall be inabled to uſe ſoft words and hard arguments.

What contention ſhould be amongſt married perſons.

He allowed to husbands and wives only one contention; which was this, who ſhould love one another beſt; and adviſed them that when either of them were in paſſion, they ſhould not anſwer paſſions with paſſions, but with compaſſions.

His manner of preaching.

He was very plain and familiar both in preaching and conference, yet very ſpiritual, and performed all with much gravity.

The Scope of his Prayers.

The chief things he ſought God for, in his frequent ſecret faſtings and prayers, (as himſelf ſaid) were the knowledge of the Scriptures, and a bleſſing upon his Miniſtry, in both which God anſwered him abundantly.

His expoſition of Scripture.

As for the Scriptures, God had ſo enlightned him, that he was able to give account of the drift and ſcope of the ſpirit of God in the greateſt part of them, with great clearneſſe, and to open them in ſuch ſort as proved very effectual for the bringing of Scripture-light into ſimple mens underſtandings, who were not able to reach the obſcure and ſcholaſtick interpretations of many.

His manner was to compare Scripture with Scripture, ſeldome naming the diſſenters, and but ſparingly different readings, but making out the truth poſitively or by neceſſary conſequence.

His cuſtome in preaching.

In preaching he uſually took ſome portion of Scripture in order before him, opening a verſe or two, or more at a time, firſt clearing the drift and connection, then giving the ſenſe and interpretation briefly, but very plainly, not leaving the text until he had made it plain to the meaneſt capacity; then raiſing thoſe doctrines that were moſt agreeable to the mind and meaning of the ſpirit of God in that text, clearing and exemplifying his points excellently out of the Word, opening his proofs, (not multiplying particulars for oppreſſing memory,) not dwelling ſo long as to make all truth run through a few texts. He ſpake moſt largely and very home in application, mightily convincing and

diving into mens hearts and conſciences, and leaving them little or nothing to object againſt it.

He took great care to ſpeak to the meaneſt capacity, and to feed the Lambs, ſaying, he muſt ſtoop to the loweſt capacity, and if he could reach them, others might help themſelves; he could not endure that Miniſters ſhould uſe hard and unuſual Engliſh; he ſaid that moſt Miniſters in *England* uſually ſhoot over the heads of their hearers.

What preaching is unprofitable.

He did not ſtrive to ſpeak all that might be ſaid to a point, nor to ſhew variety, or pleaſe curioſity, but to ſpeak to the heart; he would ſay that there were many tricks and devices that ſome men uſed in preaching, but they ſeldome did good; The pure Goſpel and that preaching which the world counts fooliſhneſſe, was that that works moſt kindly.

He was very Evangelical, ſtriving firſt to make men ſee their loſt condition clearly, and to be convinced of it, ſaying, ſenſe of miſery was a good ſtep to the remedy; and then largely and excellently opening the promiſes, and the grace of God in Chriſt according to the Goſpel, looking at that as the moſt effectual preaching. Some (ſays he) labour ſtill to keep men under terrors, and load them with threatnings, &c. leſt they ſhould not be humbled enough; but the Goſpel works true humiliation, not the law; it ariſes from ſenſe of ſin and miſery joyned with hope of mercy. The damned have terror and ſenſe of miſery enough, but that did not humble them.

True humiliation.

He deſired to ſpeak diſtinctly, not giving the childrens bread to dogs, but to diſcover hypocriſie and ſincerity by lively characters and ſignes, but yet with great tenderneſſe to babes in Chriſt, ſtriving to diſcover a babe from an hypocrite.

His preaching by ſignes.

He was excellent for practical Divinity and living by faith, as to ſpirituals and temporals, and ſelf-denial; and very conſolatory. rendring Religion the moſt ſweet and comfortable life, notwithſtanding ſufferings.

He uſed to preſſe much after the ſeeking of ſpiritual illumination, in hearing and reading, &c. and divine aſſiſtance in religious duties, not contenting our ſelves with the uſe of parts and accompliſhments, or grace received, but to look higher, ſaying, *David* that could preach excellently, and had *Nathan* and *Gad* the Prophets alſo to preach, yet cryes out for *teaching*; thereby ſhewing that all that teaching would not do, unleſſe God teach alſo; and *Davids* cryes, *Open mine eyes*; he had the light without, but he muſt have light within, *viz.* ſight, elſe he could not *ſee the wonders of the law*, though he had the law.

Chriſtians ſhould be cheerful.

He uſed to preſſe much to meekneſſe, and a ſweet diſpoſition to affability, charity and cheerfulneſſe, not to be rigid, ſoure, tart, nor ſad, leaſt the world ſhould think that we ſerved an hard maſter.

His indefatigibleneſſe.

Being above eighty years old, his pains were very great, yet not painful to him; he preached almoſt all day long on the Lords day, yet ſaid

it

it was no great matter to pay money when one had it, all the labour was to get it. He opened a chapter, and prayed in his family, after preached twice in publick, and in the *interim* discourſed all dinner while, but eat very little; he brought in many with him to dinner, beſides his foure or ſix conſtant widdows; if his wife began to doubt of her proviſion at ſight of ſo many, he would ſay, *Better want meat then good company*, but there is ſomething in the houſe, though cold; This is not a day to feaſt the bodies but ſouls; at firſt ſitting down he would bid them help themſelves and one another, and ſee that none want; let me (ſaid he) bid you but once, for I would not ſpeak a vain word to day; after both Sermons the houſe would be filled, and he being ſate in his chaire, uſed to ſay, if any have a good queſtion or a hard place of Scripture to open, let them ſay on; and when he was faint he would call for a ſmall glaſſe of wine and beer mixt, and then to it again till night.

He was excellent in preaching occaſionally from the creatures, as he walked or rode.

The benefit of plain preaching.

His Miniſtry was ſo ſpiritual, and yet ſo plain, that poor ſimple people that never knew what Religion meant, when they had gone to heare him, could not chuſe but talk of his Sermon; it mightily affected poor creatures to heare the myſteries of God (by his excellent skill that way) brought down to their own language and dialect.

His holy life.

He was ſo holy and ſpiritual both in life and doctrine, that he ſilenced even deſperate and devilliſh oppoſers of Religion; it was a diſcredit for any to ſpeak evil of him, becauſe it muſt needs expreſſe much malice, and all men moſt generally (in his latter time at leaſt) honoured him.

His peace-making.

He was very ſucceſſeful in making peace, though between deſperate and almoſt implacable adverſaries, and ſome of them wicked, mightily convincing them with Goſpel-arguments, to the overcoming and quieting of their ſpirits.

His acuteneſſe.

He would anſwer any queſtions propounded that were but fit for a Divine to ſpeak to; yet ſhewing his approbation or diſlike of the queſtion according to the honeſty and ſpiritualneſſe, or curioſity and lightnes of it.

His humility.

When mean inferiour people came to ſpeak with him, if he was walking in the Church, where he uſed moſt to ſtudy, that he might have room to walk in, (being troubled with the ſtone) or elſewhere; if he thought them baſhful, he would meet them, and ſay, would you ſpeak with me? and when he found them unable to ſtate their queſtion, he would help them out with it, taking care to find the ſore; but would anſwer and deal ſo compaſſionately and tenderly, as not to diſcourage the pooreſt ſoul from coming again to him.

His modeſty.

If any queſtioned him about Ceremonies, about which many then ſuffered, he was very wary in dealing, (not ſhy in ſpeaking his judgment) but careful of adviſing them according to their ſtrength; he would bid them take heed of being led meerly by the imitation of any body or other mens arguments, but look to their Scripture light, and ſee what arguments they had to bear them out; and whether they could

could ſuffer alone in that caſe if they ſhould ſurvive their patterns; he would not have them make a buſineſſe about leſſer things, and then fall off from what they began to profeſſe.

What wife ſhould be choſen.

Being to adviſe a young man in his choiſe of a yokefellow, he bade him look principally after Godlineſſe; Men talk of a portion, grace is the beſt portion; *The wiſe woman buildeth up the houſe*, viz. The godly, &c. Not the rich: ſome uſe to ſay, There is a portion and civility, and we will hope for grace; but, ſaith he, rather make ſure grace, and hope for riches; there's far greater reaſon for it; for godlineſſe hath the promiſes, riches hath none; a ſonne or daughter of God ſhall be provided for.

How we may always have comfort.

He would ſay, he that could anſwer two queſtions well, might have comfort in any place or condition; *viz.* Who am I? and what do I here? Am I a child of God? and am I in my calling or way? *He hath given his Angels charge to keep thee in all thy ways.*

What will make us willing to ſuffer.

And that the knowlege of two things would make one willing to ſuffer or die, *viz.* What heaven is? And that its mine, I (ſaid one) if a man were ſure? To whom he anſwered, Truly aſſurance is to be had, and what have we been doing al this while?

Aſſurance to be laboured for.

He uſed to ſay, they that hope to go to heaven (as moſt do) and had not good evidence for it, were like a man, that paſſing by a great houſe and eſtate would ſay, this is mine; but being bid to ſhew his title, would ſay, ſome body muſt have it, & why not I? ſuch is moſt mens title for heaven.

Thankfulneſſe in afflictions.

During the time of his laſt ſickneſſe, it pleaſed the Lord to try him by grievous pains moſt bitrer and ſharp of the ſtrangury; but when he had any intermiſſions, he was breathing out ſuch ſpeeches as tended to the praiſe of God, and to the edification of thoſe that attended him. He ſlept little all the night or day long before his death, in all which time he imployed his attendants which were about him, to read the Scriptures, which he expounded to them; and when his ſtrength was ſpent with ſpeaking, he retired himſelf to Prayer and meditation; when he felt his pains returning, he would intreat thoſe that were about him to pray to God for him, either to give him deliverance or patience; His tentation a little before his death, and his wraſtlings with Satan were great; ſo were his victories; he ſpake to one that did watch with him all night, about two of the clock in the morning, that he had been wraſtling with Satan all that night. who accuſed him that he neither preached, nor prayed, nor performed any duty as he ſhould have done, for manner or for end, but he ſaid, I have anſwered him from the example of the Prodigal and the Publican.

Prayer.

His tentation, and victory.

His faith, and patience,

His faith and patience were increaſed and perfected by his ſuffrings; he longed and thirſted to be with Chriſt, which words he often uttered; one of his laſt ſpeeches was this, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven he ſighed and ſaid, *I deſire to be diſſolved and to be with Chriſt*; his pains left him not an houre before his death, his ſpeech alſo then leaving him, he could not eat nor drink two days before his death; and ſo quietly and patiently he ended his life, making a happy change, being foureſcore and ſixteen years old, *Anno Chriſti*, 1645.

His death.

The

The Life of Maſter Herbert Palmer, B. D. *late Maſter of* Queen s-Colledge *in* Cambridge, *who died* Anno Chriſti, 1647.

Herbert Palmer was deſcended of an Ancient family of that name, allied to divers other families of note, of the Nobility and Gentry. His father was Sir *Thomas Palmer* of *Wingham* in *Eaſt-Kent*, about ſix miles diſtant from *Canterbury*. His mother was the eldeſt daughter of *Herbert Pelham* of *Crawley* in *Suſſex* Eſquire. He was born at *Wingham*, and was there baptized, *March* 29. 1601. His Parentage.

He had the happineſſe of a prudent and pious Education. His father, beſide his Piety, being a very wiſe man, and of a more then ordinary underſtanding, as well in State-affairs, as thoſe of more private concernment; His mother, beſide her Prudence and other accompliſhments more then ordinary in her ſexe, was alſo eminently religious, and both of them exceeding careful of his education; Himſelf alſo being even from his infancy much addicted to the ſerious ſtudy both of Religion and Learning, in both of which he had made more then ordinary Proficiency in a ſhort time, and continued the exerciſe and improvement of them afterward. His birth, and education.

The ſymptomes of Grace and Piety began betimes to put themſelves forth to the view and obſervation of others, as ſoon almoſt as the exerciſe and uſe of reaſon; ſo that we may not without good ground, eſteem him ſanctified even from the wombe. When he was about the age of foure or five years he would cry to go to his Lady-mother *That he might hear ſomewhat of God*; So ſoon had theſe her Religious diſcourſes made pleaſing impreſſions on his apprehenſion! Neither did theſe, and ſuch like expreſſions of affection to good things ſoon vaniſh away, (as childiſh apprehenſions uſe to do) but continued and increaſed according as his years and the uſe of reaſon increaſed. He was ſanctified from the wombe.

Hence was it, that even from a child, being asked at any time what courſe of life he beſt liked to follow, whether to be a Lawyer, a Courtier, a Country Gentleman, &c. he would ſtill anſwer that he would be *A Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt*; from which, while ſome of his friends (for trial ſake) would ſeem to diſſwade him as being too mean an imployment for a Gentleman, telling him that Miniſters are hated, deſpiſed, and accounted as the off-ſcowring of the world, &c. he would reply, it was no matter for that; for if the world hated him, yet God would love him. His early deſires of the Miniſtry.

His frequent reading of the Scriptures.

He was early acquainted with the book of God which he much delighted in, and read with great affection, (inſomuch that while he was but a child, little more then five years old, he wept in reading the ſtory of *Joſeph)* and took much pleaſure in learning of chapters by heart. And here was laid the firſt foundation of that great exactneſſe in the knowledge of the Scriptures to which he did afterwards attain.

His natural endowments.

He had excellent natural parts both intellectual and moral: which as they were ſoon capable of being imployed, ſo they were ſoon ſet on work; His Parents vigilancy being ſuch, that they ſuffered no time to be neglected.

His skill in the French.

He learned the French tongue almoſt as ſoon as he could ſpeak Engliſh; even ſo ſoon, as that he hath often affirmed he did not remember his learning of it. And he did afterwards attain ſo great exactneſſe of ſpeaking and preaching in that language, together with a perfect knowledge of the State and affairs of that Kingdome, eſpecially of the Proteſtant Churches amongſt them, that he was often by ſtrangers thought to be a native French man; and did not doubt but to entertain diſcourſe with any perſon of that nation for ſome houres together in their own language, concerning the affairs of that Kingdome, who ſhould not be able by his diſcourſe to diſtinguiſh him from a native *Frenchman*, but judge him to be born and bred in *France*; ſo well was he furniſhed with an exact knowledge, both of the Propriety and due Pronunciation of that language, and of the perſons, places, and affairs of that Kingdome, and the Churches therein. A thing not often ſeen in one who had never been out of *England*.

His induſtry.

When he learned the Latine tongue, with ſuch other parts of learning as younger years are uſually imployed in at School; His diligence and Proficiency therein was ſuch, as produced both commendation and admiration. And while others at vacant houres, were following their ſports and recreations, he was conſtantly obſerved to be reading ſtudiouſly by himſelf; taking as much pleaſure in good imployments as others in ſports, and accounting that the beſt Paſſe-time, wherein the time was beſt paſſed.

His obſervance of his Parents.

His carriage towards his Parents was dutiful and obſequious; not only during his Minority, but even afterwards; which was very evident in that honour and reverend reſpect, which he continued to expreſſe to his godly aged mother to the day of her death, which happened not long before his own: being alſo a ſpecial helper to her in the ways of holineſſe. And what he thus practiſed himſelf, he did frequently commend to others, being always, (though himſelf unmarried) a great aſſerter of Parental authority; as well from that great emphaſis which God puts upon it through the whole current of Scripture; as from thoſe remarkable judgements, which in Scripture, and in his own experience he had obſerved to be inflicted on diſobedient and undutiful children; (whom, as he was wont to ſay, he had ſcarce ever known to eſcape ſome viſible judgement for it in this life, though poſſibly

ſibly otherwiſe godly perſons,) as alſo from thoſe unavoidable miſchiefs, which do frequently enſue in Civil ſocieties, where the authority of Superiours is vilified or contemned, and which (if well conſidered) will be often found to take their firſt riſe and original from the contempt of Paternal authority.

Deſpiſers of Parents uſually puniſhed by God.

He was about the year 1615. admitted Fellow-Commoner in Saint *Johns* Colledge in *Cambridge*, where he continued his former diligence, as well in the exerciſe of Religion, as the improvement of his learning, both in his private ſtudy, and in the performance of exerciſes in the Univerſity and Colledge, notwithſtanding the exemption which Fellow-Commoners in Colledges are ready to plead from the performance of them.

His admiſſion into the Univerſity.

After that he had there taken the degree of Maſter of Arts, about the year 1622; He was in the year 1623. conſtituted Fellow of *Queens-Colledge* in that Univerſity; where, although he were a Gentleman, that beſide his Fellowſhip, had an eſtate of his own, and ſo had the leſſe need in point of maintenance, to take that trouble of Pupils upon him; yet (not ſatisfying himſelf, to take a place upon him, without performing the office thereunto belonging) he took many Pupils, of whom he was more then ordinarily careful, being very diligent both in praying with them in his chamber, and inſtructing them in the grounds of Religion; as alſo keeping them to their ſtudies, and the performance of diſputations, and other exerciſes of learning, privately in his chamber; beſide the more publick exerciſes required of them by the Colledge, to the great benefit of thoſe that were his Pupils.

He is made Fellow of *Queens-Colledge*.

His care over his Pupils.

While he was Fellow of *Queens-Colledge*, about the year 1624. he was ſolemnly ordained to the work of the Miniſtry, whereunto from a child he had addicted himſelf; And about the year 1626. was called to the publike exerciſe thereof, as a Lecturer in the City of *Canterbury*; where for divers years, (notwithſtanding the great oppoſitions he there met with, from ſuch as were enemies to the power of godlineſſe;) he did with much diligence and very great ſucceſſe diſcharge that great work, to the ſpiritual edification and comfort of many yet alive, to whom his memory to this day is precious.

He is ordained Miniſter.

His call to *Canterbury*.

The occaſion of his coming thither was this; Coming from *Cambridge*, to give a viſit to his brother Sir *Thomas Palmer* at *Wingham*, he did at the intreaty of ſome friends, preach a Sermon at the Cathedral Church in *Canterbury*; and that with ſo much true zeal and real ſavour of Piety, as did much affect the godly hearers. The report hereof coming to the knowledge of Maſter *Delme* (a godly, faithful, prudent and laborious Miniſter of the *French* Church in *Canterbury*) he made a journey to *Wingham* on purpoſe to gain a further knowledge of him, and acquaintance with him, (with whom he was already not a little in love from that good report he had heard of him, though as yet by face unknown to him;) and hereby not only obtained the knowledge of the man, but was alſo by his gracious and ſavoury diſcourſe

The occaſion of it.

Friendſhip.

and carriage, very much confirmed in that good opinion which he had before conceived of him. And this was the firſt foundation of that intire and Chriſtian friendſhip, which with much ſpiritual advantage to them both, was contracted between theſe two holy men, which continued and increaſed daily to their mutual comfort and contentment while they were both living, and the memory thereof is ſtill precious to him that doth yet ſurvive.

After this, before his return to *Cambridge*, having (at the requeſt of Maſter *Delme*,) preached a ſecond Sermon at Saint *Georges* Church in *Canterbury*, on a week day Lecture; the moſt godly and beſt affected in the City were more and more taken with him, and expreſſed great deſires of enjoying his Miniſtry amongſt them, if it might be obtained.

Hereupon Maſter *Delme* with divers others, of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen and Citizens, having earneſtly ſought direction from God in a matter of ſuch concernment, did ſeriouſly adviſe about it; and being firſt aſſured of the concurrent deſires of many others, did by letters and meſſages to *Cambridge*, ſignifie to him the deſire of the godly in that city, that he would undertake to preach a Lecture amongſt them.

His ſelf-denial

This invitation after mature deliberation, he thought good to accept of, preferring the opportunity and probability of doing good in that populous place, before the hopes of preferment, either in the Univerſity or elſewhere, which, by reaſon of his many friends and acquaintance great at Court, and otherwiſe, he might likely have attained unto; Holding ſteady to that reſolution (which long before that time he had taken up,) ſo to imploy himſelf as might probably moſt promote the Work of God, whatever became of his own advantages. Whereupon a Licenſe being obtained for him from *George Abbot*, then Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, authorizing him to preach a weekly Lecture on the Lords day in the afternoon at *Alphage* Church in that City; he left his Fellowſhip in the Univerſity and undertook this work.

He was a burning and ſhining light.

During his abode in this imployment he did much edifie the people there, both by ſound doctrine and exemplary converſation. His Sermons were altogether ſpiritual and heavenly, full of ſolid explications and practical applications of the Word of God; whereby the City was well ſeaſoned as with ſavoury ſalt, and much preſerved from thoſe innovations and corruptions, both in doctrine and worſhip, which in thoſe days were creeping on apace; by reaſon whereof that leaven of formality, which many of the Cathedraliſts were promoting, (who preferred pompous Ceremonies before the power of Godlineſſe) was ſtopped from ſpreading and corrupting ſo much, as otherwiſe it might have done.

His oppoſition to innovations.

For although he was not then perſwaded of the unlawfulneſſe of the then Government, and ſome Ceremonies then in uſe, yet he could no way approve of the corrupt innovations coming on in thoſe days, but did with all wiſdome and zeal reprove them, countenancing goodneſſe and good men.

And

And by this means, he was a great ſtay and comfort to the godly Miniſters and People, both in the City and Country thereabouts; whom not only by his publike preaching, but by many other Chriſtian and Miniſterial helps adminiſtred in his more private converſes, he did very much incourage in true Piety. Of this very many families in that City had great experience, (even thoſe of the meaneſt ranke,) whom he was wont often to viſit as he had opportunity, that he might the better underſtand their ſpiritual condition; admitting alſo perſons of all ranks freely to apply themſelves unto him as they had occaſion, and to partake the benefit of private Conferences, Prayers, and other religious exerciſes; as likewiſe affording his Chriſtian advice and direction in caſes of difficulty, eſpecially to diſtreſſed conſciences; in which caſes by moſt of his prudent and judicious reſolutions, he was frequently conſulted with as a kind of Oracle; And that not only during his abode at *Canterbury*, but wherever elſe the Providence of God did caſt him; And herein he had an excellent ability and dexterity, and took much delight in it. His humility.

And his aſſiſtance he afforded not only to thoſe of that City, but alſo to many of the moſt Religious families of the Nobility and Gentry thereabouts; to whom, both by his perſonal converſes, and his Chriſtian letters (of which there are great numbers yet to be ſeen) he afforded frequent directions and encouragements in the ways of God; And particularly the noble family of *Thomas* late Earle of *Winchelſey*, then *Vicount Maidſtone* (whoſe abode at that time was at the Mote, a place near *Canterbury*:) the exemplary Piety of whoſe family, and the ſeveral noble Branches thereof, was by him in a ſpecial manner promoted. He doth good abroad.

The like aſſiſtance he afforded alſo to thoſe of the *French* Congregation in *Canterbury*, whom by reaſon of his exact knowledge in the *French* language he was able to edifie very much. And (at the requeſt of their Elderſhip) he did twice preach to them in that language upon moſt ſolemn days, to the great aſtoniſhment and edification of the whole Congregation. It is memorable, that an ancient *French* Gentlewoman, when ſhe ſaw him the firſt time coming into the Pulpit, being ſtartled at the ſmalneſſe of his perſonal appearance, and the weakneſſe of his look, cryed out (in the hearing of thoſe that ſate by her) *Hole! que nous diraceſt infant joy?* Alas, what ſhould this child ſay to us? but having heard him pray and preach with ſo much ſpiritual ſtrength and vigour, ſhe lift her hands to heaven with admiration and joy, bleſſing God for what ſhe had heard.

Yet this his faithful diſcharge of the Miniſtry was not without ſome oppoſition. He is oppoſed by Sectaries and Cathedraliſts.

On the one hand thoſe of the Separation, and ſuch as were inclineable thereunto, were ſomewhat troubleſome to him; but could get no advantage upon him, nor did prevaile any thing (while he remained there) upon his hearers.

On the other ſide, the Cathedraliſts and their favourers did oppoſe him

him, fearing (its like) leaſt his godly courſes and exact walking might be a blemiſh to their looſe and carnal ways. And therefore, though the greatneſſe of his birth, & friends hindred them ſomewhat from proſecuting of him, as probably they would otherwiſe have done; yet once ſome of the chiefeſt of them, adventured to exhibit articles againſt him; But his cauſe and anſwers proved ſuch, as that they were not able to hurt him.

His Lecture put down.

After three years or thereabouts, his Lecture there was put down by the Dean and Arch-Deacon, (upon certain inſtructions then on foot concerning Afternoon-ſermons) to the great grief of his godly hearers; But not long after, upon the petition of great numbers of the Gentry and Citizens, to the then Archbiſhop, by whoſe licenſe and authority he had been before eſtabliſhed, (accompanied with the laudable teſtimony of divers Miniſters, concerning his Orthodox doctrine and unblamable converſation, together with the concurrent teſtimony of ten Knights, and divers others of the Gentry and chief Citizens) he was again reſtored.

He is again reſtored.

Tentations prevented.

During his continuance here, he was twice (by the procurement of his friends at Court) likely to be made one of the Prebendaries of *Canterbury*; But he often admired and praiſed that Providence of God, that his friends endeavours therein ſucceeded not; ſeeing himſelf by this means delivered from many temptations and dangers, which had been incident, if he had been one of that company; they being afterward, by the ſucceeding Arch-biſhop, mainly ſet on work, for the ſetting up and promoting ſuperſtitious innovations.

His remove to *Aſhwel.*

After ſome years he was removed from *Canterbury* to the Vicaridge of *Aſhwel* in *Hartfordſhire*, whereunto he was preſented by *William Laud* the late Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, (which in his defence before the Houſe of Peers in Parliament, was by the Arch-biſhop inſiſted upon as one of his good deeds:) to which he received inſtitution, *Febr.* 7. 1632. Where he continued the ſame zeal, diligence and care, which he had before diſcovered, in ſeeking the good of thoſe ſouls that were committed to his charge.

His great pains

Beſide his conſtant preaching there twice every Lords day, he did alſo very frequently preach to them occaſionally, as any opportunity was offered; not willing to let paſſe any advantage offered of doing them good. Wherein, notwithſtanding the excellency of his learning, whereby, if he had ſought it, he might have attained great applauſe and admiration (even from knowing men) in the oſtentation thereof: yet he choſe always to condiſcend to the capacities of his hearers, with ſo much plainneſſe, as that (if poſſible) he might be underſtood by all, even thoſe of the meaneſt capacities; as being moſt ſtudious, both for the matter and manner of his preaching, how he might be able moſt of all to profit thoſe that heard him: and on this ground upon any emergent occaſions he endeavoured as much as might be, to ſute his matter thereunto, that ſo the Word of God, and the Providence of God, might one adde edge unto the other, and both

His humility and ſincerity.

His Prudence.

joyntly

joyntly become the more effectual. And for the same reason he did the more approve of Funeral Sermons, for that at such times the minds of men, especially those more immediately concerned, are thereby rendred the more pensive and serious, and so the more fit to take impression by the Word. On the same ground also was he careful to observe the advantages of sickness, or any other considerable afflictions, because his admonitions and Christian-advice were like to be at such a time the more effectual, when God had as it were softned their heart, and opened their ear to hear.

His diligent catechising.

He was also careful by catechising, both in publike, and at his own house, to instruct in the principles of Religion, not only the children and youth, but even those that were more aged, in case he discerned them ignorant and such as stood in need thereof; and yet not so as might expose them to scorn and reproach, but so as might most conduce to their edification in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. To which end he had prevailed with those of his parish, at least the farre greater number of them, and those the most considerable persons to concurre with him in it; by sending their children and servants constantly to be catechized on the Lords day before the Afternoon-Sermon (some of whom he catechized publickly in the Congregation, and others more privately in his own house, either by himself or his assistant: that so that the publike catechising might neither be too tedious, nor intrench upon the time allotted for other exercises, as praying, reading, expounding, preaching, &c. nor yet the examination of others for want of time, be wholly omitted; as also by their own endeavours at home to help on this work: and likewise to contribute their assistance in perswading others to the same willingness. As for those who were more eminent, but yet needed instruction, he laboured both by his own perswasion and the perswasion of others, to work in them a willingness to repair to him in private at convenient times, that by conferences with them, and friendly discourse in a familiar and gentle manner, he might bring them to such a sufficiency of knowledge, as was necessary for their own salvation.

His prudent charity.

And the better to perswade people to a willingness thus to receive instruction, he used by way of encouragement, (especially to those of the meaner sort) to give Bibles to such as could read, and five shillings in mony to such as could not, when they attained such a measure of knowledge, as that they were judged fit to partake of the Lords Supper. And such like rewards and incouragements he used to bestow on others, as he saw occasion; furnishing them with books and writings, and otherwise encouraging them according as they should manifest their diligence in gaining and improving their knowledge. All which the generation to come, and the children yet unborn may have cause to blesse God for, when they shall receive the benefits thereof, communicated from their Parents to them, while others do as much as in them lies, intail ignorance and atheisme upon their posterity.

And because he found it difficult to bring those of shallow memories

ries and weak capacities to underſtand and remember the principles of Religion; diſcerning, that many who could not diſtinctly repeat the words, did yet underſtand the matter, and therefore were not to be deſpiſed or diſcouraged; and others of firmer memories, who were able to learn the words, did underſtand little or nothing of the meaning of them: He did therefore ſtudy how he might beſt remedy both thoſe evils; and to that end framed ſeveral forms of Catechiſms in divers kinds. At length he pitched on that form, as the moſt convenient that he could think of, which he publiſhed in print, intituled, *An endeavour of making the principles of Chriſtian Religion plain and eaſie*, of which ſo many thouſands have been printed of late years, and entertained with great approbation.

His Catechiſm.

His method therein is this; The anſwers which make up the main body of the Catechiſm, are ſo many diſtinct Aphoriſms, or entire Propoſitions in themſelves, without dependance on the queſtions to make the ſenſe entire, containing in themſelves a brief module of Divinity: And to that purpoſe ſo much of the queſtion is ſtill repeated in the anſwer, as is neceſſary to make the ſenſe perfect. Hereby the Learner is freed from a double inconvenience; The one is, that where the ſenſe of an anſwer is imperfect, he is forced to charge his memory with learning the queſtion alſo, or elſe to make uſe either of this book or anothers help to ask the queſtion, that ſo that anſwer which he hath learned may be perfect ſenſe; The other is, that aptneſſe in the Learner to miſapply the anſwer to a wrong queſtion, when he learns only the predicate of the Propoſition without the ſubject. Both which inconveniences are in this way in a great meaſure prevented.

Another thing mainly conſiderable in his method is, That beſide the main queſtions and the anſwers thereunto, there are alſo annexed divers explicatory queſtions, which require no other anſwer but *Yes*, or *No*; which without any further charging of the Learners memory, do direct him to the diſtinct obſerving of what is contained in the principal anſwer, and ſo to the underſtanding thereof; whereas otherwiſe heedleſſe Learners are apt (Parot-like) only to learn the words without at all regarding the meaning of them. The ſame alſo will help to direct a weak memory the better to recite the larger anſwer, if he be firſt required to give a particular anſwer to thoſe expoſitory queſtions; for he will then have nothing to expreſſe in the full anſwer, beſide what in the Preparatory queſtions hath been ſuggeſted to him: As for example; Queſt. *In what condition was man created by God at the firſt?* Was he made miſerable? (*No*) or very happy? (*Yes*) In the Image of God? (*Yes*) *In what condition then was man created by God at firſt.* Anſw. *Man was created at the firſt in a very happy condition, in the image of God.*

And in the ſame method he intended to digeſt the leſſer Catechiſm, compoſed by the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, (and authorized for publike uſe) if God had afforded him life to have ſeen that Catechiſm perfected, to the compiling whereof he had contributed no ſmall

aſſiſtance,

assistance; which therefore since his death hath been performed, by one that was intimate with him, and fully acquainted with his resolutions in that particular,

His manner of reforming disorders.

As he was careful thus to instruct his flock: so was he also vigilant to prevent disorders and misdemeanours amongst them in point of practice, wherein he was not contented to use his own personal endeavours, but did also ingage his Parishioners to contribute their best assistance thereunto; whereunto they did oblige themselves in divers excellent Resolutions and Agreements, concluded by common consent amongst them, and subscribed by their hands, *viz.* for the preventing and punishing of Drunkennesse and Tippling, of profaning the Lords day, and of other profane, or disorderly demeanors during the exercise of Divine Worship, by sleeping, talking, playing, &c. as likewise of stealing and pilfering, of profane swearing and cursing, of rayling, slandering, whoredome, fighting and quarrelling, disobedience to Parents and Governours, and of other misdemeanors in whom soever.

His Family-Government.

In the religious ordering of his own family he was extraordinarily vigilant and painful, that it might be, so much as in him lay, a garden without weeds; and that those which were under his roof, might either not perish, or at least not through his default. Indeed his house was a schoole of Religion, such as there are very few to be found; insomuch that it was counted a great happinesse to live under his roof, under the constant enjoyment of so much means for the souls good.

It was his great care to entertain none in his family, but such as were either truly godly, or at least willing to be instructed and educated in the ways of God, and who would be ready and willing to attend the exercises of Gods worship, both publickly and privately, and to avoid all scandalous conversation.

It was his constant practice twice every day to pray with his family, not allowing any to be absent; at which times he read to them some portion both of the Old and New Testament.

He was careful also to catechise his family twice every week, and likewise on Friday and Satturday to require an account from them of the Sermons preached the Lords day before, which he then repeated to them.

Having also while he was at *Ashwel*, the sonnes of divers considerable persons of the Nobility and Gentry, sojourning in his house, for their better education in Religion and Learning, (he maintaining in his house an Assistant as a Schoolmaster to teach them) he required of them the like account in catechising and repetitions as of his own servants.

He had also daily after dinner and supper a chapter read by one of those Gentlemen in course, and he whose turn was to read, was required also, after he had read, to repeat the substance out of his memory, which (by constant custome) they had attained an ability to perform very exactly; after which himself used to go over the same briefly, by

way of expolition of what appeared difficult, and noting ſuch obſervations as were moſt obvious from the moſt remarkable paſſages therein.

Beſide this, he required his ſervants, after every meal, to have ſome portion of Scripture read amongſt them, or ſome other religious Treatiſe concerning the fundamentals of Religion, if not both.

His care for ſanctifying the Sabbath.

But eſpecially he was careful that all his family ſhould ſanctifie the Sabbath-day. And therefore would not ſuffer them to be imployed late the night before about their ordinary employments, but cauſed them to conclude ſooner then on other days, that they might not be indiſpoſed for the duties of the day following; And on the Sabbath-day it ſelf, he was careful that they ſhould not ſpend any part of it idly or vainly, no nor in any unneceſſary preparations of diet or the like, but only of ſuch and ſo much as was neceſſary for their comfortable refreſhment that day; but would have them ſpend the whole day as much as might be, in the exerciſes of ſome of Gods ordinances publike or private, inſomuch that if he had known of any diſh that had kept any of his ſervants from attending on any of Gods ordinances, he would not at all eat of it.

And for better ſanctifying of that day, he was careful not only to perform private duties in his family, as Prayer, reading, ſinging of Pſalms, &c. but alſo when he went to the publike Ordinances, he would call all his family together to go along with him, that ſo they might be preſent at the whole ſervice of God. And the in evening of the day, he required of all his ſervants, and the young Gentlemen that ſojourned with him, an account of ſuch portions of Scripture as had been read in publike; and as they recited particular paſſages thereof, he gave brief expoſitions of them, and obſervations from them: preſſing them to meditate in private of what they heard read in publike.

Beſide this great care of his family joyntly, he was alſo frequent in giving them perſonal counſel and direction in the ways of God, exhorting them alſo to a daily conſtancy in the performance of ſecret duties between God and their own ſoul; ſo that ſcarce any family enjoyed the like meaſure of helps and encouragements in the ways of holineſſe.

His ſecret duties.

His exact walking in his own ſecret devotion, was alſo exceedingly remarkable. He was a man much in Communion with God. Twice every day he was in ſecret a Suiter at the Throne of grace, and oftner, as any particular occaſion was offered. He would very ſeldome enter upon any buſineſſe, either by himſelf, or with others without firſt ſeeking of God, He did often ſet days apart to humble himſelf in ſecret by faſting and prayer, according as either publike or particular occaſions did ſeem to call for it; as alſo in ſolemn Thankſgivings, for mercies received, whether publike or private.

His Faſting, and Prayer.

His frequency in readiug the Scriptures.

He was a great admirer of the holy Scriptures, and much converſant in

in them. Beſide what he read and heard read in his family, he did every day by himſelf read ſome part both of the Old and New Teſtament, and conſtantly write ſhort meditations and obſervations of what he ſo read, whereof he hath left behind him many hundred ſheets written in Characters. He was ſo throughly acquainted with it, that it was not eaſie to name a chapter or verſe, but he would preſently tell the Contents of it; nor to name any ſentence of Scripture, but he could preſently tell in what chapter and verſe it was to be found; yea ſcarce any particular caſe could fall out in practice, but that he would be able to ſhew what particular directions the Word of God afforded for it.

He was alſo a great obſerver of Providence, and took ſpecial notice how the Providences of God, and the Word of God did conſtantly agree together. And from hence was able to give very near conjectures, if not evident predictions in many caſes, what God was about to do, and what good or evil events were likely to come to paſſe; by comparing preſent actions with ſuch Precedents as he had before obſerved, in the Providences and Word of God in like caſes.

His holy and exact walking.

And as he was very careful to order all his actions according to his conſtant rule, of being ſubſervient to the glory of God and the good of ſouls, ſo that even his journeys, viſits, diſcourſes, and familiar converſes with any, were not undertaken without a ſpecial eye hereunto; ſo did he alſo keep an exact account of what had paſſed; every night before his going to reſt, ſetting down in writing (in his uſual Character,) the paſſages of that day, what actions or diſcourſes he had been employed in, what ſucceſſes or diſappointments, what mercies or croſſes he met withal, and what failings he obſerved in himſelf: all which he ſurvayed again at the end of every week, writing down the chief paſſages of that week, and ſo from moneth to moneth, and yeare to yeare. By means whereof he was throughly acquainted with his own ſpiritual condition, and did maintain a conſtant exactneſſe and even walking with God; which being ſo uniform might perhaps by ſome be the leſſe obſerved; like as the Sunnes conſtant brightneſſe produceth leſſe admiration then ſome blazing ſtarre that appeareth but for a while, men uſually more admiring things rare then excellent.

He is made Univerſity-Preacher.

In the year 1632. he was by the Univerſity of *Cambridge* made one of the Univerſity-Preachers (having proceeded Batchelor of Divinity about two years before;) A matter of honour and repute, rather then of profit or employment: yet alſo a matter of ſome advantage in ſome caſes, (as times then went) being in the nature of a general licenſe, whereby he was authorized to preach, as he ſhould have occaſion, in any part of *England*.

At the begining of the Parliament, he with Doctor *Tuckny* were choſen Clarks of the Convocation for the Dioceſſe of *Lincoln*; wherin he might have been of good uſe, in caſe it had been thought fit to

have kept up that kind of Aſſembly, to have acted in concurrence with the Parliament as in former times.

He is made a Member of the Aſſembly.

In the year 1643, He was by authority of Parliament called to be a Member of the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*. And after ſome time he was choſen one of the Aſſeſſors, appointed to aſſiſt the Prolocutor in caſe of abſence or infirmity. He was in that Aſſembly an eminent and very uſeful member, exceeding diligent and induſtrious, being very rarely abſent, and that not but upon urgent unavoidable occaſions. For, as he accounted it an honour to be employed by God in ſo publike a ſervice for the good of his Church: ſo he did conſcientiouſly attend upon that ſervice, preferring it before all other more particular employments, which though in themſelves excellent, yet ought, in his judgement, to give way to this.

His conſcientiouſneſſe therein.

His fitneſſe for it.

And he was exceeding well fitted for this employment, having a clear and ready apprehenſion, and firme and vaſt memory, a ſolid and ſteady judgement, and a good ability freely to expreſſe himſelf. In matters of deliberation he manifeſted much Integrity and Chriſtian wiſedome; in matters of debate, whether about Doctrine or Diſcipline, he diſcovered a great ſagacity in ſearching out the true ſenſe of Scripture, a clear judgement and ſtrength of reaſon, as well in the accurate ſtating of queſtions for debate, as in confirming the truth and diſſolving objections againſt it; in all, a great meaſure of Zeal, Piety, and Prudence. All which procured him much reverence and eſteem from the reſt of his brethren, who judged his preſence and aſſiſtance a very great help and advantage in that difficult work, and bewailed his death as an unſpeakable loſſe.

His judgement was known to be for the Presbyterian Government; The principles whereof he did throughly underſtand, and was well able to defend, and was a very great inſtrument for the promoting of it. Yet in two things he was at firſt much unſatisfied; but by the debates of the Aſſembly did profeſſe himſelfe to receive ſatisfaction in both.

One was concerning the Divine-Right of ruling Elders, wherein he afterwards profeſſed himſelf to be fully convinced, principally by the authority of thoſe two places, 1 *Cor.* 12,28. (where Government is attributed to a diſtinct rank of officers inferiour to teachers,) and 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. which implyeth, that there are other Elders which rule well, beſide thoſe that labour in the Word and Doctrine.

The other was, whether there ought not to be continued in the Church, an office ſuperiour to that of Presbyters; For although he did not approve of the Hierarchical Government, as it was of late eſtabliſhed and practiſed amongſt us: yet ſince it is confeſſed that *Timothy* and *Titus* as Evangeliſts did exerciſe an authority, ſuperiour to that of ordinary Presbyters, the object of which authority ſeemed to be of perpetual continuance in the Church, it ſeemed probable to him, that the office alſo of an Evangeliſt was no extraordinary office, but ought to be continued in the Church. But hereunto he received ſatisfa-

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ction, principally from hence, that in caſe the Holy Ghoſt had intended the continuance of that office, he would withal have deſcribed the work and qualification of perſons fit for it, and taken ſome courſe for continuing the ſucceſſion thereof, as is done in that of Elders and Deacons; But this being wholly omitted, there being no more extant in that kind then concerning the Apoſtolical office, the power of working miracles, &c. We are rather to eſteem that office as well as theſe to be extraordinary, and but of a temporary continuance, expiring with the perſons.

His care for *Aſhwel* in his abſence.

Being thus called to attend the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, he was forced to intermit his ordinary reſidence at *Aſhwel*; being able only to exerciſe ſuch a care of them as might be performed at a diſtance, and by making occaſional journeys thither as he could obtain opportunities ſo to do: But the ordinary exerciſe of the miniſterial work there, together with the profits of the place, he put over to a godly and able Divine to be performed in his abſence; reſerving notwithſtanding his title to the place, not knowing how ſoon God might afford him opportunity of returning to them again.

But, unwilling to intermit the exerciſe of his miniſterial function; he did at firſt preach occaſionally (as he was requeſted,) in divers Churches in and about *London*; reſolving notwithſtanding within himſelf, to accept of the firſt invitation for the conſtant exerciſe thereof.

His choiſe to *Dukes-place*.

His ſelf-denial

And accordingly being ſoon after requeſted by the inhabitants of *Dukes-place* in *London*, (who were then deſtitute of a Miniſter) to preach amongſt them: he did (notwithſtanding their inability to raiſe any conſiderable maintenance, which might invite him) willingly accept of that employment.

His great pains

This work he performed amongſt them with much faithfulneſſe and diligence; as well by publike reading, praying and preaching amongſt them twice every Lords day, and at other times as there was occaſion; as alſo by adminiſtring the Sacraments, publike catechiſing, and expoſition of ſuch portions of Scripture as were read amongſt them; and likewiſe (as his cuſtome had been elſewhere) by more private acquaintance and converſe with them in their families, whereby he might be the better able to afford perſonal directions, and other miniſterial helps to them, as their ſeveral conditions might require. All which was performed with ſo much Meekneſſe, Wiſedome and Piety, and accompanied with ſuch a bleſſing from God, as that it made a very great impreſſion on them for their good, and was entertained by them with much approbation and affection, they being ambitious who ſhould enjoy moſt of his heavenly Communion and Converſe with him. Hereby in a ſhort time he did much good, informing ſuch as were weak in knowledge, ſetling and confirming ſuch as were wavering in judgement, and ſtirring up in all, both by his heavenly converſation and Chriſtian counſel, a greater zeal and affection to the power of Godlineſſe; by reaſon of all which, during the time of his abode amongſt

The ſucceſſe of his Miniſtry.

them, they were much preſerved both from errors and diviſions, whereunto the great unſetledneſſe of the times did much expoſe them.

His call to the new Church.

Afterwards when the new Church at *Weſtminſter* was perfected and made fit for uſe, the inhabitants there, and others concerned therein, did ſollicite him to undertake the charge of that great people; with profer of far larger maintenance then he received or could expect from thoſe of *Dukes-place*, where the inhabitants were neither many, nor of great eſtates.

But this conſideration did not at all prevail with him; who regarded the work more then the wages; for although he doubted not but that both Religion and Reaſon did require a comfortable and honourable maintenance for thoſe that laboured in the work of the Miniſtry; yet for his own part he was willing to deny himſelf in that particular, if ſo doing might ought advance the ſervice of God. And ſo much the rather, becauſe being a Batchelour, and intending ſo to continue, nor at all addicted to pompous vanities or exceſſe, either in diet or apparel (in both of which he was exceedingly moderate) he had the leſſe need of being ſollicitous in getting riches; being indeed much more ſollicitous, how (like a faithful ſteward,) to diſpoſe and order what he had, as might be moſt for Gods honour and ſervice, then how to encreaſe it.

His temperance.

Yet his removal being much preſſed upon grounds of another nature; He did at length with the approbation of thoſe concerned on both parts, refer the whole buſineſſe to be conſidered and concluded by divers of the moſt eminent of his reverend and godly brethren of the Aſſembly; whom he did frequently deſire that they would wholly lay aſide the conſideration of maintenance, and deliver their judgements, what in other conſiderations they judged to be moſt agreeable to Gods will and his duty.

Hereupon, they to whom the matter was referred, meeting ſeveral times about it, and hearing at large what could on either ſide be alledged either for his ſtay or removal; after mature deliberation had, and ſeeking of Gods direction, agreed in this opinion; That ſetting aſide the conſideration of maintenance, yet in regard of the eminency of the place, the greatneſſe of the Auditory, the many perſons of quality reſiding there, and the great need of inſtruction to thoſe of an inferiour rank, many of whom were extreamly ignorant (by reaſon that amongſt ſuch a great multitude of people, there had in former times been ſo great a ſcarcity of preaching) together with divers other reaſons of the like nature, which did more then countervail what could be alledged on the other hand, his obligations alſo to thoſe of *Dukes-place* not being abſolute; they judged it moſt fit that he ſhould leave *Dukes-place*, and undertake that charge at *Weſtminſter*.

The reaſons of his removal.

To this their reſolution he conſented, yet with this Proviſo, that thoſe of *Dukes-place* ſhould be firſt provided of an able faithful Paſtor to ſucceed him, being utterly unwilling to leave them deſtitute. And accor-

accordingly, having prevailed with Master *Thomas Young*, (since Doctor in Divinity, and Master of *Jesus* Colledge in *Cambridge*) to succeed him there, (who was also an eminent member of the Assembly of Divines, a man of great learning, of much Prudence and Piety, and of great ability and fidelity in the work of the Ministry) he took his leave of them: commending them to the grace of God, and the pious care of his successor: taking on him the charge of those belonging to the new Church in *Westminster*, and was the first Pastor of that Church.

He was here also eminently faithful and laborious in the work of the Ministry; in publike praying, reading, expounding, preaching, administring the Sacraments, and catechising, with brief and clear expositions and confirmations of the principles of Religion, as had been his usual custome in other places. Beside which he was also one of the seven, that by appointment of Parliament did carry on that daily morning Lecture at the Abby-Church; insomuch that it seems almost a miracle, that so weak a body as his should possibly be able to do so much as constantly he performed, continuing oftimes to speak in publike for the space of six or eight houres on a Sabbath-day, beside much time spent in more private exercises of Prayer, Repetitions, &c. in the family; yet when his friends have perswaded him to favour himself, judging so much pains to be more then his body could endure; His answer hath been, that his strength would spend of it self though he did nothing; and it could not be better spent then in Gods service. Yea so far was he from favoring himself in this kind, that it was a rule with him which he constantly observed, never to favour himself by declining any ministerial exercise which he was requested to perform, whether in publike or private, if he were possibly able to perform it.

His great pains

Neither did he here neglect, what had been his constant practice elsewhere, to afford private assistance to those of his flock and others, as he had opportunity. But what time he could gain from the more publike affairs of the Assembly, he spent for the most part in such duties, not willing to lose an houre which could be imployed in doing good. And to this end, beside that free access that persons of all ranks might have unto him, as they had occasion, he spent much time in visiting them at their own families, to communicate some spiritual good to them, as directions, consolations, and encouragements in the ways of Godlinesse, which made his company both very profitable and much desired. Hereby, besides others, very many considerable families of the Nobility and Gentry, (whose practice commonly hath a great influence on others) were much quickned and encouraged in the visible practice of Godlinesse, and the power of Religion, which thereby was much improved; And very many of them are ready upon all occasions, to professe that it was their great happinesse to be acquainted with him, and bewail the want of it as a great losse.

A faithful Pastor.

His amiable, and affable disposition.

And he was hereunto the more fitted, for that he was naturally of a loving

loving and friendly diſpoſition, of a courteous and affable carriage, even towards inferiours, and thoſe of mean rank, eſpecially if he diſcovered in them ſignes of grace, which he did honour and encourage wherever he met with it. Hereby he gained much love and affection from thoſe with whom he had to do, by reaſon whereof his counſel and advice became ſo much the more effectual. To which we may adde alſo his birth and education, and his frequent converſing with perſons of quality to whom he was related and allied, by reaſon whereof he was well qualified with ſuch accompliſhments as might render his company acceptable, as knowing well how to give due reſpect to all, according as their places and conditions did require, and yet to preſerve the honour and reverence of his miniſterial authority, which by the gravity, ſobriety, and holineſſe of his converſation was much ſecured.

His care about the Lords Supper.

In that great ordinance of the Lords Supper, which in theſe broken and diſtracted times hath been in many places wholly laid aſide, and in many more too much neglected; he took much care and pains how to manage that great buſineſſe, ſo as might be neither diſpleaſing to God, nor juſtly offenſive to good men.

The difficulty herein hath been, not concerning the manner of adminiſtration, which hath afforded leſſe matter of conteſt, but concerning the perſons that might be judged fit to be admitted thereunto: which to many men hath been attended with ſo much perplexity, that they have apprehended a neceſſity of a total intermiſſion, and almoſt an impoſſibility of adminiſtring it in any tolerable manner; while on the one hand they durſt not promiſcuouſly admit all, (by reaſon of the great ignorance of many, and the profanneſſe or looſeneſſe of others;) and yet on the other hand ſaw not how they might be able, (for want of authority) to debar any: waiting ſtill for the ſetling of a Government in the Church, whereby this great difficulty might in ſome meaſure be removed: Till at length, through the long intermiſſion of this ordinance, thoſe that are profane and carnal begin to ſlight and ſcorn it, and thoſe of better principles do too much abate in their affections to it; And that remedy, which though late, began at length to be applyed, in beginning to eſtabliſh the Presbyterian Government, hath been yet ſo much defective in want of power, and ſo much expoſed to ſcorn and reproach, which men of profane or turbulent ſpirits caſt upon it, either from principles of profaneneſſe, or of ſeparation, or from ſome other bitter root which renders men unwilling to have their luſts, errors, unlawful liberties, or licentious courſes in any kind whatſoever to be checked or contradicted; that the matter is now almoſt grown deſperate, unleſſe God will be pleaſed in ſpecial favour, to afford ſome unexpected remedy.

Herein this holy man did manifeſt a great meaſure of ſingular Prudence and Piety, wiſely avoiding both rocks; Neither totally omitting the Celebration of the Sacrament, nor yet promiſcuouſly admitting all unto it, but thoſe only of whoſe ſufficient knowledge he was aſſured,

aſſured, and whoſe lives, ſo far as he could diſcern, were unblameable and free from ſcandal. And this he did, not only of late years, but even formerly, from his firſt undertaking a Paſtoral charge; at what time it may well be ſuppoſed, to have been a thing both of greater difficulty and danger, then of late years, to keep off unworthy receivers from profaning that holy Ordinance.

In order hereunto, his firſt work was to abate, as much as might be, the number of ignorant people, by perſwading them to be willing to receive inſtruction, which with much care and diligence he was ready to afford unto them, in ſuch ways as is before expreſſed: Which though a difficult work, was yet carried on with ſo great ſucceſſe, through Gods bleſſing on his indeavours, that in his Pariſh of *Aſhwel*, where was no ſmall number of people, he had in a ſhort time brought them to ſo great a meaſure of knowledge, that there was either none or very few, either old or young, who were not able to give a good account of the principles of Religion.

When he had once prevailed with them to be ſo far ſenſible of their own ignorance, as to be willing and deſirous to learn, it was then no hard matter to perſwade ſuch of their own accord to forbear a while, till they had attained ſo much knowledge as that they might come with comfort; which would be ſo much the ſooner, according as they were more diligent in labouting to attain knowledge.

When they had attained a competent meaſure of knowledge, if their lives were anſwerable, and not obnoxious to juſt exception; or at leaſt, they willing to redreſſe what was amiſſe, and ready to follow ſuch good advice and directions, as were given them for the ordering their converſations aright towards God and man; there was then no reaſon why they ſhould be longer debarred, but rather ſuch good beginnings cheriſhed and incouraged; yet with cautions frequently inculcated to be beware of hypocriſie and formality, and not to reſt in theſe beginnings, but to preſſe forward to perfection.

But in caſe they did either obſtinately refuſe inſtruction, or notwithſtanding their knowledge, were ſcandalous and incorrigible, or ſuch as in point of converſation he could not judge fit to be admitted to that ordinance: Then probably they would either be found ſuch as were obnoxious to ſuch ſcandals as might endanger a more publike proſecution, and ſo durſt not be refractory; or elſe by the conviction of their own conſciences, when the danger of unworthy receiving ſhould be laid open to them; or by friendly perſwaſions from himſelf or others: or by the reverence and awe of his holy and grave carriage, and miniſterial authority, backed with the concurrence of others amongſt them, eminent for worth and Piety; or for fear of being ſhamed in caſe they ſhould be openly reproved or refuſed in the face of the Congregation, or upon ſome other the like conſideration, would be perſwaded to forbear in caſe he judged them as yet unfit to be admitted to that ordinance; So that ſcarce any whom he judged

utterly unfit, have ever peremptorily preſſed upon him to partake of it. And by theſe means, even in times of greateſt danger, was he able to avoid the mixture of profane and unworthy perſons at the Lords Table.

Hereunto his naturally courteous and affable diſpoſition did much conduce, whereby he could with the more eaſe, gain acceſſe both to the perſons and affections of all ſorts of people: together with an excellent mixture of meekneſſe and courage, which being managed with ſingular Prudence and indefatigable induſtry, enabled him happily to carry on that difficult work, which might otherwiſe ſeem almoſt inſuperable.

And by the ſame courteous and prudent carriage he obtained a like intereſt in the affections of his people both at *Dukes-place* and *Weſtminſter*: Inſomuch as thoſe who were fit to be admitted to that Sacrament, were either otherwiſe ſufficiently known to him, by his converſing with them, or elſe would willingly upon that occaſion approve themſelves to him, both in point of knowledge and converſation; And others who were unfit, nor cared to attain a fitneſſe for it, would rather of their own accord forbear, then venture the hazzard of being refuſed; By means whereof, himſelf and ſome hundreds of godly perſons who did communicate with him, could with great comfort joyne in that holy Communion and Fellowſhip.

He is made maſter of Queens Colledge.

On the 11. of *April*, in the year 1644. he was conſtituted Maſter of *Queens* Colledge in *Cambridge* by the Earle of *Mancheſter*, then employed by Ordinance of Parliament, for the reforming of that Univerſity.

He had a great influence upon the general Reformation of that Univerſity, and by his advice and councel did very much help forward that work, exciting alſo and encouraging others therein, notwithſtanding the difficulties in the way that were repreſented as almoſt invincible; aud did improve all that intereſt which he had, both in that noble and religious Earle of *Mancheſter*, and in the Aſſembly of Divines, (who were to give their approbation to all ſuch as ſhould be put into the places of ſuch as were ejected in that Univerſity, whether Maſters or Fellows,) that all poſſible care and circumſpection might be uſed, that ſuch only as were both learned and religious, might be commended to, or approved for thoſe places, leaſt, in ſtead of thoſe that were caſt out, others as bad as they ſhould ſucceed them, as well in their vices as their places.

His government of the Colledge.

But more eſpecially in reference to that place, to the Government whereof he was deſigned (whereof alſo he had formerly been a Fellow) it cannot eaſily be beleeved how exceeding circumſpect he was, how cautious and wary in the choiſe of thoſe who (as Fellows) were to joyne with him in the Government, that they might be learned, pious, and unanimous. The happy effect of which care, in ſo quiet and peaceable eſtabliſhment of that ſociety, as could not eaſily be expected in ſo troubleſome a time, was to the great aſtoniſhment and amaze-

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ment of all, even of thoſe that hated them; and hath had a very great influence upon that happy and flouriſhing condition thereof ever ſince. What his aime was in that place, did continually appear by his conſtant expreſſions and Prayers, which founded of nothing more then the advancement of Religion and Learning: And he was as true to thoſe expreſſions in his continued indeavours and actings.

His firſt and main care was, the advancement of Religion and practical Piety; knowing that where this took place, a conſcionable improvement of time in other things could not well be wanting. This made him extraordinary ſollicitous for the conſtant preſence of the whole ſociety at the publike worſhip of God; which he did carefully look to when he was preſent amongſt them, and was uſually one of the laſt things he gave in charge to all the Students when his more publike employments at the Aſſembly called him away, and whereof he was very inquiſitive in his abſence. He took care alſo for the conſtant inſtruction, not only of the young Schollers, but likewiſe of all the Colledge-ſervants in the principles of Religion. The exerciſes of Common-places or Sermons in the Chappel, which had formerly been in uſe, only in Term-time, he cauſed to be continued weekly all the year: Beſides which, when he was preſent in the Colledge, he did frequently himſelf, either preach or expound Scripture to them. He alſo took ſpecial notice of the ſeveral converſations of the particular perſons in the Colledge, as well by his own inſpection and obſervation while he was preſent, as by faithful informations in his abſence; and was frequent in giving them perſonal counſel and direction in private. Conſonant hereunto was alſo the care of the particular Fellows, who beſide the inſtruction of their Pupils in learning, cauſed them to come to their chambers to Prayers every night, and to repetition of Sermons on the Lords day. By all which the practice of Religion was much promoted.

His care to promote religion there.

His next care was for the advancement of Learning, which he endeavoured to promote by his frequent exhortations and encouraging all to diligence in their ſtudies, and conſcionable improving their time and opportunities; as alſo by requiring the conſtant performance of publike exerciſes by perſons of all ranks; and exciting the Fellows to a diligent inſpection, as well jointly over the Colledge in general, as ſeverally over their own Pupils in particular for the ſame ends.

His care to advance learning

On the ſame ground alſo he took care to have the Colledge-Library furniſhed with good Authors, giving conſiderable ſummes of mony for that end, and perſwading others alſo to do the like; And ſome dues payable to the Colledge, which formerly uſed to be employed in feaſting, were by his means converted to a better uſe, in buying of ſuch books, which might feed the minds, both of the preſent ſociety, and thoſe that ſhall ſucceed.

His charity.

He beſtowed alſo a conſiderable part of his profits there, upon the yearly maintenance of poor Schollers, and at his death he gave a conſiderable ſumme of money for the ſame purpoſe, to be diſpoſed of by the preſent ſociety to ſuch as ſtood in need.

Indeed his reſolution was, that ſo long as he was hindred from reſiding conſtantly amongſt them, by reaſon of his attending on the Aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, he would not be a gainer by the place; but whatſoever profits he received more then would defray the charges of journeys and other expenſes occaſioned by it, he would beſtow ſome way or other for the good of the Colledge.

His prudence.

In elections to places of preferment in the Colledge, he was exceedingly careful that they might be beſtowed on thoſe that were moſt deſerving: and to that end he did with the unanimous conſent of the fellows make a decree, that in all future Elections none ſhould be admitted to a Schollarſhip or Fellowſhip in the Colledge, till they did firſt approve themſelves for learning by a publike trial or examination, for two or three days ſucceſſively in the audience of the whole Colledge, which hath already produced very good effects for the improvement of learning in that Colledge, and more are like to enſue. In caſe any ſollicited him for preferment of their friends, his conſtant anſwer was, that if they were found to deſerve it better then others, they ſhould have it; but if otherwiſe they muſt expect to go without it; and his actings were conſonant hereunto; as indeed in all things his reſolutions, words and actions were ſo exactly conſonant, and kept ſo perfect harmony as is ſeldome ſeen: whereas in many, their words are more then their intentions, and their actions leſſe then their words.

In his converſe with the Fellows it was his great care to preſerve unanimity, that as well Elections as all other affairs of the Colledge ſhould be carried on by a univerſal conſent; ſo that if in the propoſal of any thing, there were any diſſent, his uſual manner was to defer the determination of it, till every one ſhould ſee reaſon ſufficient to concur with the reſt; and was himſelf as ready to hearken to any argument produced, though contrary to his preſent ſenſe, which he would either fully anſwer or yield to it: ſo that ſcarce any thing was over-ruled meerly by plurality of ſuffrages, but all with univerſal conſent; and nothing more ordinary then for all differences to be quite reaſoned down.

In his abſence from them his mind was ſtill preſent with them; being more throughly acquainted with all the affairs of the Colledge, and more careful of them, then moſt Heads of houſes are when they are preſent: For by reaſon of that ſweet harmony and agreement betwixt himſelf and the Fellows, he had conſtantly faithful intelligence of all affairs, and did communicate his counſel and advice therein; Making the good of the Colledge, (as he was wont to call it) his *Magna cura*, by reaſon whereof that Colledge hath flouriſhed in a very eminent manner: And I may ſafely ſay, without prejudice to any, that ſcarce any ſociety in either Univerſity, ſince the late Reformation, both for the general improvement of Religion and Learning, and the unanimos harmony amongſt themſelves, have been comparable hereunto; yea ſo great was that unanimity and reciprocal affection, between him and the ſociety, that ſcarce ever any Head of a ſociety

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was taken from them with more general ſorrow.

Beſide what hath been already ſaid, much more might be added, concerning the great worth of this eminent ſervant of God; much of which hath been already penned by himſelf in that ſmall Tractate, *Of making Religion ones buſineſſe*, together with the *Appendix applied to the calling of a Miniſter*, (which with other ſmall Tracts are printed together with this title *Memorials of Godlineſſe and Chriſtianity.*) wherein you may read a true character of his thoughts, as well as his actions, of which I ſhall only adde this; That his conſtant practice was ſo exactly conſonant to the ſtrict principles, that are there expreſſed, as can hardly be beleeved by thoſe that have not ſeen it. A true *Nathaniel.*

He was a man indeed of a very publike ſpirit, and wholly laid himſelf out for God: And therefore, though he were ready to deny himſelf and condiſcend freely, where his own intereſt was only concerned; yet was he zealous and tenacious in things that concerned Gods glory, reſerving his heat to encounter ſin. His zeal.

Hence was it, that notwithſtanding his natural meekneſſe, he acted in the things of God with much courage and reſolution; As in thoſe free and reſolute expreſſions of himſelf (yet with humility, meeknes, and ſobriety) in preaching at the Cathedral Church at *Canterbury*, in preſence of the Dean and Prebends, wherein he ſpared not to ſet before them ſuch things as were notoriouſly amiſſe, (yet for the moſt part expreſſing in Latin what did chiefly concern them, that they might take notice of it, not the people;) which, though it procured him ſome trouble and oppoſition, yet he did not for that abate of his courage and reſolution. In like manner when he was to preach at the Biſhop of *Lincolns* Viſitation at *Hitchin*, he went thither with a reſolution to ſpeak fully and freely againſt the corrupt innovations then in practice, whatever might be the iſſue; and did accordingly perform it, though he were ſenſible of the great danger of ſo doing. The like reſolution he manifeſted in the queſtion about the Sabbath, when oppoſition was made againſt the Perpetuity thereof, and the morality of the fourth Commandment, a matter wherewith his heart was deeply affected, as being a high affront to the Majeſty and Authority of God; the thoughts whereof ſeemed to be continually in his mind, as was evident by his prayers, diſcourſes, counſels and endeavours; and particularly by that elaborate diſcourſe, which he, in conjunction with that judicious, learned, and pious Divine Maſter *Daniel Cawdrey*, publiſhed to the world, entituled *Vindiciæ Sabbathi*; (the latter parts whereof were long ago fitted for the Preſſe, and want but invitations of publiſhing, which might encourage the Stationer to undertake the charge;) And therefore when reading the book for ſports on the Lords day, bowing to the Altar, reading the Service-book there, &c. were urged, he was moſt reſolute againſt them, reſolving rather to loſe all, and ſuffer any thing then to comply therein, and with that reſolution went to the Arch-biſhops viſitation at *Welling* held by Sir *Iohn Lambe*, where yet His courage, and faithfulneſſe. His vindication of the Sabbath. A ſpecial providence.

he found, beyond expectation, rather a connivence at him, then an enforcement thereof. And the like he did concerning the Convocation-Oath in the new book of Canons, in the year 1640. which he vigorouſly oppoſed, and took a great deal of pains in evincing the unlawfulneſſe thereof.

His faithfulneſſe.

It is well known alſo what freedome and faithfulneſſe he hath uſed in reference to the publike affairs, as well in his ordinary Sermons at the *New* Church, the *Abby*, and *Margarets* in *Weſtminſter*, (to which places the greateſt number of Parliament men did uſually reſort,) as in thoſe by ſpecial order preached to one or both Houſes of Parliament, (ſome of which are to be ſeen in print) where he ſpared not to declare fully and plainly what God expected from them, and freely to reprove what was amiſſe. For (as he was wont to ſay) he did not in that place preach BEFORE them, (*ut coram Judice*) but TO them (*authoritativè*) as by Commiſſion from God, and how much ſoever they might be ſuperiour to him in other regards, yet he was in that place ſuperiour to them, as acting in Gods name; and therefore would not be afraid to ſpeak whatever was the Will of God that he ſhould tell them, notwithſtanding any diſpleaſure or danger which might by this means befal him for ſo doing.

His judgment about the King.

And upon this conſideration, we may look upon it as a wiſe Providence of God, ſo ſeaſonably to take him away a litttle before thoſe great tranſactions about the change of Government; which were ſo directly contrary to his deliberate and ſetled judgement, that he would certainly have thought it his duty to *Speak* much more then others would endure to *Hear*. For although his judgement was clear for the lawfulneſſe of Defenſive Arms (which was the Parliaments caſe as it was firſt ſtated) as doth fully appear in that Treatiſe, entituled, *Scripture and Reaſon pleaded for Defenſive Arms* (wherein himſelf of all others had the greateſt hand:) yet was as peremptory againſt Offenſive Arms or attempting the Kings life, whoſe perſon he judged ſacred and inviolable, and hath oft expreſſed himſelf to that purpoſe, that in caſe this ſhould ever come to be the queſtion (which he hoped he ſhould never ſee) he thought himſelf bound in conſcience by ſpeaking, preaching, and otherwiſe, to oppoſe it to the utmoſt of his power, whatever danger he might incurre by ſo doing; which zeal of his, though at that time it were like to have prevailed very little with men otherwiſe reſolved, yet it might have proved an occaſion of much hurt to himſelf, and therefore God in wiſedome and mercy thought good to excuſe him that piece of ſervice.

His temperance, and ſobriety.

He was in his converſation a man of much temperance and ſobriety; In his diet he abſtained from ſtrong drink altogether; wine he drank very ſparingly, ſo far forth only as the neceſſities of nature did require; and did uſually content himſelf to eat but of one diſh at a meal, and that none of the daintieſt, even when he had more before him: In his apparel he did neither affect to be gay nor coſtly, but decent, nor to ſpend time in needleſſe curioſity in dreſſing; As for Recreations, he

ſcarce

ſcarce uſed any, but in ſtead thereof refreſhed himſelf with the Chriſtian converſe of friends; accounting time ſo precious that he would redeem it not only from ſports, but from ſleep alſo ſo far as the neceſſities of nature would permit.

He was neither waſtful nor covetous, but very liberall; doing many acts of charity (beſide what hath been mentioned before) to ſuch as ſtood in need; beſtowing plenteous releif, according as he was able, both by his own hands & the hands of others, ſo that thoſe who received it knew not ofttimes whence it came. And when that eminent work of charity was on foot in *Cambridge* while he was fellow of Queens *Colledge*, whereby divers young Scholers who were forced by reaſon of the wars to flie out of *Germany*, eſpecially of the *Palatinate*, were ſent for hither and educated partly in the Univerſitie, and partly under able and godly divines in the country, whereby they might be fitted to doe God and their country ſervice (when God ſhould give them opportunity to return) haveing here been educated in the knowledge of our language and the way of practical Preaching, which hath been nowhere more eminent then in *England*, (which work ſucceeded beyond expectation) he was one of the great actors therein, and did contribute liberally thereunto. The like aſſiſtance alſo he afforded to divers *Hungarians*, *Tranſilvanians* and other ſtrangers, who came over into *England* for the ſame reaſon. His liberality, and charity.

The time of his ſickneſſe was not long; for having ſpent much of his natural ſtrength in his conſtant labours in the ſervice of God, there was the leſſe work for ſickneſſe to do; His deportment therein was holy and heavenly; His humility, faith, patience, and ſubmiſſion to Gods Will, eminently appearing from time to time, and his diſcourſe full of heavenly expreſſions till the time of his death. His laſt ſikneſſe.

Not long before his death, when one had read to him the 38. chapter of *Iſaiah*, (having then ſome little hopes of his recovery) and ready to go to prayer; he deſired him to ſtay a while that he might pray firſt, which he did briefly, (as his weakneſſe would permit) but very fully, both for himſelf, the Kingdome, the Church of God, and all to whom he ſtood in any relation; The heads whereof were ſoon after written as near as might be in his own words, ſo far as the memory of thoſe that were then preſent could call them to mind. His prayer before death.

Firſt bleſſing God for his goodneſſe the night paſt.

Bleſſed be God that hath been ſo good to us this night.

Then praying in behalf of himſelf.

Great God, heal the ſinfulneſſe of my nature.

Pardon all my tranſgreſſions.

Take from me a heart of unbelief that I may not depart from thee the living God.

Deliver me from tentation.

Accept of Ieſus Chriſt for me.

Teach me to improve all Providences.

To live upon the Promiſes.

Let

Let Chriſt be my life.
O Lord, let me never ſhrink from thee.

For the good of the publike.

Lord turn the heart of this nation, and all our hearts.
Turn the heart of the King.
Sanctifie the Parliament and make them faithful.
Bleſſe the Aſſembly, and make them faithful and upright with thee.
Let not the Army do unworthily, but what thou wouldſt have them to do.
Bleſſe all the Miniſters.

For other nations.

Lord do good to Scotland, *and the Churches in* France.
Bleſſe New-*England and forrain plantations.*

For the places to which he was related.

Lord provide a faithful man for Queens-Colledge.
A faithful man for this place (*New-Church in* Weſtminſter)
A faithful Paſtor for thoſe in the Country.

For friends and thoſe about him;

Lord, remember all thoſe that have ſhewed kindneſſe to me, and have taken pains with me, and recompenſe them. Thou haſt promiſed that he which giveth a Cup of water in the name of a Diſciple, and he that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, ſhall have a Prophets reward.

Afterwards (having forgotten to crave a bleſſing upon ſomewhat given him to take) he prayed, *Lord, pardon my neglect and forgetfulneſſe of thee; and deliver from tentation, and the evil of tentation. Thou art holy if thou ſhouldſt forſake us; Our fathers truſted in thee and were delivered; Lord glorifie thy name in my poor ſpirit, and let none of thy people ever ſee me ſhrink from thee for* Ieſus Chriſt *his ſake.*

Being ſpoken to, to caſt the burden of his ſickneſſe and pain upon God, he anſwered, *I ſhould do very unworthily, if when I have preached to others, that they ſhould caſt their burdens upon God, I ſhould not do ſo my ſelfe.*

His death.

In theſe and many other the like Chriſtian expreſſions, he did manifeſt the ſame ſavour of holineſſe even to the time of his death, which had been conſtantly diſcovered in the time of his life. He departed this life, *Anno Chriſti*, 1647. and of his age 46. having ſerved God faithfully and painfully in his generation, being a very great inſtrument of much good, and an excellent pattern for imitation. His body lieth interred in the *New*-Church at *Weſtminſter*, and his memory yet liveth in the minds of thoſe that knew him.

The Life of Maſter John Ball, *who died,* October 20. 1640.

John Ball was born about the year 1585. at *Caſſington*, an obſcure village, (a mile from *Hanborough*) in *Oxfordſhire*: he being ſent to ſchool at *Yarnton*, was found ſo apt to learn, that the Schoolmaſter prevailed with his Parents, (though of low eſtate) to continue him ſcholler there, till he was fitted for the Univerſity. Gods Providence by means of friends, made way for his placing in *Brazen-noſe* Colledge in *Oxford*, where he improved very much in the knowledge of the Arts, and he proved a quick diſputant. When he was Batchelour of Arts, (wanting means for his maintenance to continue longer in the Univerſity) he accepted a motion made for his removal into the Country, and was placed in the Lady *Cholmleys* houſe in *Cheſhire*, as Tutor to her children, where many other children alſo were taught by him. And though he came raw and ungrounded in Religion (as himſelf was wont to expreſſe it) from *Oxford*, yet within a ſhort time there appeared (with the increaſe of his ſcholaſtical abilities) the breakings forth of the power of Godlineſſe in his converſation, unto them who were moſt religious and judicious there, who thereupon took him into their ſociety for mutual edification in the ways of Gods fear. Whereas there was great ſcarcity of godly painful Preachers in that corner of the country, in thoſe times, he did much frequent the Miniſtry of reverend Maſter *Iohn Foord*, whereby he was not a little edified.

His birth, and education.

His going to *Oxford*.

His remove into *Cheſhire*.

His improvement of his parts.

He had few books, and therefore peruſed the more ſeriouſly ſuch as he had under hand. *Calvins* life publiſhed by *Beza*, and his Commentary upon the *Pſalms*, made deep impreſſions upon his ſpirit. Growing into acquaintance with the moſt godly people in thoſe parts, who much lamented the evils of the times, he often aſſociated with them, in keeping private days of faſting and prayer. Himſelf with ſome other honeſt Chriſtians were often convented to *Cheſter*, and much troubled there, for keeping a Faſt on Aſcenſion day, their fault being aggravated by the Biſhop and his officers, becauſe they faſted upon that holy day. As he took not up any opinion or practice, till he had well weighed it: So was he not much moved by any trouble which aſſaulted him in his way. When others judged him ripe for the Miniſtry, he was not haſty in adventuring upon that calling, becauſe he was ſenſible of the weight thereof, and alſo deſirous to ſatisfie his conſcience concerning the way of entrance by Epiſcopal ſubſcription. And

His frequent Faſts, and Prayers.

His conſtancy

His non-conformity.

upon the ſerious ſtudying of the points in controverſie, betwixt the Biſhops and Non-conformiſts, he was diſſatisfied to yield unto that ſubſcription which was then ſtrictly commanded.

Some conflicts he had with the then Biſhop of *Cheſter*, about Non-conformity; but though he looked upon a Biſhop in thoſe times as a formidable creature, yet he came off unſhaken. Having reſolved (upon the encouragement given by judicious Divines) to enter into the Miniſtry, when God ſhould make a faire way for his admiſſion, without ſubſcription, by the interceſſion of friends, he with Maſter *Iulines Herring*, (who afterward was famous for the work of the Lord in *Salop*,) were made Miniſters by an *Iriſh* Biſhop, (being occaſionally in *London*,) with freedome from the forementioned ſnare. About the year 1610. he was called to be Miniſter at *Whitmore*, (a ſmall village near unto *New-Caſtle in Staffordſhire*) where he was entertained into the houſe of *Edward Mainwaring* Eſquire, a pious and much eſteemed Gentleman.

He is ordained Miniſter.

His call to *Whitmore*.

His marriage.

Here he married a godly wife, whom God had provided as an help meet for him, (he himſelf being always a meer ſcholler, neither much minding nor intermedling in worldly affairs, beyond the bounds of his calling,) by whom he had ſix ſons and one daughter. Six of his children were born unto him while he continued in Maſter *Mainwarings* family, where he found much love and did much ſervice; for every evening he expounded a portion of Scripture which was read in courſe, and many mornings alſo was helpful in catechiſing of the family. Hither many Miniſters and others had often recourſe unto him for counſel, where they were always friendly entertained; and the Lord bleſſed that family very much, which doth ſtill ſhew much kindneſſe unto the children of this good man. Afterwards he removed with his own family unto an houſe which Maſter *Manwayring* had built for him, where he had his ſeventh and laſt child born to him, and where he dwelt till his death.

He was a great lover of learning, and therefore laid out in the firſt years of his Miniſtry, all the money which he could ſpare, from neceſſary expences, in buying good books, with which he was ſo well acquainted (having both a quick underſtanding and ſtrong memory) that he could readily give an account of all paſſages moſt remarkable in them. He had ſo well ſtudied *Bellarmines* controverſies, that it is ſcarcely credible what relation he could make *ex tempore* of them from point to point; and ſhew from particular to particular, where the fallacy and the weakneſſe of his arguments did appear. And the like might be truly atteſted in reference unto the *Arminian* diſputes, and the other Church-Controverſies both in former and later times. It was his cuſtome to read over a book, when once he undertook it, and no man could be more cautious in entertaining opinions without much mature conſideration, having well weighed all arguments produced on both ſides both for and againſt them; and wherein his apprehenſions were different from his brethren, he did wiſely forbear to vent them

His diligent ſtudies.

in

in ſuch ſort, as might occaſion any diviſion or offence.

Oh how well had it been with England, *if all other men had managed their ſtudies and practices according to this pattern; for then, ſo many ſparks (cried up as new lights) had not been kindled amongſt us, which being blown abroad by pride and ignorance, do threaten to ſet the whole world on fire.* But to proceed in the Narrative of this worthy mans life. He was ſo enriched with knowledge both in practical and polemical Divinity, he was ſo able to interpret and reconcile difficult Scriptures, he had ſuch dexterity in dealing with afflicted conſciences, and he was ſo well furniſhed with Miniſterial gifts for Preaching, Prayer, and the adminiſtration of both Sacraments, that it was not eaſie to diſcover wherein he moſt excelled. His ability to counſel and comfort dejected, tempted Chriſtians was occaſioned. (as himſelf would acknowledge,) by his converſing with Miſtris *Sarah Mainwayring*, (wife to the Gentleman in whoſe houſe he continued many years, as was before mentioned) who was much exerciſed in that kind, and was an unparallel'd Gentlewoman for holy tenderneſſe and exactneſſe in Religion.

His skill in comforting afflicted conſciences.

Willing he was to trade every talent with which God had truſted him, as opportunity was offered; and he was a man moſt unwearied in all ways of ſervice.

His indefatigableneſſe.

As he took extraordinary pains in publick, ſo did he alſo in private, eſpecially on the Lords day; for having by way of Preparation upon the Saturday in the afternoon, ſpent about two houres in his houſe, in praying and expounding ſome Scripture, (to which exerciſe divers did reſort,) on the Sabbath-morning he expounded a portion of Scripture in his family, (whereof many neighbours were Partakers) then he preached twice in publick, read divers chapters, and catechiſed alſo in the afternoon, (ſpending much time therein, eſpecially in the ſummer ſeaſon) after the evening ſermon, he went unto Maſter *Mainwayrings* houſe (being near at hand,) where he repeated both his Sermons and prayed; likewiſe after Supper he had another exerciſe in his own family, equivalent to a Sermon, unto which divers well-affected of the neighborhood did repair. Theſe his great labours were the more wonderful, in that they were ſo excellent and ſolid, as many Miniſters and Schollars yet living know, who did often frequent them. He taught a ſchoole alſo (both from a deſire to do good, and that he might provide the more comfortable ſubſiſtence for his family,) having not only the children of poor neighbours, (for he refuſed none who were willing to learn) but of perſons of better quality ſent unto him, ſome whereof were tabled in his own houſe, and the reſt placed in the neighbor-hood. Every morning of the ſix days in the week, he inſtructed his own children and Schollers in the principles of Religion, whereby many young ones, (of whom ſome are now Miniſters) were well ſeaſoned and ſetled in the grounds of godlineſſe; Every night likewiſe he opened and applyed ſome portion of the Scripture, for the edification of his family.

His unwearied pains on the Sabbath.

And beſides his frequent preaching at Lectures, at *Madeley* eſpecially,

His frequent Faſting, and Prayer.

where he was the principal upholder of a weekly Sermon, and a moneth-ly Faſt, and his helpfulneſſe in holy Faſting and Prayer elſewhere, (when deſired) it was his cuſtome to ſet apart days, (when freed from attendance upon his ſchoole) for the ſolemn ſeeking of God, with his godly neighbours as the neceſſities of the times did require.

His readineſſe to do good.

He was moſt ready to communicate his learning, graces, experiences, yea, his *All*, for the profit of ſuch who converſed with him: the remembrance whereof, is very ſmarting upon the hearts of ſome of his ſurviving friends, becauſe they made not a fuller improvement of him for their own advantage.

In the latter part of his time, he had ſome ſchollers, whom he inſtructed in Academical learning, reading Lectures to them in *Logick* and *Philoſophy*, and hearing them to diſpute, which often they did during his dinner time: and while he was at Supper, other Schollers read a piece of *Greek*, or *Latine*, (ſo exceeding diligent was he in husbanding the ſhreds of time, as he called them) the reſidue of the day, till very late, he ſpent in his private ſtudy.

His temperance, and meekneſſe.

And as he was incomparably abſtemious and moderate in the uſe of meat, drink, ſleep, and apparel, ſo he had an admirable command over his paſſions; for thoſe who moſt converſed with him, never ſaw inordinate one, or breaches of anger, or other affections in his converſation. This character was given by a friend who was much with him, (*viz.*) *That as Maſter* Dod *did turn earth into heaven by a ſpiritual improvement of all earthly affairs, ſo* Maſter *Ball did reconcile earth and heaven, becauſe worldly occaſions were no diſtractions unto him in his journey thither.*

His frugality.

He lived upon a ſmall maintenance, (*viz.*) twenty pounds *per annum*, for ſerving the cure at *Whitmore*, and the keeping of one Cow, both ſummer and winter by Maſter *Manwaring* aforeſaid, with what he got by teaching ſchoole; yet he would often ſay, that he thought never man paſſed through this world with leſſe care; God indeed ſtirred up ſome friends, (who knew his great worth and mean outward condition) to be helpful unto him, towards whom he was always really reſpectful, requiting their love by his daily prayers, and his readineſſe upon all occaſions to do ſervice unto them and theirs.

His charity.

Through Gods ſingular bleſſing upon his yearly incomes, he lived very comfortably, was given to hoſpitality, and alſo unto liberality to the poor, (conſidering his eſtate) and left a good competency unto his wife and children; yea ſuch was this holy mans gratitude and contentment, that he would ſay, I have enough, and enough, and enough. Whereas he went once every year into *Oxfordſhire*, to expreſſe his dutiful reſpect unto his aged Parents, he made choice of that time for his journey, that he might enjoy the benefit of *Oxford*-Act: and as his love to learned diſputations was large, ſo by ſtrength of memory he could give a punctual account of all the moſt conſiderable arguments urged, and anſwers returned, upon the ſeverall queſtions diſcuſſed.

And ſtill this journey was made profitable unto his Chriſtian friends (near to whoſe dwellings he travelled) by conference, his

aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance in private Faſts and other exerciſes of Religion.

It would be too tedious and tireing unto the Reader, if relation ſhould be made of all thoſe memorable paſſages in this reverend mans life, (which his friends ſurviving, do well remember) which did proclaim the high degree of holineſſe, with which God adorned and crowned all his other great abilities, therefore ſome few of them only ſhall be reported. His conſtant carriage towards all who converſed with him, did ſpeak out his deep humility; for always he was apt to prefer others before himſelf, and he was never obſerved by any reproachful ſpeeches, or behaviour, to caſt the leaſt contempt or diſcouragement upon the meaneſt Chriſtian. His humility.

He was all his life-long, very apprehenſive and ſenſible of the weightineſſe of the Miniſters calling, ſaying, that no man ſhould dream of eaſe in that function, and would often much bewaile before the Lord in Prayer, his own inconſiderate entrance upon it. A friend being weary of teaching ſchoole, and acquainting him with his purpoſe to enter into the Miniſtry, Maſter *Ball* told him, *That he would find it a far heavier task to teach men then boys.* And a fellow-Miniſter telling him of his danger to be ſilenced by the Biſhop, he returned this anſwer, *If he ſhould deal ſo with me, I would put off my hat and thank him.* His eſteem of the weight of the Miniſtry.

Having experimentally poyſed the weight of the Miniſters work, he would ſay unto his Non-conforming brethren, (when Prelatical perſecution threatned to drive him out of *England*,) If we be neceſſitated to tranſplant our ſelves, you ſhall preach, and I will teach ſchool; And always when other Miniſters were in company, he would endeavour earneſtly to put them upon the performance of family-duties, as judging them to be better able then himſelf. His humility.

Such who knew this mans learning of all kinds, and rich miniſterial gifts, will admire (upon the conſideration of theſe paſſages) at the forwardneſſe of illiterate *Mechanicks* in theſe times, to intrude upon the Miniſters office. And whereas the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf cryed out, *Who is ſufficient for theſe things*! we may do more then gueſſe what ſpirit animateth thoſe men, whoſe practices ſpeak thus, Who is inſufficient for theſe things!

He did lay to heart the want of laborious learning amongſt godly Miniſters, becauſe ſo many neglected to acquaint themſelves throughly with the controverſies of the times, and he thought that poſitive Divinity, might be beſt gained by the ſtudy of controverſie; when the main principles were firſt well drunk in. He would ſay, that a ſubtil Jeſuite would make wilde work in many places of *England*, becauſe neither the people nor their Miniſters had ſufficient inſight into the points of difference betwixt us and the Papiſts. Now what other errors (no whit leſſe dangerous,) have for the ſame reaſons been entertained of late years, (as he foreſaw and feared) it is too notorious. The neceſſity of ſtudying controverſies.

Although he himſelf was much pleaſed with ſober, profitable diſputations, yet he would ſhrink with trouble upon the appearance of their audacity, who dared to queſtion fundamentals in Religion, or to

ſpeak ſleightly of the matters of God. Once obſerving a man in the heat of conference carried beyond the bounds of modeſt enquiry after the truth, he uſed theſe words with holy admiration, *And whither will the love of arguing carry a man*!

He compared many Profeſſors of late times unto young Travellors, who ſo ſoon as they are mounted begin to gallop, and do out-ride their fellows, but they either fall ſhort, or come late (if not lame) home.

The danger of ſeparation.

And he called the ways of ſeparation a Labyrinth, wherein men tire themſelves and grow giddy, as in a Maze, but when all is done, there is no way out but that whereby they entred.

His high eſteem of God.

He made it his buſineſſe to raiſe and maintain high and honourable thoughts of God at all times, as himſelf would always ſpeak of the titles of the Almighty with much gravity and reverence, endeavouring to draw forth holy thankfulneſſe in all conditions of life. Here two or three things ſhall be touched upon, to give a taſte of this good man gracious ſpirit.

His gratitude for mercies.

He with a Neighbour-miniſter, having occaſion to meet at a place where they had only bread and cheeſe to their dinner, the Maſter of the houſe expreſſing trouble, that he had no better proviſion for ſo good unexpected gueſts: Hereupon he ſaid, that it would coſt a man many years labour to be truly and throughly thankful unto God for one piece of bread and cheeſe, proceeding to diſcover, moſt divinely, the many mercies which were to be acknowledged in that meal and meeeting.

And whereas at that time *Rochel* was beſieged, and the inhabitants were in great diſtreſſe through want of food, he moved a ſerious conſideration, how much bread and cheeſe with peace and fellowſhip would be valued at *Rochel*; yea he ſeriouſly made his demand whether their obligations at the preſent place and meeting, were not much greater, becauſe they in their inſtant enjoyments had not experienced *Rochels* fears and ſorrows.

At another time a dear friend relating his great danger by a fall off his horſe in a journey, and ſaying that he never had received ſuch a deliverance: Maſter *Ball* anſwered, *Yea an hundred times*, (viz.) *ſo often as you have ridden and not fallen*, becauſe the preventing of perils is to be prized as much as our reſcuing out of them.

His high eſteem of Jeſus Chriſt.

At a Marriage-feaſt, where Chriſtian friends were civilly rejoycing in the good occaſion of their meeting, the many good bleſſings provided for their comfort, and in their mutual ſociety, this ſpeech came from him with much gravity; *One thought of Ieſus Chriſt reaching the heart, is more to be valued, then all Creature-contentments whatſoever, though they ſhould be enjoyed in their fulneſſe for a thouſand years without interruption.*

His Prudence.

That he might keep Gods ſeruants of the loweſt parts, always high in his own eſtimation, he would wiſely weigh their peculiar ſerviceableneſſe in ſome kind or other, though they were inferiours in ſundry

ſundry excellencies. Hereupon when one admiring worthy Maſter *Dods* holy converſation, ſaid, Oh how well would it be if all Miniſters were like unto him; Maſter *Ball* anſwered, The Church would be quite undone if all others were like him. For though no man more honoured Maſter *Dod*, (which not many years before his death he witneſſed, by liſtening unto his fatherly counſel bare-headed, with his hat in his hand) yet he knew, that other men, much inferiour in graces, had ſome ſpecial way of advantage to the cauſe and the people of God.

His diſtaſte of frowardneſſe.

He was a zealous oppoſite to paſſionate frowardneſſe, obſerving the lamentable fruits thereof, in many perſons and relations, and he had an extraordinary dexterity to calme them who were boiſterous. He would thus adviſe them, *Put judgement into office; for affections are good followers, but bad guides. Look well to your hearts, for paſſion is the effect of pride.* And he would ſay unto them, *You had need to get a ſtrong bit and bridle, for you ride an unruly horſe.* Obſerving one bitterly to bewail the death of a dear friend, he ſaid, *Rather labour to get good by it.*

The means of cure.

He was wont to humble paſſionate Profeſſors, who in their heat would ſpeak unadviſedly, by this poſition, which he would undertake to prove, (*viz.*) *That a moral heathen who never heard of Chriſt, might poſſibly by watchfulneſſe ſecure himſelf from uttering one froward word all his life long.* And therefore it was a great ſhame for Chriſtians to be worſe, who had more grace and greater helps to ſuppreſſe ſin. This was one parcel of good counſel, which he commonly beſtowed in all caſes, *Informe judgement, Set faith on work, Be of good courage.* As he uſed to be large in his Prayers in behalf of the Church of God, (according to the peculiar concernments thereof) both at home and abroad, ſo was he particular in minding his ſpecial friends before the Lord; and the ſpiritual welfare of his children was ſo much upon his heart, that he daily deſired to lodge them in Gods boſome; yea he ſeldome gave thanks either before or after meat, (eſpecially towards the end of his life) without ſome touch of tendency towards his children, in reference unto whom this was one conſtant petition, *That they might never ſeek great things for themſelves in this world.* And his own practice from his youth, proved the ſincerity of his heart in this ſuite, becauſe he never looked after, nor would entertain any motion of removing for wealth or worldly promotion, though his charge was great, aud his eminency both in miniſterial and ſcholaſtical gifts with the power of godlineſſe, which did ſhine in his whole converſation, gained him many friends, and rendred him in their account, a man more meet for a place of publike note and reſort, then the village where he dwelt.

His love to the Church, and to his children.

His contentedneſſe.

When the Prelatical oppoſition againſt the Non-conformiſts was hot and high, he ſpake thus unto a neighbour-brother; *Be confident, that although all who are now known Non-conformiſts were dead and gone: yet God would rather raiſe up ſome out of our aſhes to proteſt againſt Epiſcopacy, and the Ceremonies, then ſuffer that cauſe to fall unto the ground.* He would ſay, *The fathers wanted ſome of our light, but we want more of their heat.*

He

He was exemplarily careful to preſerve Gods ordinances from pollution and contempt, and therefore did always take great pains with his people, to prepare them for the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. In his Sermons he was wont to tell his Auditors, that their perſecuting, impoveriſhing, impriſoning, and thruſting daggers into their Miniſters bodies, would not be more grievous, then their unworthy communicating at the Lords table, and their unanſwerable walking unto the ordinances of grace diſpenſed amongſt them. And when Parents preſented their children in the congregation to be baptized, he would very affectionately lay open their duty, preſſing Sacramental ingagements home to their hearts, with ſtrong arguments and authority miniſterial; Though no man was known by his friends, who more diſ-reliſhed the corruptions in Church-Government, and in adminiſtrations of holy worſhip, yet he hath ſufficiently publiſhed unto the world his great diſlike of the way of ſeparation from our Church-aſſemblies upon ſuch pretences. Thus he ſpake unto a friend who had moved him to maintain our Church-communion againſt the Separatiſts, *How little am I beholding unto you, who drew me from more profitable ſtudies, to peruſe thoſe ſapleſſe ſpeculations?*

His care to keep the Sacraments from pollution.

His diſlike of ſeperation.

He much lamented in his Prayers before God, the firſt breakings out of Independency in *England*, both in reſpect of the preſent offence, and the woful conſequences thereof, whereof he was much afraid: yea he did very often tell his friends (both in the time of his health and laſt ſickneſſe) that if God ſhould give opportunity and hopes of Church-reformation that we might be eaſed of our preſent grievances, the brethren of the new ſeparation would be found the greateſt obſtructers thereof.

His judgement about Independency.

His remembrance of the hiſtory of former ſeparations (with which he was fully acquainted) and his prudential foreſight of the diducts which would neceſſarily follow from their principles, (*viz.* Anabaptiſme, &c.) together with his wiſe inſight into the diſpoſitions of ſome perſons who then appeared therein; theſe were the grounds of his foretelling the confuſions, the ſpreading of pernicious errors, and hinderances of Reformation, which we ſince have ſadly ſuffered under. Theſe reaſons of his Prediction (which is noiſed abroad) are expreſſed, leſt any ſhould imagine him to have inclined to regard injections and impulſions of ſpirit, which ſome cry up as prophetical. His diſtaſte whereof may be evidenced by this one inſtance, (*viz.*) Being asked by one who much pretended unto immediate inſpirations beſides Scripture, whether he at any time had experience thereof in his own heart; His anſwer was this, *No, I bleſſe God, and if I ſhould ever have ſuch phantaſies, I hope God would give me grace to reſiſt them.*

His judgement about revelations.

When there was diſcourſe concerning the new, (or rather the renewed) errours, which were broached, he would ordinarily ſay, *A good Treatiſe of the ſufficiency of the Scriptures would put an end unto theſe matters.* His exceeding love to ſtudy, and his great modeſty cauſed unwillingneſſe to go far from home, or to appear publike in any kinde; and

and if the extraordinary importunity of ſome much eſteemed friends, had not conquered this averſeneſſe, he would (in probability) never have printed any thing in his own name, or have come into the company of perſons of chief place and quality; yet God was pleaſed in both theſe ways to make him ſerviceable; for beſides the profit which many have received from his printed books, he was happily inſtrumental by conference to preſerve, ſome men of chief eſteeme, (in regard of their piety, parts, and places of command) in the countries where they lived, from warping towards the ways of new ſeparation, upon the ſollicitation of ſuch who were buſie ſticklers therein. His humility, and modeſty.

Upon the calling of the Parliament, in the year 1640. Some hopes being conceived that he might be an inſtrument of publick benefit to the Church, by dealing with ſome Parliament-men, that (if further Reformation of things wofully out of order, could not be procured,) men unconformable to the Ceremonies might not be thruſt out, and kept out of the Miniſtry in that regard; he thereupon took a journey unto *London*, with his neighbour and endeared brother Maſter *Langley*; but receiving ſmall encouragement to his hopes and endeavours in that kinde, he returned home with ſorrow upon his heart, complaining of the many ſymptomes of Gods diſpleaſure, which he ſaw ready to break out againſt poor *England*, and reſolved to do what ſervice he could in any other way.

And being convinced that his labours might be profitable to the Church, both in the preſent and ſucceeding ages, he was reſolved to lay forth himſelf for publike ſervice in any kinde, as his good friends ſhould adviſe; and in purſuance hereof he deſigned theſe three works. (*viz.*) 1. *A Treatiſe of the Church.* 2. *An Expoſition of obſcure Scriptures out of all the original Languages.* 3. *A more full Syſteme of Divinity by the enlarging of his Catechiſme*; for all which he had much good proviſion under hand, when the Lord ſaw cauſe to put an end unto his labours. And here, all thoſe muſt ſilence their hearts, (who knowing him, may be apt to judge his removal at this time to be unſeaſonable) with theſe words, (which were much in his mouth when God checked hopes by croſſe Providences) *The Lord is wiſeſt: God is moſt wiſe.* His intended works.

Many conflicts he had with men of greateſt ſtrength (as was imagined) to maintain the new paths into which divers had ſtepped aſide; but the truth is, never was any of them able to ſtand up under his arguments. Though God was pleaſed to take him away (whom ſome in ſcorn called *The Presbyterians Champion*) yet he hath raiſed up other Worthies who do ſtrenuouſly gain-ſay thoſe extravagances. His great abilities.

When his nature was enfeebled by conſtant ſtudy, and great long-continued labours, he paſſed the time of his languiſhing ſickneſſe with a ſweet, humble, divine, peaceable ſpirit. He preached in publike ſo long as bodily ability could bear it; and he continued to pray in his family till ſtrength failed. Now his addreſſes to God were His laſt ſickneſſe.

moſt holy and heavenly, as *Swan-like Songs, the ſweeteſt at laſt*. Though he ſpake not very much during his bodily decays, yet the words which he uſed were *ſolid* and *ſavoury*.

Being asked what he thought of himſelf, whether he ſhould now die or recover? he anſwered, *I do not trouble my ſelf about that matter*. He often bewailed the infirmities of his life, and in ſpecial (now as at former times) his inconſiderate entring upon the weighty calling of the Miniſtry; but he manifeſted withal an holy child-like confidence in Chriſt, ſtill ſtrengthning his heart, after his humble mourning for ſin, with this conſideration, that the *Scripture mentioneth weakneſſes in the choiceſt Saints, which were neither total hinderances to the exerciſe of their faith in Chriſt, nor to their ſalvation through grace*. This queſtion being propounded to him, what he now thought concerning his labours (part whereof were then printed) againſt the preſent ſeparation in *England*? He anſwered, that though he had been weary of thoſe controverſies, which hindred his going on in more profitable ſtudies, yet he did not repent of that which he had done, only he deſired God to pardon the defects, which had cleaved unto that and his other ſervices. When any mention was made before him of his great labours to do good, he would ſay, (and this was a ſpeech which he much uſed) *If the Lord were not a God pardoning ſins, I was in a miſerable condition*.

His faith.

His humility.

And however he did ſay with tears, that he had too much reſpect amongſt men, and that many judged that to be in him, which was not, (ſuch was his humility,) yet friends expreſſing ardent deſires of his health, for ſervice-ſake, he told them, that he could have been content to have lived longer, (if the Lord had been pleaſed) that he might have been further uſeful in his place, and have born his ſhare in ſufferings with his brethren; *For he expected a very ſharp ſtorme, though he hoped it would be but ſhort*; and he called it, *The laſt combate which we ſhould have with Antichriſt*. When towards his end he was asked, How he did, he would thus anſwer with a cheerful countenance, *Going to heaven apace*. And as his converſation had for many years been in heaven, the Lord, (who had ripened him for immediate Communion with himſelf) took him unto himſelf, *Octob.* 20. 1640. and of his age about 55. The materials of this Narrative, (concerning the pious, fruitful life of that faithful ſervant of Chriſt, Maſter *Iohn Ball*,) were received from theſe Miniſters of the Goſpel, and men of known integrity, (*viz.* Maſter *Iohn Tailor* of *Checkley* in *Staffordſhire*, (who was his Country-man and of his moſt ancient acquaintance.) Maſter *Thomas Langley* of *Middlewich* in *Cheſhire*,) who beſides his former intimateneſſe, continued under his Miniſtry above five years, he being taken off from the exerciſe of his own Miniſtry by Epiſcopal power,) Maſter *Simeon Aſhe* of *Baſſy-ſhaw* *London*, (who for the ſpace of many years had been his boſome friend,) and from Maſter *George Croſſe* of *Clifton* in *Stafford-ſhire*, (who daily converſed with him for ſun-

His death.

dry

dry moneths, both before, and in the time of his laſt ſickneſſe,) who all of them do acknowledge themſelves obliged to God, for the ſpiritual good, gained by this their dearly reſpected, and much honoured friend and brother, who ſince his death, have been very ſenſible of their great loſſe by his removal. But they and all others muſt learn to live upon *Divine-immutable-All-ſufficiency*, when creatures do faile.

Now the juſt ſhall live by his faith.

The Life of Maſter Richard Rothwel, *who died,* Anno Chriſti, 1627.

His birth, and education.

Richard Rothwel was born in *Lancaſhire*, at, or neer *Bolton in the Moors*, about the year of our Lord, 1563. After he took the Miniſtry upon him, and God gave him another heart, he diſpoſed his temporal eſtate amongſt his friends, and ἐκ τῦ Ἐυαγγελίυ ζῆν, 1 *Cor.* 9.11, 14. *He lived of the Goſpel.*

His education was in the Schools, and afterward in *Cambridge*, in the one he attained to an exact knowledge of the tongues, (eſpecially *Greek* and *Hebrew*, wherein he was a Critick) and in the other of the Arts, ſo that he became a skilful Linguiſt, ſubtil Diſputant, copious Orator, and of a deep inſight into any kind of knowledge, Humane or Divine.

His natural, and acquired parts.

In this firſt courſe of his ſtudies appeared preſently to his obſervers, the buds and bloſſomes of that fame which after he attained; for he had a prompt wit, a quick apprehenſion, a clear underſtanding, a ſound judgement, a ready ſpeech, and a ſtrong memory; All theſe ſeldome meet in one man, but did in him very eminently, and were improved by diligent ſtudy, which (out of a deſire of learning and knowledge) he continued to his laſt without wearineſſe.

His conſtitution of body, and moral endowments of minde, were great props and ſupporters to his intellectual habits, *Gratior eſt virtus veniens è corpore pulchro.* This is not the ordinary lot of Schollers; He was tall, well ſet, of great ſtrength of body and activity, of a ſterne countenance, of invincible courage, of approved valour, and of a very goodly and majeſtick preſence: Grief nor any miſery could ever break him, but joy would preſently melt him into tears.

He was of a generous ſpirit and deportment, yet withal very humble and courteous; His language was ſententious and proverbial. I have heard many others ſay, what I muſt needs my ſelf, *Nunquam illi accedo quin doctior evadam*; I never came to him, but I went the learneder from him. He had a great dexterity in communicating his minde to another, and ſpeaking to his underſtanding, God gave him a great inlet into the hearts of men.

His entring into the Miniſtry.

After many years ſpent in the Univerſity, he betook himſelf to the Miniſtry, and was ordained Presbyter by Doctor *Whitgift* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who forbade him medling with interpretation of *Moſes types, the Books of Canticles, Daniel, and the Revelation.* Which then he thought himſelf, as the Biſhop did, were not ſo uſeful for him to ſtudy as ſome other Scriptures.

But

But alas! all theſe natural diſpoſitions, intellectual habits, perſonal deportments were but as ſo many weapons in the hands of a mad man: Judge how able by theſe to reſiſt the truth; for he remained ſome years without any change of heart, or ſenſible work of grace upon his ſoul, but preached learnedly as they called it, and lived vainly; abhorring debauchery, and debauched companions, thorough the height of his ſpirit, but gave himſelf to hunting, bowling, ſhooting, more then became a Miniſter of the Goſpel; and ſometimes he would ſwear *Faith and Troth*, and in his paſſion greater blaſphemies. I have heard him tell that there were two Knights in *Lancaſhire* fallen out, and great fewd betwixt them; That the one had a very good Parke with ſtore of Deare; That the other had excellent good fiſh-ponds, and ſtore of fiſh: He robbed the Park of the one, and preſented what he got to the other; and the fiſh-ponds of the other, and preſented the fiſh to his adverſary; thus he pleaſed himſelf in the days of his vanity, with ſuch kind of follies: In doing this one night, the Keeper met with him, his dog having killed a Buck, at the fall of the Buck the Keeper came in with his fauchion and ſtaffe, and met Maſter *Rothwel* who had a ſtaffe alſo; They fell from words to blows; He got the Keeper down, bound him by the thumbs, and drew him up to his full height, that he could but touch the ground with his toes, and ſo left him tied to a tree till next morning, when others found him and loſed him. At length *God pleaſed, who ſeparated him from his mothers wombe*, as he did *Paul, and called him by his grace to reveal his Son in him.* Which becauſe it was famous, and he himſelf afterwards proved the means of the Converſion of ſo many, I ſhall ſet it down as I remember I have heard him ſpeak it.

His courſe of life before his Converſion.

He was playing at *Bowles* amongſt ſome Papiſts and vain Gentlemen, upon a Satturday, ſomewhere about *Rachdale* in *Lancaſhire*; there comes into the green to him one Maſter *Midgley*, a grave and godly Miniſter of *Rachdale*, whoſe praiſe is great in the Goſpel, though far inferiour to Maſter *Rothwel* in parts and learning; he took him aſide and fell into a large commendation of him, at length told him what pity it was, that ſuch a man as he ſhould be a companion for Papiſts, and that upon a Satturday, when he ſhould be preparing for the Sabbath-day. Maſter *Rothwel* ſleighted his words, and checked him for his medling.

The means, and manner of his Converſion.

Power of prayer.

The good old man left him, went home and prayed privately for him; Maſter *Rothwel* when he was retired from that company, could not reſt, Maſter *Midgleys* words ſtruck ſo deep in his thoughts; The next day he went to *Rachdale* Church to heare Maſter *Midgley*, where it pleaſed God to bleſſe that ordinance ſo, as Maſter *Rothwel* was by that Sermon brought home to Chriſt. He came after ſermon to Maſter *Midgley*, thanked him for his reproof, and beſought his direction and prayers, for he was in a miſerable condition of nature; and under the ſpirit of bondage he lay for a time, till afterwards, and by Maſter *Midgleys* hands alſo he received *The Spirit of Adoption*, wherewith he

His faith, and comfort.

was ſo ſealed, that he never loſt his aſſurance to his dying day. Though he was a man ſubject to many temptations, the devil aſſaulting him very much, yet God was mightily with him, that out of his own experience he was able to comfort many. He eſteemed and counted Maſter *Midgley* ever afterward for his ſpiritual father. This makes me think upon *Auguſtines* ſpeech to God, when he came to hear *Ambroſe* preach, *non ut doctorem veni*, but upon another account: *Ad eum per te ducebar neſcius, ut ad te per eum ſciens ducerer.* So did the Lord by Maſter *Midgleys* plain kind of teaching, put forth the evidence of his ſpirit upon this mighty and learned *Rabbi*.

Confeſſ. l. 5. c. 13 14.

Whether it was before or after this his Converſion that he went a ſouldier, and Chaplain to a Regiment under the Earle of *Eſſex* into *Ireland*, I know not; but there he was, and did very great things. And certainly his wiſedome and courage were ſo eminent in him, that there were few of his calling his equals, I think none at all his Superiours.

His going into *Ireland.*

He now becomes another man, forſakes all his wonted courſes and companions, preacheth in another manner then formerly, opens the depths of Satan, and deceitfulneſſe of the heart, ſo as he was called the *Rough Hewer*. He had the power of God went with his Miniſtry, when he preached the law to make men tremble, yea ſometimes to cry out in the Church: and when he preached the Goſpel, he was another *Barnabas*, and had great skill in comforting afflicted conſciences.

The efficacy of his Miniſtry.

He ſtudied now the point of Non-conformity, which was as the joynts in *Ahabs* armour, through which the Prelates hit, and deprived ſo many godly and able Miniſters in thoſe times. In theſe controverſies he was ſo well verſed, that he ſatisfied many, and ſilenced any that diſputed with him. He was ſo fixed in his judgement, that he would never either marry, (expecting daily perſecution) And the word he uſed in all his books, was *Perſecutio pignus futuræ felicitatis*;) nor take any Benefice, (though divers great livings were proffered him) becauſe he would ſtill ſay, *My head is too big to get into a Church-doore.* But he betook himſelf firſt to a Chappel in *Lancaſhire*, as a *Lecturer*, and afterward (to decline the ſtorme of the Prelates) to be a Domeſtick Chaplain to the Earle of *Devonſhire*, and at that time I firſt knew him, and came (I bleſſe God) acquainted with him.

The places of his firſt employment.

There now ran nothing more in his mind, but why the Biſhop ſhould forbid him preaching upon thoſe Scriptures before-mentioned; and he began to conceive that there was ſure ſomething there, could he find it, which would mightily batter down their Hierarchy; He prayed therefore much to God, (wherein he was mighty) and ſtudied them, and God opened thoſe myſterious paſſages of his book to him more then to other men, that he ſeldome preached abroad out of any other Scriptures, and did write an exact Commentary upon *Moſes Types*, which he unveiled with very much profit and delight to the Reader, but that book is loſt to the great loſſe of Gods Church thereby.

His ſtudy of the Propheſies

Learned

Learned and godly Maſter *Cotton* enquired of me whether that or any thing elſe might not be found amongſt his papers after his death; I told him there was little found but what was in Characters; he prayed me to ſend him what I could gather, to *Boſton*, where men were that were expert in Characters. I did ſo, but I beleeve they could make nothing of them. That and ſome other of his learned and judicious labours he hath lent out I ſuppoſe, and I fear they will not be recovered. Learned men that have ſeen them, judge them a rare treaſure.

His conteſts with the Biſhops.

He had ſome conteſts with the Prelates, eſpecially with Biſhop *Neal* then of *Litchfield*, afterwards of *Durham*, in which the Biſhop, I dare ſay, was more afraid of him then he was of the Biſhop: But I forbear that ſtory.

Mat. 26. 13.

At length he came to ſpend moſt part of his time in the Biſhoprick of *Durham*, by means of an honourable and elect Lady, the Lady *Bowes*, afterwards the Lady *Darcy* in the North. Of whom it was truly preached at her Funeral, (Alas, that it was at her Funeral) *Whereſoever this Goſpel ſhall be preached in the whole world, there ſhall alſo this, that this woman hath done, be told for a memorial of her.* She gave about one hundred pounds *per annum*, to maintain Preachers where there were none, nor any means for them, and all her Preachers were ſilenced men by reaſon of Non-conformity: Such as Maſter *Baynes*, Maſter *Dyke*, &c. She would lay out all her intereſt to get them their liberty, and then ſhe would diſpoſe of them where there needed in the *North*, or in the *Peak* in *Darbyſhire*, or other places, and allow them penſions; O! That God would raiſe out of the aſhes of this *Phœnix* ſome more ſuch mothers in *Iſrael*. Sir *William Bowes* her husband dying, his Funerals were kept at *Bernards-Caſtle*, where he had ſome honour: Maſter *Dike* (father of the Writers of that name) was then her houſhold Chaplain, and went into the North to that Funeral; at his return he repreſented the ſtate of the people deſtitute of a Miniſter to my Lady, who would have ſent him thither, but he told her he durſt not venture on ſo ſurly a People, but commended Maſter *Rothwel* to her. She ſent to him, then at the Earle of *Devonſhires* houſe, and proffered him this employment; His anſwer was, he would go thither, and if the people called him, he would then accept of her motion.

The Lady *Bowes* her great charity.

At his firſt days labour, they all deſired him, he returned to the Lady, and told her he would go; ſhe replyed, though for their ſakes ſhe was glad, yet ſhe was afraid to ſend him; underſtanding that they were of a fierce diſpoſition, and having never heard the Goſpel, might deal unkindly with him; he anſwered, *Madam, If I thought I ſhould never meet the devil there, I would never come there, he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we ſhall not agree there.*

He deſired to have me with him, and with much ado prevailed; and ſo (I bleſſe God) he not only fitted me for the Univerſity, but was a means to bring me to the firſt ſaving knowledge of Chriſt; I remember, and ſhall do ever, the firſt Sermon and point which God bleſſed to my

my ſoul for that purpoſe. I was about eight years his bed-fellow and eye witneſſe of the great ſucceſſe he had in his Miniſtry there, and over all the country, where he was worthily called, *The Apoſtle of the North.* The Lady allowed him fourty pounds *per annum*, and ſuch as God wrought upon by his Miniſtry contributed to him, but he would not have a penny from any other.

His ſelf denial. There was once in his abſence collected 30.li. by Sir *Talbot Bowes*, that lived there, from the people, but when he returned and knew it, he cauſed it to be reſtored to the Parties that gave it, and told them, *He, ſought them not theirs.*

His patience, and courage. At his firſt entrance he had great oppoſition, and ſometimes was way-laid to take away his life, but he overcame all that with his patience and courage, and at length his greateſt enemies were afraid of him, and few Sermons, but it was beleeved he gained ſome ſouls.

His carriage amongſt his people. His manner was to ſpend the forenoon at his ſtudies, and the afternoon in going through his Pariſh, and conferring with his people, in which as he excelled, ſo he gained much upon them; and within foure years had ſo many judicious and experimental Chriſtians, that they came from *London*, *Yorke*, *Richmond*, *New-caſtle*, and many other places to ſee the order of his Congregation: And many lewd Gentlemen came oft, ten or twelve miles to hear him, to carp and get ſomewhat to accuſe him: many of which God took hold on, and they returned, ſome convinced, and ſome converted. *Neale* (the ſaid Prelate of *Durham*) beſtirred himſelf, and outed many worthy men, and endeavoured his removal; Once he ſent three Purſivants to apprehend him, and promiſed them one hundred pounds if they brought him: He was then out of town, and had notice by me of their purpoſe; a Gentleman being with him, one Maſter *Iſrael Fielding*, *a true Iſraelite*, deſired him to go with him to his houſe, within a quarter of a mile of *Bernards-Caſtle*, which was out of the Biſhops juriſdiction: to whom he anſwered, *I had thought you had been my friend: what is the devils greateſt name? I anſwered* Belzebub. *And what* (ſaith he) *is* Belzebub? *The Maſter of a flie: and if he be but ſo, what are theſe? Midges*: I will go therefore to my people, and let the Devil do his worſt.*

Special Providence. His Perſecution by Biſhop *Neal*. *Gnats.

So he came and ſent to the Purſivants to come to him, when they came, he took his ſword in his hand, (which he always rid with) and bad them *Keep their diſtance and not come too near him, but if they would do their errand, let them come, for there was his ſuperſedeas.* God ſtrook them amort, they had no ſpirit left in them to meddle with him. *He bade them go to their Lord, and tell him, if he had any thing to ſay to him, he would meet him on Bernards caſtle bridge, (which parteth the ſhires) and if he could pull him over to him, let him take him: But, (ſaith he) doe you ſerve a better Maſter, elſe he that ſets you one work, will pay you your wages; and ſo he left them.*

His laſt ſickneſſe. Not long after I went to the Univerſity, and after eight years continuance there, came over into *England* upon ſome opportunities, and ſtayed

ſtayed about halfe a yeare, ere I returned, When I came to *Mansfield* in *Nottingamſhire*, I found him there their Miniſter, and ſick unto the death; at my coming he revived, and in the ſtrength of that joy ſo far recovered, that within a week he went about the town with me to divers places; but relapſed, and engaged me to preach for him once the next Sabbath following, and in the afternoon at *Mansfield woodhouſe*, within half a mile of *Mansfield*. On friday we looked for no life from him, he was almoſt paſt his underſtanding; There came a drunken Vicar of *Mansfield*, one Maſter *Brittaine* to ſee him, and defired him now, that he was not like to live, to tell him what he thought of the Ceremonies, he knew he was learned, and therefore would be glad to be informed by him. Maſter *Rothwel* either underſtood not, or minded not what he ſaid, but anſwered ſometimes *Yea*, ſometimes *No*, as he apprehended. Maſter *Brittain* went away telling him he was ſatisfied, and reported in divers Ale-houſes, and amongſt his companions, that Maſter *Rothwel* recanted his iudgement of Non-conformity.

His laſt ſickneſſe.

When he was gone, I deſired the company to ſtay, the chamber being full, and I asked Maſter *Rothwel* if he knew who had been with him, and what he ſaid to him? He anſwered, *No*: I told him it was Maſter *Brittaine*, and that he reported he had recanted his judgement. He anſwered, *If I ſhould do ſo, I were in a moſt miſerable condition.* No, (ſaith he) I have written a Treatiſe, and called the Ceremonies *Dulciſſima*. And why? (ſaid *I*) peradventure becauſe as in the itch, ſcratching pleaſeth, but draweth blood: at that he laughed, *I* asked him if *I* ſhould ſend for Maſter *Brittaine*, and that he would declare his mind to him; he anſwered no, *If he come I ſhall prove him to be a very Knave*; but he deſired me to go to him, and let him know his minde, which *I* did, and took ſome underſtanding Gentlemen with me, that were preſent, and ſo (*I* thank God,) cleared Maſter *Rothwel*, both to Maſter *Brittaine*, and afterwards to all the Congregation publickly, from that wicked aſperſion.

The next day [*Saturday*] he had ſome lightning, and ſate up in his chayre, and diſcourſed freely, cheerfully and heavenly all that and the next day; ſome ſent to enquire on the Sabbath how he did, he anſwered, *I am well, and ſhall be well ſhortly*; and whiſpering with me, ſaid, *Do you know my meaning? I ſhall be with Chriſt ere long, but do not tell them ſo.* He cauſed me to repeat my Sermon preached in the forenoon for him, after which, with tears in his eyes he layed his hands on my head, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with a ſhort Prayer bleſſed me: Then he bad me go to preach at *Mansfield-Woodhouſe*, and tarry there all night, (for he had promiſed it to one Maſter *Dand* there,) but to be ſure to come when he ſent for me. This he did next morning about ſix a clock, when I came I found him in pangs of death, he had known nor ſpoken to any of an houre before: the chamber was full, and one was praying for him; after Prayer, *I* ſpake to him, he turned about his head, took me by the hand, and bade me pray, pray; I deſired a Reverend Miniſter to go to prayer again; Maſter *Rothwel*

He foretels his death.

His death.

ſaid, *Pray you, Pray you*; I did ſo: after that he ſmiled, now (ſays he) *I am well: Happy is he that hath not bowed a knee to* Baal; He bade us ſing *Pſal.* 220. he ſung a while, but in the ſinging of the Pſalm he died, *Anno Domini* 1627. and in the year of his age 64.

Thus have *I* given you as true an account as *I* could of this famous Champion of Chriſt, who notwithſtanding his Non-conformity, may be called with *Auſtin*, *Hæreticorum Malleus*, *The Hammer of Hereticks*, and with *Ambroſe*, *Orbis terrarum* (*Anglicarum*) *oculus*. The eye as bright as any other in the Engliſh Orbe.

Two things (amongſt many others) I think worthy the inſerting into his life, which have been omitted in the foregoing ſtory.

His ſtrange ſickneſſe, and recovery.

The one is a ſtrange ſickneſſe and recovery he had once at *Bernards*-Caſtle. His ſickneſſe was a *vertigo capitis*, he would have fourty fits at leaſt in an houre, and every one of them accompanied with miſchievous temptations, which when the fit was over, he dictated, and *I* writ down; theſe held him about three weeks, in which time he had the advice of learned Phyſitians from *London*, *Yorke*, *Newcaſtle*, *Durham*, and other places, they all jumped in their judgements, imputing it to much ſtudy, faſting, and inward trouble of ſpirit; their Preſcriptions wrought kindly, but removed not his diſeaſe; He deſired divers Chriſtians to pray for him on a day prefixed, and promiſed to joyne with them as well as he could, with ſome others that ſhould be with him, aſſuring them, *That he was confident that diſeaſe would not be removed but by Prayer and Faſting*. The morning of that day he had a fit continued foure houres together upon him, and the devil ſet upon him all that

Satans malice.

while, with moſt dreadful temptations, telling him he would make him the ſcorn of Religion, and every man ſhould reproach it for his ſake, that had before by his means looked towards it: That he ſhould never preach more, but ſhould blaſpheme the name of God he had preached, with many like ſuggeſtions: God gave him courage, comfort and victory over them all. The devil told him if he did faſt and pray that day, he would torment and hinder him, &c. We met at the time appointed, and Maſter *Rothwel* would needs have me to perform the duty, which thorough Gods goodneſſe *I* did, and the devil was not

The power of prayer.

permitted to hinder or interrupt him or us, and God heard our Prayers, ſo that he had never a fit after that; and the Sabbath-ſevennight following he preached, but after many wreſtlings with Satan, who told him he would make him mad, and before all the People in the Pulpit make him a ſcorne if he did adventure to preach; Nevertheleſſe his faith in Chriſt overcame his feare of Satan, and he preached with great aſſiſtance and comfort upon that text, *Pſalm* 116. 9. *I will walk before the Lord in the land of the living*; Nevertheleſſe that ſickneſſe did ſo weaken his braine, that ever after he was enclining to ſome infirmities, *Which love muſt cover*.

His diſpoſſeſſing of the devil.

The other is a relation which *I* had from himſelf, and from divers others to whom the ſtory was known, that are yet alive.

As

As well as *I* can recollect it, it is thus; There was one *John Fox* living about *Nottingham*, who had no more learning then enabled him to write and read: This man was poſſeſſed with a devil, who would violently throw him down, and take away the uſe of every member of his body, which was turned as black as pitch in thoſe fits, and then ſpeak with an audible voice in him, which ſeemed ſomtimes to be heard out of his belly, ſomtimes out of his throat, and ſomtimes out of his mouth, his lips not moving. He lay thus (if *I* miſtake not) ſome yeares: many prayers were put up to God for him, and great reſort, eſpecialy of Godly Miniſters, to him: amongſt the reſt Maſter *Bernard* of *Batcomb*, then of *Workſop*; and Maſter *Langley* of *Truswel*, betwixt whom and *John Fox*, I have ſeene divers paſſages in writing, he relating by pen his temptations, and they giving anſwers when he was ſtricken dumb.

As Maſter *Rothwel* was riding to ſee him, the Devil told all that were in the houſe, *yonder comes Rothwel: but I will make a foole of him before he goes*; The people looked forth, and ſaw him coming, about a quarter of a mile from the houſe. Aſſoon as he entred the roome, the Devil ſaid, now *Rothwel* is come: and as ſome ſay, ſpeak thus. *Rothwel*, Thou ſayeſt there is no poſſeſſion, what thinkeſt thou now? Here is a man opens not his lips, and yet he ſpeaketh? and after a while he further ſaid.

Devil: *Say nothing to me of this man, for I tell thee he is damned, and he added thereto, many fearfull blaſphemies.*

Rothwel. Thou art a lyar and the father of lies, nor art thou ſo well acquainted with the mind of God concerning this man, which makes thee thus to torment him, therefore I beleeve thee not, I beleeve he ſhall be ſaved by Jeſus Chriſt.

Devil. *He is a murtherer, and thou knoweſt no murtherer muſt come into heaven.*

Rothwel. Thou lieſt again, for *David* murdered, and is in heaven; and the Jews with wicked hands crucified the Lord of glory, yet both Chriſt prayed for them, and *Peter* exhorts them to repentance, that their ſins may be blotted out.

Devil. *But this man hath not, cannot, ſhall not repent.*

Rothwel. If he had not, thou wouldſt not have told him ſo, but if he have not, I beleeve God will give him repentance, and thou ſhalt not be able to hinder it.

Devil. *Thou art a murtherer thy ſelf, and yet talkeſt thus?*

Rothwel. Thou lieſt again, I have fought the Lords battels againſt his known enemies, the idolatrous and bloody Papiſts in *Ireland*, Rebels to the Queen my Soveraign, by whoſe authority I bore armes againſt them, otherwiſe *I* have killed no man.

Devil. (*Swore and blaſphemed*) *Thou didſt murther one this day as thou cameſt hither, and there is one behind thee will juſtifie it.*

Rothwel looked over his ſhoulder, and with that the devil ſet up a

hideous laughter, that nothing could be heard for a great while, and then ſaid.

Devil. *Look you now, did not I tell you I would make* Rothwel *a fool: and yet it is true, thou didſt murder one this day; for as thou cameſt over the Bridge* (which he named) *there I would have killed thee, and there thy horſe tred upon a flie and killed it.*

Maſter *Rothwels* horſe you muſt know ſtumbled there, it ſeems the devil had power to cauſe it, but without hurt either to Maſter *Rothwel* or his horſe.

Rothwel. Thou haſt oft beguiled me, *I* hope God will in time give me wiſedome to diſcern, and power to withſtand all thy deluſions; and he it is that hath delivered me out of thy hands, and will! *I* doubt not alſo deliver this poor man.

The Devil blaſphemed fearfully, quoted many Scriptures out of the Old and New Teſtament, both in *Hebrew* and in *Greek*, cavilled and played the Critick, and backed his allegations with ſayings out of the *Fathers* and *Poets* in their own language, which he readily quoted, ſo that the company trembled to heare ſuch things from one that underſtood no learning, and that moved neither tongue nor lip.

Maſter *Rothwel* was mightily enabled by God to detect the devils ſophiſtry.

Divel. *What ſtand I talking with thee? All men know thou art BOLD ROTHWEL, and feareſt no body, nor careſt for words, therefore I will talke to thee no more,* (that name he carried to his grave; They would ſay that is he the devil called *BOLD ROTHWEL.*)

Rothwel (Turning to the people,) ſaid, Good people you ſee the goodneſſe of our God, and his great power; though the devil made a foole of me now, through my weakneſſe, God hath made the devil dumb now; do you ſee how he lyeth? therefore let us go to prayer; that God who hath made him dumb, will (I doubt not) drive him out of this poor man.

Devil raged, blaſphemed, and ſaid, *And wilt thou go to Prayer? If thou do, I will make ſuch a noiſe, that thy Prayer ſhall be diſtracted, and thou knoweſt God will not hear a diſtracted Prayer: but thou haſt got a device, becauſe thou wilt not be diſtracted with thy eyes in Prayer, thou winkeſt* (ſo he always did,) *but if thou pray I will pull out thy eyes.*

Rothwel. I look to find thee as great an enemy in this duty now, as I have done heretofore, but I fear not thy threat, I know thou art limitted; God heareth the Prayers of the upright, hath promiſed to give his ſpirit to ſupply infirmities, therefore in confidence of his promiſe, and powerful aſſiſtance of his ſpirit, and in the name and interceſſion of his Son Jeſus Chriſt we will go to Prayer.

They did ſo, Mr. *Rothwel* kneeled by the bed on which the poore man lay; The *Devil* for a quarter of an hour together, or more, made a horrid noiſe; nevertheleſſe Maſter *Rothwels* voyce was lowder then the *Devils.* After a while the *Devil* roared at Maſter *Rothwels* face (this was the firſt motion of any part of the mans body) Maſter *Rothwel* opened

opened his eyes, met, and brought down the hand, which he held with great eaſe, two men being ſcarce able to hold the other hand: Prayer was ſtill continued; at length the *Devil* lay ſilent in the man, and after that departed from him. The man fetcht divers deep ſighs, inſomuch as they thought he had been expiring, but his colour returned to him, and the uſe of all his members, ſenſes, and underſtanding; and at the next petition, he ſaid (to the glory of God, and amazement, but comfort of all the company.) *AMEN:* and ſo continued to repeat his *Amen* to every petition: prayer was now turned into thankſgiving, and ſo concluded. After prayer, *John Fox* ſaid, Good Maſter *Rothwel, leave me not,* I ſhall not live long, for the *Devil* tels me he will choak me with the firſt bit of meat that *I* eat. Maſter *Rothwel* anſwered, *Wilt thou beleeve the Devil that ſeeks thy deſtruction, before thou wilt truſt in God through Jeſus Chriſt, that ſeeks thy ſalvation? Hath not God by his almighty power diſpoſſeſſed him? Had he had his will, thou had'ſt been in Hell before now; but he is a Liar, and as he is not able to hinder thy ſouls life, ſo neither ſhall he be able to deſtroy the life of thy body: Wherefore get me ſomething ready, (ſaith he) for him, and I will ſee him eat before I go, and will crave a bleſſing upon it.*

When it was brought, eat ſaith Maſter *Rothwell,* and fear not the *Devil,* ſhewing him that he might do it in faith of that ordinance by which God appoints meat for means to preſerve life, and urged that place of *Jairus* daughter reſtored to life: *He commanded to give her meat*; *Luke.* 8. 55. With much ado, and in great trembling at laſt, the man took, and eat it. Looke, (ſaies Maſter *Rothwel*) *you all ſee the Devil is a Liar, the firſt bit hath not choaked him, nor ſhall the reſt.* Maſter *Rothwel* left him, after which he was ſtricken dumb for three yeares together. I had a book written with his own hand, of the Temptations the *Devil* haunted him with afterwards, and the anſwers divers Godly and Reverend Miniſters gave to thoſe temptations: but the Cavaliers got them and all my books and writings.

Thus the poore man remained tempted, but no longer poſſeſſed; At length by prayer alſo (which was inſtantly put up to God for him, every Sabbath and Lecture day, in many places,) the Lord opened his mouth, and reſtored his ſpeech to him: one uſing this petition. *Lord open thou his mouth that his lips may ſhew forth thy praiſe.* He anſwered in the Congregation, *Amen*; and ſo continued to ſpeak, and ſpake graciouſly to his dying day.

This Life was drawn up by my reverend friend Maſter Stanly Gower *of Dorcheſter.*

The Life of Maſter Julines Herring, *who died,* Anno Chriſti, 1644.

His birth.

Julines Herring was born in *Flamber-mayre* pariſh in *Mountgomery-ſhire*, 1582. His father within three years after returned with his wife and family into *Coventry*, where his Anceſtors had been chief officers of the city, in their courſe almoſt for the ſpace of two hundred years, and where he himſelf alſo was Sheriffe and Major, living and dying in good eſtimation there. This *Julines* his ſon having had his firſt education in *Shropſhire*, with Maſter *Perkin* Miniſter (at *More-chappel*;) his mothers near Kinſman, (where he learned the Principles of Religion) was brought home unto *Coventry*, where he was trained up in learning, under Reverend Maſter *Tovey*, who then was Head ſchoolmaſter there. While he was a ſchool-boy he was noted for his diligence in reading the holy Scriptures, delighting in thoſe chapters eſpecially, which treat of faith in Chriſt, and of repentance from ſin to God. And even then in his child-hood, he with two or three ſchoolfellows were ſo religiouſly diſpoſed, that on play-days they would pray together, and repeat the heads of their Catechiſme, with the Sermons which they heard upon the laſt Lords day, before they went unto their Luſory exerciſes. Thus this *Timothy* grew acquainted with God and his word, and the ways of Religion while he was a child.

His education.

His love of the Scriptures.

His remove to *Cambridge*.

Being very well fitted for the Univerſity he was ſent unto *Cambridge*, about the fifteenth year of his age, and admitted into *Sidney*-Colledge, where he was ſtudious and a good Proficient in Academical learning. When he was Maſter of Arts, coming home to his father, he preached often in *Coventry*, with very good approbation amongſt thoſe, who were beſt affected towards the ways of Godlineſſe. Here he had ſpecial incouragements in the ſtudy of Divinity, from Maſter *Humphrey Fen*, famous for his Miniſtry and Non-conformity at *Coventry*, (*who in the Preface to his laſt Will and Teſtament, made ſo full and ſo open a Proteſtation againſt the Hierarchy and Ceremonies, that the Prelatical Party would not ſuffer it to be put among the Records of the Court, when the Will was tendred to be proved*) and his conſcience was unſatisfied to enter into the Miniſtry by Epiſcopal ſubſcription, but through a good Providence he with Maſter *Iohn Ball*, were made Miniſters by an *Iriſh* Biſhop without that ſubſcription. The firſt place of his ſetled Miniſtry was *Cawk* in *Derbyſhire*, (a ſmall village,) whither he was called by means of his much honoured good

His call to *Cawk*.

friend

friend Maſter *Arthur Hilderſam*, and where he had good incouragements from Maſter *Bainbridge*, a Gentleman there of good eſtate and eſtimation for Religion. In this place, (which was ſix miles from *Derby*, and three from *Aſhby-delazouch*,) his peace and liberty was the better preſerved, becauſe it was a peculiar, and ſo not ſubject unto Epiſcopal viſitation. Here God was pleaſed to ſet *A broad Seale* to his Miniſtry, making him an happy inſtrument to build up many, who were brought to Chriſt by Maſter *Hilderſams* labours, and alſo to turn many others from darkneſſe to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. The great efficacy of his Miniſtry.

At this time there was great ſcarcity of good Preachers in thoſe parts, whereupon people from twenty towns and villages flocked unto *Cawk*-Chappel, (as Doves to the windows) every Sabbath-day, where more congregated, (eſpecially in ſummer and in afternoons,) then the Chappel could contain, yet ſtanding at the windows without they might heare the Sermons preached and Scriptures read, becauſe Maſter *Herrings* voice was clear and ſtrong. Hither great companies came in the morning with joyful expectation of wholeſome ſoule-proviſions, here they continued all day with cheerfulneſſe, (ſome bring their victuals from home with them, and others going to a three penny ordinary, provided purpoſely for the refreſhing of ſtrangers) and they went from hence in the evening in companies, repeating the Sermons and ſinging Pſalms in their return home. Here amongſt many others, Maſter *Simeon Aſhe* received ſome of his firſt impreſſions and bents towards Religion, whom Maſter *Herring* loved from his childhood, and who lived in his heart and Prayers unto his death. Heavenly communion.

And this is a matter conſiderable, that few (if any) in thoſe parts, who were hopefully brought unto God, and by the Miniſtry of Maſter *Hilderſam* and Maſter *Herring*, have been turned aſide into the by-paths of errour and ſeparation in theſe broken dividing times, but they continue ſound in their judgements and holy in their converſations, well remembring the principles whereof they were well inſtructed and grounded by thoſe two Worthies, their fathers in Chriſt. Conſtancy.

When he had continued at *Cawke* about the ſpace of eight years, he was forced from thence for Non-conformity by the Prelatical power, being informed againſt by ill-affected men, who maligned the great ſervice which he did, and envied the great reſpect which he had in thoſe parts. Before he removed from thence, the Lord provided for him a moſt gracious yoak-fellow, who was no diſcouragement, but an encouragement rather unto him always, both in his ſervices and ſufferings for Chriſt and his cauſe. His wife was the third daughter of Maſter *Gellibrand*, (ſometimes Preacher to the Engliſh company at *Fluſhing* in *Holland*) and Grand-child to that man of God Maſter *Iohn Oxenbridge* (Miniſter of *Southam* in *Warwickſhire*, and afterwards of *Bablick* in *Coventry*, where he died) and as ſhe came out of a godly ſtock, ſo ſhe hath expreſſed, and ſtill doth expreſſe the power of godli- Satans malice. His marriage.

neſſe,

neſſe in every condition and relation of her life, to Gods honour; By her he had thirteen children, and as they were happily, mutually helpful in the ways of holineſſe, ſo it was their joynt care to educate their poſterity in the nurture and fear of the Lord. They were taught the principles of Religion from their childhood, and their tender good mother (according to their fathers appointment) cauſed them to learn the *Proverbs of Solomon* by heart; Neither was this gracious care in vain, for the bloſſoms and fruits of grace, ſweetly appear in their lives, to the comfort of their Parents, & Chriſtian-friends. And here this one thing is notable and imitable in this worthy man, in reference to his children, (*viz.*) That ever before he gave them correction, he endeavoured to convince them of their ſin againſt God, and ſought by tears and prayers for Gods bleſſing upon that means for their good.

The education of her children.

When the courſe of his Miniſtry was interrupted at *Cawk*, and there was no hope of his peaceable continuance there. God (by means of Maſter *William Rowley*, a wiſe religious man, and his faithful friend) was pleaſed to open a door for the more publike exerciſe of his Miniſtry in *Shrewsbury*. Here he preached at *Alkmares* Church, every Tueſday morning and upon the Sabbath alſo, (ſo long as liberty was allowed) which Sermon was at one a clock, that neither the Miniſters of the town might be offended, nor other Congregations emptyed, by the peoples flocking unto his Miniſtry.

His call to *Shrewsbury*.

The Sermon which he preached on the Lords day, he repeated it the ſame night before Supper, at the houſes of Maſter *Edward Iones*, Maſter *George Wright*, and Maſter *William Rowley* by courſe; and whereas ſome ſpies were uſually ſent thither, (crowding in with the company) to pick quarrels, he behaved himſelf ſo prudently, and prayed always ſo affectionately for the King and preſent Government, that his adverſaries gave this teſtimony of him, (*viz. Though he be ſcrupulous in matter of Ceremony, yet he is a loyal ſubject unto the King, and a true friend unto the ſtate.*

Beſide the great good ſervice which was now done in *Salop*, by his Miniſtry, and private conferences with Chriſtians: in reference unto him many other Miniſters had the more frequent recourſe unto the town, (Maſter *Pierſon*, Maſter *Nicols*, *&c.*) who were put upon preaching once or oftner, before they departed thence, whereby knowledge was much increaſed, and the power of godlineſſe much cheriſhed and promoted there. But Satan maligning thoſe opportunities of ſervice unto Chriſt, ſome envious ill-affected perſons, (amongſt whom Maſter *Peter Studley* was the chief) were ſtirred up, to lay in complaints againſt him as a Non-conformiſt: for ſuch was his prudence, ſweetneſſe, and peaceableneſſe of ſpirit, that other objections could not with any colour of truth be made againſt him. Hereupon Doctor *Morton* (then the Biſhop of that Dioceſſe,) referred him unto two neighbour-Miniſters for ſatisfaction, and in purſuance of this order, Maſter *Herring* gave in his ſcruples in writing, and alſo replyed upon their anſwer.

Satans malice.

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The conſequence of this paper-diſpute was a Certificate to the Biſhop from the *Miniſters*, that they believed Maſter *Herring* from conſcientious grounds, in his own apprehenſions remained unſatisfied, and the Biſhop himſelf told Maſter *Herrings* friends that he was ſatisfied in his integrity. But ſuch were thoſe times, that he was ſuſpended from the uſe of his Miniſtry, though by mediation of friends the ſuſpenſion was divers times taken off, and then brought on again by perſons of contrary minds and ways. Thus he continued in *Salop* for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, ſometimes enjoying, and ſometimes wanting liberty for the exerciſe of his Miniſtry in publick: But when the Pulpit-door was ſhut againſt him, he was the more frequent in keeping private Faſts, and in expounding the Scripture three times a day in his own family, by which exerciſe ſome of the neighbours were edified alſo. Always upon the Lords day, (whether he was at home or abroad) he frequented the ordinances of God adminiſtred in publick, profeſſing thereby (as himſelf ſaid) that his practice ſhould declare his judgement againſt ſeparation from the Congregations in *England*, though there were corruptions in them. When ſome ſeeds of ſeperation were ſcattered in *Salop* (by *Daniel Chidley* and his wife,) their growth was check'd by his appearing againſt them; He had many bowels towards them who were miſled in this kind, as was expreſſed by the many prayers with tears, which he poured forth before God in their behalf. And having upon this occaſion, ſtudied that point the more throughly, he would often ſay, *It is a ſin of an high nature, to un-church a Nation at once, and that this would become the ſpring of many other fearful errours, for ſeparation will eat like a Gangrene into the heart of Godlineſſe. And he did pray, that they who would un-church others, might not be un-chriſtianed themſelves.* When the plague was in *Salop*, he gave himſelf unto Prayer for the town, and in particular for the perſons infected; and many from the Peſt-houſes returned thanks unto him, for the ſpiritual comfort received by his Prayers. He took great delight in his ſtudies (having a very good Library) and was often willing to miſſe a meal, that he might the more ſatisfie himſelf in converſing with his books. He was ſeldome hungry (as himſelf was wont to ſay) while he was in his ſtudy, and thoſe who beſt knew him, could eaſily render the reaſon thereof; for as he was afraid of doing Gods work negligently, ſo it was his meat and drink to converſe with his God, and to do the Will of his heavenly father. And yet ſuch were his compaſſions towards afflicted conſciences, that he gave charge unto his whole family, to ſend none ſuch away till they had ſpoken with him; yea unto them his manner was to give full liberty of ſpeech, that they might not go away without ſome clearing and ſatisfaction. His experience, humility and ſweetneſſe of diſpoſition was ſuch, that ſeldome any one who was troubled in ſpirit, departed from him without ſome relief and comfort; whereto may be added his great faithfulneſſe towards them in perplexed caſes, who opened their hearts into his boſome for ſpiritual ſatisfaction.

His ſuſpenſion

His judgment againſt ſeparation.

His ſtudiouſneſſe.

His painfulneſſe.

When he was not allowed liberty to preach in publike at home, he was willing to beſtow his pains abroad, and every where he in his Miniſtry proved himſelf a ſolid well-ſtudied Divine, *A Workman who needed not to be aſhamed.* It may truly be affirmed concerning him, that when he was in journeys he imitated the Lord Chriſt his Maſter, *Who went about doing good*: for in the families whither he came, (if there was not opportunity of more publick imployment, wherein he might appear with ſafety in thoſe Prelatical times,) he was always ready by Prayer and Expoſition of Scripture, to be ſerviceable unto the ſouls of ſuch who deſired to improve him. He was a man of an ingenuous and cheerful ſpirit, yet very grave and inoffenſive; yea, the lightſomnes of his behaviour being accompanied with holineſſe and humility, did make his ſerious ſervices the more acceptable, and more taking upon the hearts of thoſe who converſed with him.

His humility, and charity.

Amongſt many other rare gifts, with which God had enriched him, this did ſhine forth brightly unto all them, who were acquainted with his way, in performing family duties, whether in his own houſe, or elſewhere, (*viz.*) *That he would always moſt aptly and affectionately enlarge himſelfe upon the Sermon lately heard, or the chapter read, by confeſſion, complaint, petition, thankſgiving, &c. unto the advantage of them, who joyned with him in that exerciſe.* He was indeed a man made up of love and meekneſſe, for the diſcovery whereof, take two inſtances, which will tell the Reader, that he was *Dove-like, without gall.* The one is this. Doctor *Lambe* having broken his leg by a fall, was brought into the ſame Inne in *Northamptonſhire*, where Maſter *Herring* had taken up his lodging, being in a journey; and that night he prayed very affectionately for him, though Doctor *Lambe* was a notorious violent Perſecutor of Non-conformiſts, both Miniſters and People, yea though he had been a bitter oppoſite againſt Maſter *Herring* particularly. He being asked the reaſon why he expreſſed ſo much reſpect towards ſo unworthy a man, returned this anſwer, *The greater enemy he is to the Church, the more need he hath of Prayers*, and then wiſhed thoſe who were with him, *To prove themſelves Chriſts diſciples by loving their enemies, and by praying for their Perſecutors. The other inſtance is this*, (viz.) underſtanding that Arch-biſhop *Laud* ſaid unto ſome of his friends (Petitioners for the liberty of his Miniſtry) *I will pickle up that Herring of* Shrewsbury, He uſed theſe words, *If he will abuſe his power, let it teach Chriſtians the more to uſe their Prayers. And he then prayed, that the Non-conformiſts enemies might by obſervation know that they have a good God to truſt unto, when trampled upon by ill-deſpiſed men.*

His fervent Prayers.

He was a conſtant mighty Wraſtler with the Almighty in Prayers for *England*, that the Goſpel might not be removed, but that the Kingdome of Chriſt, might be here advanced more and more. He much feared that bad times would overtake this Nation; and at a conference about the affairs of *England*, he uſed theſe words. *Gods rod* (I much feare) *will be homebred Warre in the State, and Errours and Hereſies*

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in the Church, with Gods viſible departure from us.

When all hope of regaining the liberty of his Miniſtry in *Shrewsbury* was quite gone, and therefore his continuance there, in many regards, was judged inexpedient; he removed with his wife, and ſuch of his family who were not diſpoſed of elſewhere, unto *Wrenbury* in *Cheſhire*, where he ſojourned with his wifes dear ſiſter, Miſtris *Nicolls*, a godly woman, the widdow of worthy Maſter *Robert Nicolls*, who had been very famous in thoſe parts, both for his labours and great abilities; of whom this true character may be given. *He was a man who had a cleare head, and a tender heart, who led an holy life, and abounded in the work of the Lord.* Here Maſter *Herring* lived privately and comfortably, under the Miniſtry of his good friend Maſter *William Peartree*, doing what ſervice he could by comforting afflicted conſciences, and confirming the hearts of Gods people in the faith of the Goſpel, as opportunities were offered. Before any further progreſſe be made, in making known his call unto *Amſterdam*, here may ſeaſonably be inſerted, the deſcription given by a Reverend Neighbour Miniſter, which is as followeth.

His remove to *Wrenbury*.

A character of Mr. *Nicholls*.

Whereas you deſire my opinion in writing, concerning that reverend and religious man of God, Maſter *Herring* deceaſed; The truth is, I fear my pen may rather darken his honour, then my penſil can draw out his Character, yet as the Martyr counted it a great mercy to be caſt into priſon, if it were but to ſee the face of that bleſſed Angel of God, Maſter *Bradford*; ſo I have look't on it as no ſmall happineſſe, that the Lord in his Providence did caſt me into theſe parts, to ſee the face and hear the voice of Maſter *Herring*, that bleſſed Angel of a Church in *Salop*. And I bleſſe God that *I* had ſome intimate acquaintance with him, and knew his doctrine, manner of life, &c. as *Timothy* did *Pauls*, 2 *Epiſt.* 3. 10. And I ſhould wrong him, if I ſhould withhold this juſt teſtimony. He was one of whom the world was not worthy, a meſſenger, one of a thouſand, a faithful Miniſter of Ieſus Chriſt; A *Boanerges* (a ſonne of thunder) to brawny-hearted ſinners; A *Barnabas*, (a ſonne of conſolation) to broken-hearted ſinners; as ſweet a grace he had in Elocution, as ever I heard man in the Pulpit; whoſe gift of utterance did ſet a faire gloſſe on all his holy Sermons; another *Apollos*, eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures, and you know the common ſaying, *Bonus textualis bonus Theologus.* His Sermons preached in the Congregation, were printed in his converſation, *In doctrine, ſhewing incorruptneſſe, gravity, ſincerity*, (for he was a pious and learned Divine) *and in life, ſhewing himſelf a Pattern of good works*; free from viſible blame, (ſaving humane unavoidable infirmities,) none could ſay (juſtly) black was his eye. He was indued with an admirable gift of Prayer, and was frequently imployed in days of private humiliation, even then, when meetings in that kind were branded with the odious names of Conventicles; yet the perils (to which he rendred himſelf obnoxious,) could not ſtave him off, *from opening his window* (with *Daniel*) *toward* Jeruſalem. He was very fruitful in conference, diſcreet in carriage, and chearful and couragious in his ſuf-

Mr. *Herrings* character.

ferings, of which this good old Non conformiſt had his ſhare. And when every door was bar'd, and no hope left to enjoy his publike liberty, he left the land of his Nativity, and (on a cleare call) went into the Netherlands, where (after ſome years ſpent in the worke of the Lord) this bright ſtarre did ſet, to the no little ſorrow of his dear Chriſtian friends, &c.

This faithful ſervant of Chriſt had many invitations into *New England*, but received not ſatisfaction in his ſpirit, to tranſplant himſelf thither.

His call to *Amſterdam*.

Afterwards in the latter end of the year 1636. He was propounded by ſome friends unto Maſter *Rulice* (who was ſent from the Engliſh Reformed Church in *Amſterdam*, unto *London*, to provide a Miniſter to ſucceed Maſter *John Paget*) as a man moſt meet to underrake that place. *For the caſe there was this*, (viz.) *Maſter* John Paget (*whoſe works praiſe him in the gate*) *being through old age, rendred unable to uphold his wonted work in that Reformed Congregation, was eaſed of his Paſtoral attendance there*, (*though the Lords of the City, according to their commendable cuſtome, continued his competent maintenance till his death*,) *therefore* Maſter *Rulice his Colleague, was employed to find out an Aſſiſtant*.

The reaſon of his remove.

This motion made known to Maſter *Herring*, was the rather hearkened unto, becauſe his ſuſpenſion from preaching was a burthen to his active ſpirit, and he eſpied no ground of hope that he ſhould ever be ſuffered by the Prelates to enjoy his much-deſired liberty in *England* any more. Hereupon coming up to *London*, after much ſeeking of God, and ſerious conſulting with godly brethren, he was perſwaded that this call came from God, and therefore might not be gainſaid.

Now having reſolved (in the purſuance of this Providence) to leave *England*, amongſt other difficulties to be encountred, he was much affected with a double conflict, the one relating unto his Manuſcripts, the other unto his near and much endeared friends. He had many papers and letters (which he much prized) containing both the ſpiritual breathings of gracious hearts, and matters of great concernment: and thoſe he durſt not adventure to take with him (fearing a ſearch,) nor yet did he judge it ſafe to leave them, becauſe he knew not into what hands they might come; therefore upon advice he burnt many writings, though both then and afterwards he did with tears think of that *Letter martyrdome*, (for ſo he called it,) *wherein many of the beſt thoughts of his deareſt friends were committed to the flames*. If this was ſo grievous, then let the Reader gueſſe, with what grief of heart this thought was entertained, that now he muſt leave thouſands of his precious friends, without any hope of ſeeing their faces any more in the land of the living.

His letter-martyrdome.

And truly his labours and his lovely converſation had gained him multitudes of friends, in every country and corner where he was known, for no man was more generally and intirely affected, by all ſorts, who feared God, then good Maſter *Herring*. Although it be

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not poſſible to give a particular account of the Gentry and Miniſtry; (moſt eminent for Religion) who highly prized and heartily loved him, yet the vertuous Lady *Margaret Bromley*, (who then dwelt at *Sheriffe Hales* in *Shropſhire*.) deſerves an honourable remembrance, becauſe ſhe was a conſtant and unparallel'd favourer of all good Miniſters and People being both tender-hearted and open-handed towards ſuch who ſuffered under Prelatical preſſures and otherwiſe; and at her houſe the moſt famous Miniſters in all neighbour-countries, had hearty welcomes, with manifold ſweet opportunities of ſervice unto God, and of mutual edification. Beſides the frequent ſoul-helps which the Pariſhioners of the Congregation, to which ſhe was related, had upon Sabbath-days for her ſake; there were few Holy-days, (days of vacancy from worldly buſineſſes;) in the year, wherein they had not one Sermon at leaſt, preached by ſome able Miniſter of Ieſus Chriſt, amongſt whom Maſter *Pierſon*, Maſter *Ball*, Maſter *Herring*, and Maſter *Nicolls*, (before mentioned, who died at this good Ladies houſe,) were of chief worth.

The Lady *Bromleys* love to Chriſts Miniſters.

Oh! what pathetical bleſſings, with exhortations, encouragements, and Prayers, did this worthy man of God beſtow upon this, and the families of other choice friends, before he took his laſt farewel of his dear native country. This Narrative would ſwell too big, if report ſhould be made of generals only in reference unto them, who were naturally, nearly related unto himſelf and his gracious Conſort, beſides ſuch who were very dear unto them both, in the ſpirit of Ieſus Chriſt. Some who beheld the laſt greetings bewixt him and Reverend Maſter *Ball* of *Whitmore*, profeſſe that they ſtick too deep in their breaſts to be forgotten: for after they had ſpent together well nigh one day and one night in conference, they did (*like Jonathan and David*) frequently fall upon one another with mutual embracings, they parted and cloſed again a third and a fourth time, and when Maſter *Herring* was on horſeback, and Maſter *Ball* on foot, they went together, often ſhaking hands over the hedges; and upon the final ſalutation they comforted each other with this conſideration, *That though they ſhould never ſee one another again on earth, yet they ſhould meet in heaven*; and Maſter *Herring* was ſo deeply affected with thoſe paſſages, that he ſaid to ſome of his company, *Two or three more ſuch Partings would hinder my journey beyond ſeas*, and yet adding withal, Maſter *Ball hath conquered my paſſions*. In his paſſage out of *England*, he with warme affections and heavenly benedictions took his leave of his own and his wives ſiſters with their husbands, whoſe dwellings were in divers countries. Thoſe two eminently worthy Reverend Divines, Maſter *Oliver Bowles* of *Sutton* in *Bedfordſhire*, and Maſter *Barry* of *Cotſmore* in *Rutland*, (who had married two of his wives gracious ſiſters) as they had brotherly reſpect in his boſome, ſo they had ſpecial viſits in his journey towards *Holland*. He was neceſſitated ſecretly to take ſhipping at *Yarmouth*, (whither his brother in law Maſter *Bowles* did accompany him,) becauſe the then Arch-biſhop had given order, that no Scholler nor

Miniſter ſhould paſſe, without licenſe from the Councel-table. Now whereas in his journey he had often prayed, that God would yet further clear his call into *Holland*, by two ſpecial Providences, (*viz.*) 1. *That he might not be examined whether he was a Miniſter*, (for he profeſſed that he durſt not deny his holy calling.) 2. *That God would ſtrengthen him at ſea, and grant him a comfortable voyage*; He had anſwers of ſingular grace returned in both. He landed at *Rotterdam*, *September* 20. 1637. and went aſide from company ſo ſoon as with conveniency he could, to bleſſe the Lord for his ſafe arrival, and for all other favours vouchſafed unto him, who had never before been upon the ſea. The next day he went in Waggon to *Amſterdam*, and was met on the way, by his dear Colleague, with the Elders and Deacons of the Church, and many of the Engliſh Merchants, who expreſſed much joy for his ſafe coming unto them; By them he was accompanied to the houſe of his good friend, Maſter *Whittaker*, where he continued till his removal unto his own houſe, upon the coming over of his family into *Holland*.

His arrival in *Holland*.

His entertainment there.

His firſt Sermon was upon *Pſal.* 24. 1. *The earth is the Lords, &c.* wherein he much inſiſted upon this conſideration, *That Gods children ſtill tread upon their fathers ground, whitherſoever his Providence doth remove them*; and he preached with ſuch ſatisfaction unto the hearts of his hearers, that thereby way was made for his future acceptance and ſervice. The week following he was preſented firſt unto the Honourable Lords, the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*,) who kindly accepted him, and gave him a gratuity towards the charges of his journey,) and afterwards to the reverend Claſſis, where he was lovingly received into that ſociety, and thanks were given unto God for bringing him ſafe unto them. Whereas it was his cuſtome to pray every night before he went into his bed, the night before a faſting day, (appointed by the States, to ſeek direction in their counſels and ſucceſſe upon their armies now before *Breda*) he ſpake thus to his Son who attended him, *My heart is more fit for a Thankſgiving day, and it would be ſo unto me, if God would bring over my deareſt Chriſtian* (for that was his wives name) *thy tender mother with her company. Come let us pray for them*; and the next morning when he was ready to go to the Congregation, he heard that his dear wife was come unto *Amſterdam*, by which Providence his ſpirit being raiſed unto holy aſtoniſhment and admiration, he uttered theſe vvords. *Oh what a God do I ſerve! how exceeding merciful is my God unto me?* What his prudent and pious converſation vvas, and vvhat high eſtimation he had in *Amſterdam* may be underſtood by the teſtimony of Maſter *Rulice*, vvritten by his own hand, *March* 2. 1650. which is as followeth.

Return of prayers.

How acceptable and dear Maſter Herring, (*my once Reverend Colleague*) *was to us all, Church, Claſſes, Magiſtrates, yea to all who knew him, it is publickly known. How faithfully he employed thoſe excellent gifts, which God in a large meaſure beſtowed upon him, in publick, in private, in his Sermons, in his advices, in Conſiſtory and Claſſes, &c. what need I mention, for all well know. For his private converſation,*

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what ſweetneſſe and inoffenſiveneſſe, yea exemplary godlineſſe did not he ſhew upon all occaſions.

His ſickneſſe was lingring, his death like a ſleep. As in his life, ſo in his ſickneſſe, and to his laſt breath; he ſhewed that his heart was truly ſtored with patience, faith, love to God and his People, heavenly mindedneſſe, zeale to the honour of God, and with intire love to his wife and children.

But I muſt break off; I hope that Reverend man, who undertakes to publiſh the life and death of my moſt dear brother and Colleague, will ſo ſet it out, that it may be a ſpurre to provoke the living to follow ſuch a worthy Pattern, and be a means of quickning many, not only to walke faithfully in the way to heaven, but alſo in that great function of the Miniſtry. Thus farre Mr. *Rulice.*

His fear of Independency

The ſtrangeneſſe of Independent brethren of *England*, when they came over into *Holland*, was a great trouble unto this real Saint: and his conſtant prayers were that they might neither be deceived themſelves, nor do any hurt unto the Government of the reformed Churches. He often ſaid, that thoſe men had need of much caution, becauſe the devil in the times of pureſt Reformation, would be a more ſubtil Angel of light then he was in *Luthers* days.

When his ſon returned into *England*, he warned him to take heed of joyning with any part, againſt the Presbyterial Government of the Reformed Churches, *For I am ſure* (ſaid he) *it is the Government of Jeſus Chriſt.*

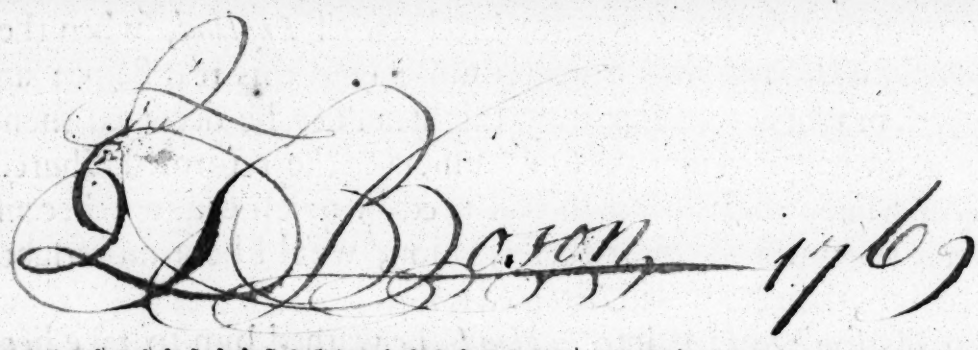
When the *Scots* firſt came into *England*, it was his conſtant and affectionate prayer, that they might be inſtruments of much good, but of no blood nor diviſion between the two Nations.

He was one of Gods ſpecial Remembrancers, in behalf of *England*, begging fervently that the Lords and Commons in Parliament, might be preſerved from the two deſtructive rocks of pride and ſelf-intereſts. He poured out his ſoul before the Almighty, that he would appear for the Non-conformiſts cauſe in *England*, and ſet up the Presbyterial Government according to Scripture rules. He often profeſſed himſelf to be no enemy unto the perſons of Biſhops, but an oppoſite to their Pride and Prelatical rule. When news came unto him of the Battel at *Edge-hill*, thus he ſpake with tears. *Oh Lord wilt thou write* Englands *Reformation in red letters of her own blood; yet preſerve thine own People, and mintaine thine own cauſe for Ieſus Chriſts ſake.* He greatly bewailed the obſtructing of Church-reformation in *England* by them, who profeſſed themſelves zealous for Reformation, and it was no ſmall offence unto him to heare of the letters which came from ſome Independents at *London* into *Holland*, wherein falſhoods were reported, to the reproach of ſome Presbyterians, his known, godly friends in *England*: He was a true *Nathaniel* indeed, *in whoſe ſpirit there was no guile*, and therefore all falſhood and unworthy juglings were an abomination to his heart. There was an holy harmonioufneſſe in his whole converſation, his life was a well-ſpun thred, from the beginning to the end,

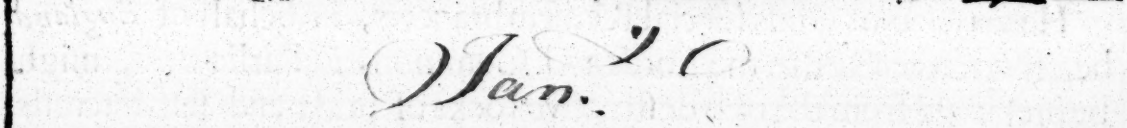
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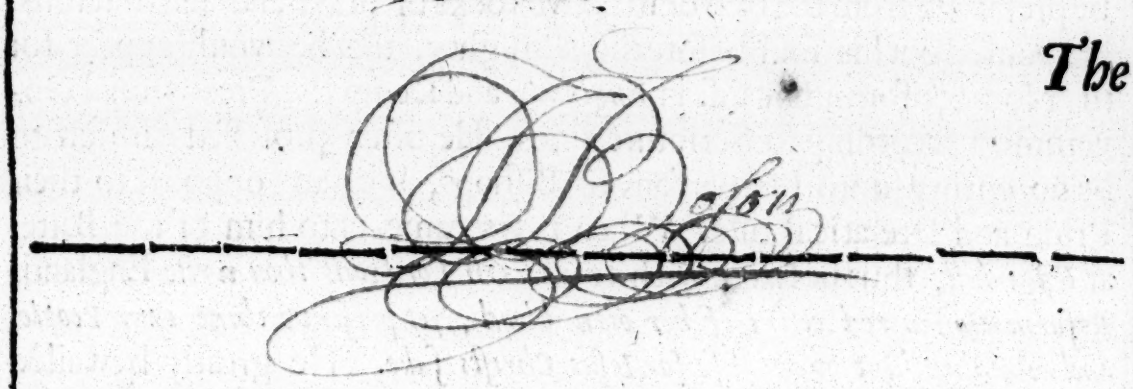
and tended much to the honour of his Profeſſion and particular calling. Although he walked exactly with God, and maintained the comfort of conſtant peace with him, yet Satan was ſuffered to give him one furious aſſault the night before he died, as was perceived by thoſe who were then with him; for riſing upon his knees, with his hands lifted up, he ſpake theſe words. *He is overcome, overcome, through the ſtrength of my Lord and only Saviour Ieſus, unto whom I am now going to keep a Sabbath in glory.* And next morning, *March* 28. 1644. being the Sabbath-day, (about the time when he was wont to go unto miniſterial work in the publick congregation,) and the ſixty two year of his life, he was taken from his labours into reſt, unto the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect in heaven, where he ſhall ſing *Hallelujahs* for evermore.

His death.









The Life of Doctor Preſton.

John Preſton, the ſonne of *Thomas* and *Alice Preſton*, was born at *Heyford* in *Northamptonſhire*, a town divided by a little river into the upper and the lower *Heyfords*, and is in Maps oft written in the plural number; It is a Rectory, and hath a faire Church in the lower *Heyfords*, but yet ſtands in divers pariſhes. That Farme wherein Maſter *Thomas Preſton* lived, is in *Bugbrook* pariſh, where they buried and baptized, where we find that *John* the ſonne of *Thomas Preſton* was baptized, *Octob.* 27. 1587. but was deſcended from that Family of the *Preſtons*, that lived at *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, from whence his great Grandfather removed, upon occaſion of a fatal quarrel with one Maſter *Bradſhaw*, a neighbour-Gentleman, whom in his own defence he ſlew, and ſatisfied the Law, and was acquitted for it; but not the Kindred, who waited an opportunity to be revenged, as the manner in thoſe Northern Countries then was; It fell out not long after that Maſter *Bradſhaws* next brother meets Maſter *Preſton*, near to the place where he had ſlain his brother, and told him he ſhould either do as much for him, or he would revenge his brothers blood; Maſter *Preſton* told him he had ſlain his brother againſt his will, and in his own defence: that he bare no evil will unto them, deſired him he would forbear, but when nothing would prevail, they fought, and *Bradſhaw* fell again. His birth.

But Maſter *Preſton*, was troubled and grieved at it, for he ſaw a fire was kindled that would not eaſily be quenched, and therefore reſolved that he would leave that fatal and unlucky Country, though he was a Gentleman of a very fair eſtate; and walking one day penſive in *Weſtminſter-hall*, one Maſter *Morgan* of *Heyford*, with whom he was acquainted, came unto him, and asked why he was ſo ſad, to whom for anſwer, he relates the former ſtory, Maſter *Morgan* knowing him to be a gallant man, was very ſenſible of his eſtate, and told him if he would go with him to *Heyford*, he ſhould have a good Farme to live in for the preſent, and what accommodation he could afford him: Maſter *Preſton* thanked him, and after ſome conſideration of the matter, reſolved to take his offer, and ſo Maſter *Preſton* of *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, became a kind of Farmer in *Northamptonſhire*, where he afterwards lived and died, and his ſonne ſucceeded him, and ſo it came to *Thomas Preſton*, as we have ſaid.

His mothers name before ſhe married, was *Marſh*, but ſhe had an Uncle by the mothers ſide, whoſe name was *Craſwel*, a man of means and good eſteem in *Northampton* where he lived, and where he had been ſeveral times Mayor. This Uncle being rich, and having no

His education.

child, was very careful of her, and took this ſonne whilſt he was young unto himſelf, and ſent him to the free-Schoole in *Northampton*, where he was a Scholler under the Government of Maſter *Sanderſon*, then Maſter of the Schoole, and after under Maſter *Waſtel*, who ſucceeded him; and when he had been there ſome time, his Uncle was perſwaded to remove him into *Bedfordſhire*, unto one Maſter *Gueſt*, who had ſometime taught a private ſchool in *Northampton*, and was accounted a better teacher of the Greek tongue, from whence after he had perfected his ſtudies in the Greek, he was ſent to *Cambridge*, and admitted of Kings *Colledge*, under the tuition of Maſter *Buſſe*, one of the Fellows, *Anno Dom.* 1604. where he did, as young Schollers uſe to do, that is, applied himſelf to that which was the *genius* of the Colledge, and that was muſick; and finding that the Theory was ſhort and ſoon attained, he made account the practice would allo be ſo; and accordingly adventured on the nobleſt but hardeſt inſtrument, the Lute, but here he found that Art was long, and was not willing to attend it; he uſed to ſay within himſelf, while he was fingring of his inſtrument, *quantum hac tempere legi potuit*: and whilſt his fingers were thus diſtempered and foundred upon the Lute, it fell out that his Tutor, Maſter *Buſſe*, was choſen Maſter of the Schoole at *Eaton*, and ſo removed from the Colledge about two years after he was admitted. Coming not from *Eaton* ſchoole, but from another, he could not be of the foundation, and was therefore uncapable of thoſe preferments in the Colledge that were of moſt worth, and the ſooner perſwaded alſo for to remove, which he did unto Queens *Colledge*, where he was received and admitted under the tuition of Maſter *Oliver Bowles*, one of the Fellows of that houſe, a very godly learned man, and a noted and careful Tutor, under whoſe Government he ſetled to his book and left his muſick, and by whoſe conduct and directions he grew in knowledge, and was improved unto very thriving undertakings in his ſtudies.

His going to *Cambridge*.

His remove to *Queens* Colledge.

It is not nothing to be well deſcended, *fortes creantur fortibus & bonis*, Sheep and Neat bred in *Lancaſhire*, or on the Peak-hils, and after driven into *Northamptonſhire*, and planted there, produce a very gallant race. Theſe *Preſtons* though removed from their native ſoyle, and much impaired in their Revenue, retained yet the garb and mettal of their Anceſtors, they carried themſelves and were accounted Gentlemen; ſomething there was in this young *Preſtons* ſpirit that was not vulgar, I have ſeen in a book of his, under his own hand, when he was young, ſuch ſparklings of aſpiring ingenuity, as argued in him ſomething that was not common.

He was as yet but *Junior Sophiſter*, but looked high, and grew acquainted with thoſe that were Gentile, and fancied ſtate-affairs and Courtſhip, that had deſires or diſpoſitions to be Secretaries or Agents in Princes Courts; thought it below him to be a Miniſter, and the ſtudy of Divinity, a kind of honeſt ſillines, and accordingly got in with a Marchant, by whoſe means he did procure that he ſhould live in *Paris*, and learne the language and garb of *France*; and another Gentleman

in

in recompence, ſhould be received and entertained in *London*, to learne our garb and language. Maſter *Creſwel* of *Northampton* was by this time dead, and had bequeathed certain lands in that town to him after his wives deceaſe; Theſe lands he fels to put himſelf into a poſture fit for that deſigne; but here he now began to find that he had reckoned without his Hoſt, and that he ſhould have ſaid, if the Lord will I ſhall live and do this or that, *Jam.* 4. 15. for the Merchant dies before the exchange could be accompliſhed, and ſo theſe blooming hopes, that had thus long held up his imagination died with the Merchant.

His character.

He was of an able, firme, well-tempered conſtitution, brown, comely viſage, vigorous and vivide eye, but ſomewhat inclining to that kind of melancholly, that ariſeth from a duſt and parched choler, which now began a little to be diſcovered in him; for being mated in his firſt deſigne, he grew diſcouraged, went not ſo much abroad among the Gallants, but ſtruck ſaile to fortune and retired; yet his appetite was rather dammed then dried up, for after a very little pauſe and boyling over of his ſullenneſſe, he begins to ſteere again the ſame courſe, although by more certain and domeſtick *mediums*, and if he muſt be ſhut up and confined to the muſes, reſolves to be no ordinary ſervant to them; his *genius* led him unto natural Philoſophy, which by that time was become his proper task, which he undertakes, not as boys uſe to do, to ſerve their preſent uſe, but with devotion, reſolves to leave no ſecret unattempted, adoreth *Ariſtotle* as his tutelary Saint, and had a happineſſe to enter often where others ſtuck, and what broke others teeth, was nuts to him, no dark untrodden path in all his Phyſicks or Metaphyſicks, but he was perfect in it; and ſo drowned and devoted was he, that he ſeldome or never could be ſeen abroad, to the wonder and amazement of his former brave companions, ſo that no time paſſed, *ſine linea*; not that between the ringing and tolling of the bell to meals; and for his ſleep he made it ſhort; and whereas notwithſtanding all endeavours, there was one in the Colledge that would always be up before him, he would let the bed-cloths hang down, ſo that in the night they might fall off, and ſo the cold awaken him, inſomuch that his Tutor was conſtrained to read unto him moderation, and to tell him, as there might be intemperance in meats and drinks, ſo alſo there might be in ſtudies, but the evil of it as yet he felt not, the ſweet and good he did, came off with honour and applauſe in all his acts, and was admired in the Regent houſe when he ſate for his degree, both by the Poſers and all the Maſters that examined him, and from that time much obſerved throughout the Univerſity.

His ſtudiouſneſſe.

About this time his Tutor [Maſter *Bowls*,] was called to the Rectory of *Sutton* in *Bedfordſhire*, and ſo left the Colledge, and another of the Fellows; then Maſter, (afterward) Doctor *Porter* became his Tutor, a very learned man and great Philoſopher, who never went about for to diſſwade him from his ſtudies, but gave him all aſſiſtance and encouragement; The yeare following it came unto his Tutor to be Head-

Lecturer in the Colledge, and Sir *Preſton* being to probleme in the Chappel, made ſuch an accurate and ſtrong poſition, and anſwered ſo underſtandingly, that his Tutor borrowed his Poſition of him, when he had done, to look on and peruſe; and finding it elaborate, reſolved to make more uſe of it, then ever his Pulpit did intend. The Maſter of the Colledge at that time was Doctor *Tyndal*, who was alſo Dean of *Ely*, and reſided for the moſt part there; thither his Tutor goes, and carries his Poſition with him, which he ſhewed to the Maſter, and acquainted him with what he had obſerved, that he was a youth of parts and worth, and deſerved ſome incouragement; the Maſter was an honeſt gallant man, and loved a ſcholler, and was glad of any opportunity to ſhew it, and ſo bids his Tutor ſend Sir *Preſton* over unto *Ely* to him, where he aſſured him, he ſhould not want what was in him to do him good; and bade him hold on and he would take care for him: and there being an Election in the Colledge, ſoon after he was choſen Fellow by unanimous conſent of Maſter and Fellows, and his Tutor Maſter *Porter* brought him word of it, as he was at ſtudy, not thinking any thing, and told him that he muſt come down into the Chappel preſently to be admitted, and accordingly was admitted Fellow of *Queens* Colledge in *Cambridge Anno Dom.* 1609. That is, five years after his firſt admiſſion in the Univerſity: he was not ſo much moved at it as young Students uſe to be, becauſe he looked ſtill at higher things, and had not quit in his retired thoughts his firſt deſigne of being ſome body at Court, to which he thought this honour might be a bar, this courteſie was compes to him, yet it was not manners to be diſcontent, but attend what ſhould enſue; he was by this time grown a Maſter in Philoſophy, had waded far in *Ariſtotle*, and had met with few that were able to encounter him, and therefore now reſolves to go another while to ſchoole, to *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, and verifie what is ſo often ſaid, *ubi deſinit Philoſophus, incipit medicus*; He had a very penetrating wit, and exact and ſolid judgement, to conjecture at effects in cauſes, and prognoſticate events; and being skilful in Philoſophy before, ſoon made the Theory his own, but becauſe *perfectio ſcientiarum eſt in ſummitate*, the life and vigour of a ſcience, is in the practice, he reſolves to make enquiry after that. Books make not men Practitioners in any Art, *Nemo ex libris evaſit artifex*, he retires unto a friend of his in *Kent*, who was very famous for his practice, where he earneſtly attended and waited on the trade and way of knowing ſimples, and compounding medicines, wherein he attained to that ſufficiency, that had Divinity failed, he might have been another *Butler*; yet what he had was not in vain, for when any of his Pupils were amiſſe, though he ſent them always unto Phyſicians, yet himſelf peruſed, and many times corrected their Preſcriptions.

He is choſen Fellow.

He ſtudies Phyſick.

It was not eaſie to allay his eager, and unſatisfied appetite and apprehenſion with any one art, *Eccl.* 5. 10. He that loveth ſilver ſhall not be ſatisfied with ſilver; *creſcit amor nummi quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit*; the more you put into the ſoule, the wider preſently it retcheth, he thought

thought he could not be a good Phyſitian, that could not read the powers of the herbs and plants in ſtars and planets, acquaints himſelf with *Ptolomy*, and other Authors in Aſtrology, and other curious Arts and calculations, as they are called *Acts* 19. 19. that he might be able to ſtudy, not only books, but men, and to read mens fortunes in the heavenly bodies, but he could not, nor did not read his own. There was a Soothſayer that told *Agathocles* he ſhould be ſlain the next moneth, who asked, how long he thought he ſhould live after him? he anſwered, many years, he told him he would prove one of the two falſe, and leave the other to the iſſue, and ſo commanded for to hang him preſently. Maſter *Preſton* was very buſie among the houſes of the planets, but ſaw not there his own Domeſtick doom, nor what his Maker had determined concerning him, for as he was in theſe cœleſtial contemplations, it fell out, that Maſter *Cotton* then Fellow of *Emanuel* Colledge, preached in Saint *Maries*, where Maſter *Preſton* hearing him, was ſet about another exercile, conſtrained from his contemplations in Aſtrology, to look into himſelf, and conſider what might poſſibly befal him; it was his manner, as it is of other Students, when they come home from Saint *Maries* Sermons, to run unto their ſtudies preſently, or what is worſe, but this young Student was forced to retire and ruminate: This Sermon had bereaved him of two beloved notions, one was his low opinion of the Miniſtry and Preaching, for he ſaw an over-ruling gravity and majeſty in that Sermon, that he thought had been impoſſible to Pulpits. I have heard it often in the Colledge, that he took away ſixteen anſwers in a Probleme in the Chappel, but here was one he knew not how to take away, *ſed hæret lateri lethalis arundo*, no cunning in Philoſophy, or skill in Phyſick would ſuffice to heal this wound; Another was his great opinion of, and ambition after State-employments, for theſe were higher things that now were offered to him, concernments of eternal influence, which nothing could divert that he had ſtudied hitherto; there have been divers eminent and great Phyſitians that began in medling with their own infirmities; ſelf-love rides always on the forehorſe, his own accounts and aking conſcience, ſet *Luther* firſt upon the ſtudy of Divinity; Maſter *Preſton* after this affront and baffle in the Pulpit, wanted eaſe, and when he could not find it in his other books and ſtudies, begins a little to look into the Bible, and to conſider of the ſtudy of Divinity: In the proſecution of his ſtudy in Philoſophy, he found many of the Schoolmen quoted, and ſo was willing for to look a little into them, and finding thoſe he light on, pithy and ſententious, went on, it gave him eaſe, that he was now a ſtudent in Divinity, and had left *Albumaſar* and *Guido*, and ſuch high-flown ſpeculations, yet it pleaſed him for to ſee and find his Maſter *Ariſtotle*, ſo often quoted, and in ſuch requeſt among them, and thought if that were to be a Preacher, he might adventure well enough upon it, and ſo was drawn on very far in the ſtudy of the School-Divines; I have heard him ſay, there was nothing that ever *Scotus* or *Occham* wrote, but he had weighed and examined; he delighted much to read them in

His ſtudy of Aſtrology.

His Converſion.

the firſt & oldeſt Editions that could be got. I have ſtill a *Scotus* in a very old print, and a paper not inferiour to parchment, that hath his hand, and notes upon it throughout; yet he continued longer in *Aquinas*, whoſe Summs he would ſometimes read as the Barber cut his hair, and when it fell upon the place he read, he would not lay down his book but blow it off; and in this tune he continued, untill a rumor came into the Univerſity that the King would ſhortly come to viſit them; King *James* was happier in his education, then his mother would have had him; it pleaſed God to breed a *Buchanon* on purpoſe, for to guide his younger years, and by that time he was ripe, *Scotland* was grown acquainted with *Geneva*, and the King no ſtranger unto *Calvins* way; The news awakened all the Univerſity, and there were few but promiſed to themſelves ſome good from this faire gale, that ſeeing promotion came neither from the Eaſt, nor from the Weſt, nor from the South, *Pſal.* 75.6. it muſt and would come from the North, and the Proverb be inverted, and be, *omne bonum ab Aquilone.*

Doctor *Harſnet*, Maſter of *Pembroke-hall* was then Vice-Chancellour, a prudent well-adviſed Governour, who knowing well the critical and able apprehenſion of the King, was very careful and ſollicitous to pitch upon the ableſt in every faculty, for Actors in that ſolemn entertainment, and himſelf made choiſe of Maſter *Preſton* to anſwer the Philoſophy Act, and ſent unto him to provide himſelf; He was ambitious enough by nature, and had this news come a little ſooner, nothing had been more ſuitable to his deſigne and inclination; but now the Gentleman was Planet-ſtruck, grown dull, and phlegmatick; Maſter *Cottons* Sermon had ſo invaded him, that Kings and Courts were no ſuch great things with him, eſpecially when he underſtood that another was reſolved on for anſwerer.

Doctor *Wren* was then a very pregnant ſcholler in *Pembroke-hall*, and alſo Chaplain unto Biſhop *Andrews*, and thought fit to be imployed in this Commencement ſervice, but was not willing to have any other place but anſwerer: the Vice-Chancellour urged his promiſe and engagement unto Maſter *Preſton*, and his opinion of his great ability, but nothing would ſerve: the Vice-Chancellors Colledge, and the Biſhops Chaplain muſt have Precedency, which he moſt ſeriouſly excuſed to Maſter *Preſton*, and endeavoured to reconcile him to the firſt opponents place, which he declined, as being too obnoxious unto the anſwerer, who is indeed the Lord and Ruler of the Act; but there was no removing now, and ſo he goes about it with much unwillingneſſe, being rather driven then drawn unto it.

He is choſen to oppoſe before the King.

His great and firſt care was to bring his argument unto an head, without affronts or interruptions from the anſwerer, and ſo made all his major Propoſitions plauſible and firme, that his adverſary might neither be willing nor able to enter there, and the minor ſtill was backed by other Syllogiſmes, and ſo the argument went on unto the iſſue: which fell out well for Maſter *Preſton*, for in diſputations of conſequence, the anſwerers are many times ſo fearful of the event, that they

they ſlur and trouble the opponents all they can, and deny things evident, which had been the caſe in all the former Acts; There was ſuch wrangling about their Syllogiſmes, that ſullied and clouded the debates extreamly, and put the Kings acumen into ſtraits, but when Maſter *Preſton* ſtill cleared his way, and nothing was denied, but what was ready to be proved, the *King* was greatly ſatisfied, and gave good heed, which he might well do, becauſe the queſtion was tempered and fitted unto his content, namely, *Whether dogs could make Syllogiſmes.*

The Opponent urged that they could, an Enthymeme (ſaid he) is a lawful and real Syllogiſme, but Dogs can make them; he inſtanced in an Hound who hath the major Propoſition in his mind, namely, *The Hare is gone either this or that way*; ſmels out the minor with his noſe, namely, *She is not gone that way*, and follows the Concluſion, *Ergo this way with open mouth*, the inſtance ſuited with the Auditory, and was applauded, and put the anſwerer to his diſtinctions, that Dogs might have ſagacity, but not ſapience, in things eſpecially of prey, and that did concern their belly, might be *naſutali*, but not *logici*; had much in their mouths, little in their minds, unleſſe it had relation to their mouths; that their lips were larger then their underſtandings, which the opponent ſtill endeavouring to wipe off with another Syllogiſme, and put the Dogs upon a freſh ſcent, the Moderator Doctor *Reade* began to be afraid, and to think how troubleſome a pack of Hounds, well followed and applauded at laſt might prove, and ſo came in unto the anſwerers aid, and told the Opponent that his Dogs, he did beleeve, were very weary, and deſired him to take them off, and ſtart ſome other argument; and when the Opponent would not yield, but hallowed ſtill and put them on, he interpoſed his authority and ſilenced him. The King in his conceit was all this while upon *New-market heath*, and liked the ſport, and therefore ſtands up, and tels the Moderator plainly he was not ſatisfied in all that had been anſwered, but did believe an Hound had more in him then was imagined. I had my ſelf (ſaid he) a Dog, that ſtragling far from all his fellows, had light upon a very freſh ſcent, but conſidering he was all alone, and had none to ſecond and aſſiſt him in it, obſerves the place and goes away unto his Fellows, and by ſuch yelling arguments as they beſt underſtand, prevailed with a Party of them to go along with him, and bringing them unto the place, purſued it unto an open view; now the King deſired for to know how this could be contrived and carried on without the uſe and exerciſe of underſtanding, or what the Moderator could have done in that caſe better, and deſired him that either he would think better of his Dogs, or not ſo highly of himſelf.

The Opponent alſo deſired leave to purſue the Kings game, which he had ſtarted unto an iſſue, but the Anſwerer proteſted that his majeſties Dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted not by Common law, but by Prerogative; and the Moderator fearing the King might let looſe another of his Hounds, and make more work, applies himſelf with all ſubmiſſe devotion to the King, acknowledged his Dogs were able to

out-do

out-do him, beſought his majeſty for to beleeve they had the better, that he would conſider how his illuſtrious influence had already ripened and concocted, all their arguments and underſtandings; that whereas in the morning the reverend and grave Divines could not make Syllogiſmes, the Lawyers could not, nor the Phyſitians Now every Dog could, eſpecially his Majeſties.

All men acknowledged it was a good bit to cloſe with. It was grown late, and ſo the Congregation was removed unto the Regent-houſe, and the King went off well pleaſed with the buſineſſe; The other Acts were eaſily forgotten, but the diſcourſe and Logick of the Dogs was freſh in mouth and memory, the Philoſophy-act applauded univerſally; the King commended all the Actors, but above all, the Opponent; it was eaſie to diſcern that the Kings Hound had opened a way for Maſter *Preſton* at the Court, if he were willing; yet many of the great ones put him in mind, and promiſed all aſſiſtance and encouragement; Sir *Foulke Greevill*, afterward Lord *Brook*, was taken greatly with him, and after many demonſtrations of his real love, ſetled at laſt a ſtipend on him of fifty pounds *per annum*, and was his friend unto his laſt houre; but his ambition after Courtſhip was well allayed, ſo as he did not ravenouſly purſue it; but being now reſolved to be a Miniſter, fell to the ſtudy of moderne Writers, eſpecially Maſter *Calvin*, whoſe very ſtile and language much affected him; The Courtiers wondred that he did not bite, *Prov.* 16.15. *in the light of the Kings countenance is life, and his favour like a cloud of the latter rain*; that a young man ſhould not be ambitious, that a good eye ſhould not ſee; began to be a little jealous of him.

He was reſerved naturally, and could keep counſel, few knew how Maſter *Cottons* Sermon had affected and wrought upon him; but this not ſailing when the wind blew, begat ſuſpition; ſome judged he was modeſt, and wanted opportunity to bring him on; ſome that he was melancholy, and ſo neglected what was proper for him to intend; ſome buſie and intent upon his Pupils, who now began to come from all parts; but the Politicians aſſured, it was ſome inclination unto Puritaniſme, a name now odious at Court, for it could not be, (ſaid they) that he ſhould let ſo faire an opportunity miſcarry, if he had not ſomething elſe in view. Kings think themſelves extreamly undervalued, if a word be not enough; Cardinal *Poole* being choſen Pope at midnight by the Conclave, and ſent unto, to come and be admitted, deſired it might be let alone untill the morning, becauſe it was not a work of darkneſſe, an honeſt argument, but not Italian enough, *quis niſi mentis inops?* and ſo they went back and choſe another; when *Balaam* came not at the firſt call, ſee how he reaſons, *Numb.* 22.37. *Am I not able to promote thee?* but Maſter *Preſton* had indeed another King in his thoughts, when he had found treaſure in the field, he parts with all for that, *Mat.* 13.44. A purchaſe is not worth the having, that hath not either ſome convenience annexed, or may not ſome way be improved; God was a greater good then man; heaven then earth, a crown of glory then a

crown

crown of gold, but this neglect and ſelf-denial, was well interpreted by good men, and that opinion of affecting Puritans, which blaſted him at Court, began to blazon him at home, and work a reputation, that to him was more acceptable; men thought him meet for to be truſted with the care of youth; and many had their eyes upon him, for their ſons or friends. Maſter *Morgan* of *Heyfords*, had been ſometime dead, and had left his ſon and heire, an Orphan, in truſt with ſome that were his Kinſmen, and like to mannage his eſtate to moſt advantage. This Maſter *Morgans* ſonne, under whoſe ſhadow theſe *Preſtons* had for ſome time lived, was by his Guardians now commended to his care, not only for that relation he had to *Heyfords* his native town, and to the family, but alſo that by that means the young Gentleman might be preſerved from the influence of his other friends, who were many of them Popiſh. King *James* had been ſo well pleaſed at the Commencement held before him lately, that he reſolves upon another viſit; The Heads agree to entertain him with a Comedy: There was one *Fuggles* of *Clare-hall*, that had made a jeering Comedy againſt the Lawyers called *Ignoramus*; This was reſolved on for to be acted before the King, and great care was taken for to furniſh and accommodate all parts, with Actors anſwerable. Maſter *Morgan* was a comely modeſt Gentleman, and it was beleeved, would well become a womans dreſſe, and accordingly his Tutour [Maſter *Preſton* ſent to,] that he would give way and all encouragement unto the ſervice; He liked not the motion, could not beleeve that his friends intended he ſhould be a Player, and ſo deſired to be excuſed; but the Guardians were not ſo exact and ſcrupulous, but thought if he played this game well, he might win more then could be hoped for elſewhere; and ſo Maſter *Morgan* was allowed by his Guardians to play his part, and afterward removed unto *Oxford*, and ſuffered to play what part he would, and ſo relapſed unto Popery, which hath proved fatal and infortunate to him and his.

His many *Pupils*.

His zeal.

But here was matter for Mr. *Preſtons* back friends, to argue he was not a Courtier, that would envy ſo ſmall a Courteſie to thoſe, that had ſo freely offered greater unto him; and it was reſented with a kind of angry indignation, that their offers had ſo little influence upon him; and there were ſome that watched opportunities to make him ſenſible of this neglect; There is no ſuch Solæciſme at Court as Independency; *Si non vis ut per illos tibi benè ſit, efficient ut ſit malè*; but Maſter *Preſton* by this time had caſt up all accounts, and reſolved to ſtand unto his bargaine whatever it coſt him; only he thought if he muſt be a Puritan, and bid farewel to all his carnal and Court-deſignes; He would not be one of the lower rank, but would get places if he could, *Mediocribus eſſe Poetis, non dii, non homines, non conceſſere columnæ*, that counſel of the wiſe man, *Eccl.* 9. 10. *Whatſoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might*; he always practiſed, and what is commonly ſaid, was true in him, *in magnis ingeniis nihil mediocre*; This faithfulneſſe to Maſter *Morgan*, attended with ſo great a ſhadow upon himſelf, increaſed

His diligence.

his reputation in the Country, ſo that now he was accounted the only Tutor, and being careful to read unto them and direct their ſtudies, he found himſelf abridged of his own time, and was conſtrained to take up time that ſhould have been beſtowed on his body; he alſo grew acquainted now with many eminent and godly Miniſters, as Maſter *Dod*, and Maſter *Hilderſham*, who would come often to his Chamber, and he was ſo hardned in his way, that he would get them many times to go to Prayer with his Pupils, a boldneſſe not adventured on by any other, but by theſe labours his able body was debilitated; It was a great Orator that ſaid, *Primò deſii velle cauſas agere, deindè deſii poſſe*; At firſt, ſaid he, I would not plead, at laſt I could not. Maſter *Preſton* in his youth would not ſleep, but let the bed-cloths hang down and awaken him; Now he could not, but about midnight ſtill awakened, and ſlept no more, whereby in time his body languiſhed, and could not anſwer as in former times; Maſter *Butler* of *Clarehall*, was then the Oracle in Phyſick; to him he goes, and opens his condition to him; who after ſome few queſtions bids him take Tobacco, and ſo leaves him; he knew that *Butler* was odde and humorous, and thought he might give this adviſe to try him, and therefore reſolves to wait a while before he medled with ſo odde a medicine, which *Hippocrates* and *Galen* had never ordered to any of their Patients, and was at that time not ſo common, and of no good report, but his want of reſt continuing, and his appetite unto his book increaſing, he goes again to Maſter *Butler*, as a ſtranger, and propounds the caſe again; Maſter *Butler* gives the ſame advice, and being ſatisfied that he was ſerious now, fals to the taking of it, and found that this hot copious fume aſcending, did draw thoſe crudities from the ſtomacks mouth, that hindred concoction of his meat, and vapors from it that occaſion ſleep, and ſo reſtored his reſt, and that in time his ſtrength, and ſo he went on in his work, until Doctor *Tyndal* [Maſter of the Colledge] died; He was an old man, and that preferment of the Maſterſhip of *Queens*, was more accounted of then now it is; there were very many that had their eyes upon it, but Doctor *Mountain* in a ſpecial manner, who was often heard for to profeſſe he would rather be Maſter of that Colledge then *Dean of Weſtminſter*; but Maſter *Preſton* had another in his eye, Doctor *Davenant*, was a Gentleman deſcended, and was a Fellow-Commoner, when under Graduate, but very painful, and of great capacity, and grew accordingly in learning and in reputation, and for his worth and parts was already choſen *Margaret* Profeſſour, and read in the Schools with much applauſe, thoſe excellent Lectures upon the *Coloſſians* which now are printed, him Maſter *Preſton* pitched upon, but knew it muſt be carried very privately, for the mountain was already grown into ſome bigneſſe, was one of parts, and firſt obſerved in acting *miles glorioſus* in the Colledge, and had been Chaplain unto the Earle of *Eſſex*, but like the *Heliotrope* or flower of the Sunne, did now adore Sir *Robert Carr*, already *Viſcount Rocheſter*, the only Favourite. When it was agreed among the Perſians, that he ſhould reigne, whoſe horſe firſt ſaw the

the riſing Sunne, and neighed at it, one turned his horſe head towards the mountains, beleeving that the Sunne would firſt ariſe there, but it fell not out ſo here. Maſter *Preſton* having laid his plot before-hand, and ſeen what mountain was in his way, had taken care that word ſhould be daily brought him how the old Doctor did, and when he found him irrecoverable, laid horſes and all things ready, and upon notice of his being dead, goes preſently and was at *London*, and in *Whitehall* before any light appeared on the mountain top; the Court was quiet, and he had ſome friends there; His buſineſſe only was to get a free Election, which he made means for to procure, but knowing alſo with whom he had to do, makes ſome addreſſes unto Viſcount *Rocheſter*, in the behalf of Doctor *Davenant*, who being unacquainted with his Chaplains appetite to that particular, was faire and willing to befreind a learned enterpriſe, ſo Maſter *Preſton* returns unto the Colledge before the Maſters death was much took notice of; and aſſembling Doctor *Davenants* friends, acquaints them with what had paſt at Court, and ſo they went immediately to Election, and it was eaſily and fairly carried for Doctor *Davenant*, who being called, was admitted preſently; but when Doctor *Mountain* underſtood that Doctor *Tyndal* was departed, he ſends and goes to Court and Colledge for to make freinds, but alas the game was played, and he was ſhut out: Never did *Ætna* or *Veſuvius* more fume, but there was no cure, only he threatens and takes on againſt the actors, but they were innocent and not obnoxious; this Doctor had made great promiſes, gave a very goodly piece of Plate unto the Colledge, with this inſcription *ſic incipio*, but now he vowed it ſhould be *ſic deſino*, however the Colledge for the preſent was well apaid, and grew in reputation very much; and becauſe they wanted room to entertain the numbers that flocked to them, built that goodly Fabrick that contains many fair lodgings both for Schollers and Fellows, towards *Kings* Colledge.

It was not long before it came to Maſter *Preſtons* courſe for to be Dean and Catechiſt, which he reſolved to improve by going through a body of Divinity, that might be a guide unto the Schollers in their ſtudies in Divinity; for it was not his opinion that others ſhould do as he had done, that is, peruſe the ſchoolmen firſt, and then come to the modern Writers; but firſt read Summes and Syſtemes in Divinity, and ſettle their opinions and judgements, and then read Fathers, Schoolmen, or what they had a mind to; this being known, and ſome honeſt townſmen hearing him at firſt by chance, there came the next day very many for to hear him, and the next day more both Townſmen and Schollers from other Colledges, ſo that the outward Chappel would be often full before the Fellows came. Maſter *Preſton* was of a very meek and quiet ſpirit, never reſented injuries, nor provoked any unto averſneſſe, yet had ſome enemies, *ſi injuria multos tibi fecit inimicos, faciet invidia multos*; what had *Paul* done, *Act.* 13. 45. for to deſerve ſo ſharp an oppoſition, but envy moved them? there had been other Deans and Catechiſts before this Gentleman, yet no ſuch crowding;

Complaint was made to the Vice-Chancellour of this unuſual kind of Catechiſing, it was aſſured, not only that Townſmen and Schollers mingled, but other Colledges intruded alſo, that the Fellows for the crowd and multitude could not get through, and come to Chappel to their places; that it was not ſafe for any one man to be thus adored, and doted on, unleſſe they had a mind to cry up Puritaniſme, which would in ſhort time pull them down, that the Croſier ſtaffe would not ſupport them long, if ſuch Aſſemblies were incouraged, *obſta principiis, ſerò medicina paratur, &c.*

Well, upon the whole an Order was agreed on in the Conſiſtory, and ſent unto the Colledge, that the Schollers and Townſmen ſhould be confined to their proper Preachers, that no ſtranger, neither Townſman nor Scholler, ſhould preſume on any pretence whatſoever, to come unto thoſe Lectures, that were proper only to the members of the Colledge. The Edict was obſerved punctually, and the Auditory by it much impaired; had ſtrangers ſtill been ſuffered to attend, thoſe Sermons had been printed as well as others, for there were divers that exactly noted, and wrote out all fair, unto the time of this reſtraint, but no one after that could go on with it, and ſo it reſts, but he went on, and was aſſiduous to the years end, and waded through it, which was a very great help unto many of his Pupils, who made the greater benefit of thoſe things, becauſe they were not common and in Print.

About that time the Lecture at *Trinity*-Church, and the Sermons at Saint *Andrews* were prohibited, and the Schollers all confined to Saint *Maries*, which did occaſion Maſter *Preſton* to read Divinity unto his Pupils on the Lords days, at three of the clock in the afternoon, which he alſo often did upon the week days; but the Townſmen and the Schollers of other Colledges, that had taſted of his ſpirit in the Chappel, endeavoured that he would do it where they might hear; *Buttolphs* belongs unto *Queens* Colledge, and is uſually ſupplied by one of that houſe, there he is willing to make a trial, how it would take, and reſolves the next Lords day to preach at three of the clock after Saint *Maries* Sermons ſhould be ended, which though but very little known, occaſioned ſuch a throng and croud, as was incredible; men were not cloied with preaching then, nor waxed wanton; there dwelt then in the pariſh one Doctor *Newcombe*, a Civilian, and Commiſſary to the Chancellour of *Ely*, who being in the Church, and ſeeing the crowd, commanded that evening Prayer only ſhould be read, but no Sermon; the Miniſter intreated that for that time Maſter *Preſton* might be allowed to preach, ſo did the Earle of *Lincolne* and others in the Church; but he was reſolute, and becauſe he would not be further importuned, went home with all his family, and left them to determine at their peril what they would do, ſo upon advice it was concluded the Sermon ſhould go on, and Maſter *Preſton* preached a very ſavoury and holy Sermon, upon 2 *Pet.* 3. 17, 18. There was ſo much time ſpent in debates about it, and meſſages before the Commiſſary left the Congregation, that it was too late to do both, and therefore they adventured for

that

that time to forbear Common Prayer, that ſo the Schollers might depart, and be at Colledge-Prayers; but this inſtructed Doctor *Newcomb* in his complaint; the Court was then near hand, that is, at *Newmarket*; thither the Commiſſary goes the next day, and having the Biſhop of *Ely* there, and many other Clergy men, aſſures them that Maſter *Preſton* was in heart, and would quickly be in practice a Non-conformiſt, and was ſo followed and adored in the Univerſity, that unleſſe ſome ſpeedy courſe were taken with him, they might caſt their caps at all Conformity, and ſee their power troden underfoot, and told them gentleneſſe was not the way, for he was cunning, and would recover all if he were not ſeriouſly and throughly dealt with.

There was no Advocate for Maſter *Preſton*, but the Doctor being firſt in his own cauſe, ſeemed juſt, *Prov.* 18. 17. *And ſpake to thoſe that were willing to beleeve*; The Puritans began to be conſiderable, and they doubted he might come in time to head them; its a great ſecurity to a man to be deſpiſed, *contempto nullus diligenter nocet*, a Fellow that hath nothing in him, nor is not owned, may be exorbitant, as he of one in his time, *contemptu jam liber erat*, but *David* that hath a Party following him, muſt have an army to attend him, and therefore he did wiſely to profeſſe himſelf to be a dead dog or a flea, 1 *Sam.* 24. 14. The King was made acquainted with this complaint, and aſſured that Maſter *Preſton* had as ſtrong an influence into the Puritans as the principal of the Jeſuites, which was *Aqua Viva*, had upon them, and therefore it behoved him to conſider what to do, a word was enough to a wiſe and jealous King, who did not love to play an after game, and therefore hears himſelf the Doctors information, enquires whether the Biſhops and Chancellors Juriſdiction extended unto Members of a Colledge, and finally concludes to proceed againſt him by the power of the Univerſity. A letter is framed unto Doctor *Scot*, Maſter of *Clare-hall*, Vice-chancellour at that time, and to the Heads, to call before them Maſter *Preſton*, to give a ſtrict account of that notorious diſobedience unto the Commiſſary, he anſwers mildly, that he was not guilty, refers himſelf unto the auditory, that evening Prayer was omitted, becauſe the Schollers might depart in due time, ſeeing the time allotted for it, was ſpent in treating with the Commiſſary, not out of any diſ-reſpect unto the Service, which he himſelf did uſually attend at other times; When the Wolfe complained that the Lamb had fouled the water, that he was to drink; The Lambe anſwered, that if he had defiled it, yet that could not prejudice the Wolfe who was above, and the mud would certainly be carried downward, but this anſwer did not fill the hungry belly of the Wolfe. Maſter *Preſtons* innocency did aggravate his crime, which was his popularity, and therefore they told him they were engaged to ſupport by all juſt means the Biſhops Juriſdiction, that the King had honoured him, in leaving that affront to be examined by his proper Judges, and that except he could take off the Court, they muſt and would proceed to a very round and ſerious cenſure.

Muſa mihi cauſas memora, quo numine læſo,

Quidvè dolens regina deûm, tot voluere caſus.
Inſignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
Impulerit, tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?

That a Fellow of a Colledge for preaching of an innocent and honeſt Sermon, in a Church belonging to the Colledge, by the conſent and in the hearing of the incumbent, ſhould be thus vigorouſly undertaken.

Among many other Gentlemen of quality, that were Pupils unto Maſter *Preſton* at this time, there was one Sir *Capel Bedels*, an Orphan, of a very faire eſtate in *Huntingtonſhire*, a daughters ſonne of old Sir *Arthur Capel*, who being Guardian to his Grand-child, had recommended him as he had done many of his own ſons unto his Government; It was a great truſt, and Maſter *Preſtons* care was anſwerable; and becauſe *plus vident oculi* he had his ſpies, that gave him notice of all their carriages and correſpondencies; by one of theſe he was informed that Sir *Capel* haunted Doctor *Newcombs* houſe, and was familiar with his daughter [Miſtris *Jane Newcomb*,] a very proper well-bred Gentlewoman; his Tutor asked if they were contracted, he anſwered no, but would be very ſhortly as he was told, for he was reſolved to have her; Maſter *Preſton* charged him to keep all ſecret, that Sir *Capel* might not think he was acquainted with it, and immediately appoints a journey unto *Saffron-walden*, to take the aire, and ſee that ſtately pyle at *Audley*-end, and takes divers of his Fellow-Commoners along, as he uſed to do at other times, and among others, this Sir *Capel Bedels*; when they had dined and viewed the houſe, it was propounded by one of them, that they might go that night to *Haddam*, and viſit old Sir *Arthur Capel*, ſeeing they were thus farre on their way, and it was late, Maſter *Preſton* ſeemed to be indifferent, and ſo the Propoſition took, and with none more then with Sir *Capel*, who knew his Grandfather would fill his pockets, and that would ſweeten his *Newcomb* Miſtris next embraces, and make him welcome to her; The old Knight was glad to entertain ſuch welcome gueſts, and that night there was no diſcourſe, but of the ſtately Rooms, and goodly Gallery at *Audley*-end, and ſo the young men went to bed, pleaſed that the Colledg-bel next morning would not awaken them; but Maſter *Preſton* ſlept not in *utramque aurem*, but awakened betimes, and acquaints Sir *Arthur* with all the buſineſſe, adviſeth him, by no means to permit the Gentlemans return unto the Colledge, for though the wound might ſeem quite cured, and he never ſo much ingage forbearance, yet frequent apparitions would redintegrate, *& nihil facilius quam amor recrudeſcit*; Sir *Arthur* was a very wiſe man, and had experience of the world, thanks Maſter *Preſton* for his faithfulneſſe; pretends Sir *Capel* wanted ſomething, and deſires his Tutor to give him leave to ſtay a little while until he could be furniſhed, and then he ſhould be ſent, to which the Tutor eaſily conſented, and ſo the reſt went home, and after a while the old man tels Sir *Capel* he grew in bignes, and it would be fit for him to travel before he ſetled, and he prevails with him to be content.

But

But what ſays Miſtris *Newcomb*, who is rob'd by this means of her vowed and reſolved ſervant, and her crafty father that beholds ſo good a morſel ſnatched from between his teeth; do ye think he had forgotten this when Maſter *Preſton* came to preach within his Juriſdiction? *pulvere qui lædunt, ſed læſi marmore ſcribunt*, other injuries perhaps may be forgotten, but loſſe of mony is not, *ploratur lachrymis amiſſa pecunia veris.*

Maſter *Preſton* was not altogether a ſtranger at the Court, however now there was no remedy; when he came to *New-market*, he found that Biſhop *Andrews*, then Biſhop of *Ely*, was chief, and that his Juriſdiction in the Commiſſary, was it that was pretended to be affronted, and therefore applied himſelf to him, and told him that he did not purpoſe to offend, but being ingaged for to preach at that time, could not with honour diſappoint the auditory; if he ſuſpected him for any thing, deſired he would examine him, and ſatisfie himſelf. The Biſhop told him the King was told he was an enemy to Formes of Prayer, and held no Prayer lawful but conceived; and therefore being popular, his judgement and opinion might do hurt. Maſter *Preſton* anſwered that it was a ſlander, for he thought Set-Formes lawful, and refuſed not on all occaſions to be preſent at the Colledge-Prayers, and when it was his turn to read them; The Biſhop anſwered, that he was glad, and would inform the King, and do him all the good he could, and bade him wait a while, and then repair again to him for ſatisfaction in it, and ſo time paſſed on, and there was nothing done; There were ſome at Court that wiſhed well to Maſter *Preſton*, *ſed lapſuro aſſiſtere formidant*, were loth to undertake a drooping cauſe, only there was one Doctor *Young*, an honeſt Scotchman, that was Dean of *Wincheſter*, and he told Maſter *Preſton* plainly, that Biſhop *Andrews* was his greateſt adverſary, and though he gave him good words, yet had aſſured the King, that if Maſter *Preſton* were not for this expeld the Univerſity, Lord Biſhops would not long continue, but becauſe Maſter *Preſton* was accounted, and not without cauſe, a learned man; He was not willing to appear againſt him, but deſired the puniſhment might be inflicted where the fact was done, and that was in the Univerſity. The Biſhops hypocriſie.

Maſter *Preſton* ſaw now that the Biſhop was a Courtier, and could give words, where deeds were not intended, and therefore goes again unto the Biſhop, and tels him plainly that he or none muſt put a period to his attendance, and that either he would ſpeak unto the King in his behalf, or tell him plainly that he would not, that he might know whence all his trouble flowed; the Biſhop pauſed a while on this bold carriage, and at the laſt bade him come to him ſuch a time again, and he would deal with the King in his behalf. His courage.

So he goes unto the King, and tels him that however Maſter *Preſton* was very dangerous, and it would be a very great ſecurity if he were handſomely expelled, yet he doubted it would not hear well if it ſhould be done for this offence, for he would be abſolved in the opini-

ons

ons and minds of men, and be owned and applauded as their Martyr, and might perhaps recover, and live to be revenged, and therefore thought it would be better for to enjoyn him to declare his judgment about Forms of Prayer, for that would be accounted a recantation, and however would weaken his reputation, with the Puritans, which would be enough; for if they could divide him from his Party, they ſhould not fear him, for he ſaid his carriage argued confidence in ſome aſſiſtance, which when they had removed, they ſhould be ſtrong enough at ſingle hand; all that the Biſhop ſpake, was as if *ex tripode*, an order preſently was drawn and ſent to the Vice-chancellour, that Maſter *Preſton* ſhould in *Buttolphs* Church declare his judgement, concerning Formes of Prayer, on ſuch a Sunday or elſe they ſhould immediately proceed againſt him, according to their firſt inſtructions.

Maſter *Preſton* was glad there was a way out, but ſenſible of the hard hand that had been carried towards him, but now there was no remedy, and it was vaine to ſtrive againſt the ſtream, but before he could come home, the news was all about the town that Maſter *Preſton* was to preach a Recantation Sermon at *Buttolphs* Church on ſuch a day; This was good ſport to the brave blades, who now came crowding as faſt as any for to heare, and it was no ſin now for any body to be from Prayers, and indeed there was a very great Aſſembly, though he did all he could to have concealed it; ſo he went on upon his former text, and preached a very profitable Sermon, concerning growing in grace, and directed Prayer, as a ſpecial means to make men grow in grace; Now that (he ſaid) was of two ſorts, either that which was ſudden, extemporary, and conceived, or ſet, enjoyned, and preſcribed before, not only for the ſenſe and ſcope, but alſo words and phraſes; and whereas ſome thought this was to ſtint the ſpirit, he ſaid, there was a liberty to uſe conceived Prayer at other times, wherein the ſpirit might expatiate, and inlarge it ſelf; and alſo the intention of the mind, though not in extention and variety of language. The Blades that came to laugh had no great cauſe to do it, for this paſſage was at the very cloſe; and the Sermon all along before was ſharp and ſearching; both ſides were ſilent and went home, not without ſome prints of good upon their ſpirits, *Optimus Orator cenſendus, non qui meruit auditorum judicium, ſed qui abſtulit*; He makes the beſt ſpeech that binds his hearers, rather to think what was ſaid, then who ſaid it; The good fellows were nothing ſo merry at the end, as at the beginning of the Sermon; indifferent hearers praiſed all, and were confirmed in a good opinion of the Preacher; Good men were glad he came ſo well off, and was at liberty to preach again, where they might hear him, himſelf was troubled leſt any thing he ſaid ſhould be miſtaken or miſ-interpreted, as he was apt to be.

His Prudence.

But there were many eyes upon this action, and all men waited to ſee the iſſue; The Courtiers did not like it, that after all theſe toſſings to and fro, he ſhould thus light upon his feet, yet would not meddle for the preſent, but wait occaſions. Thoſe that were well-affected, were

were glad he was ingaged againſt the Court and Biſhops, and did preſage he might be inſtrumental to their downfal, and every body laboured to ingage him more and more againſt them; The *Spaniſh* match was then the common talk, and great unwillingneſſe appeared in the people generally; and Doctor *Willet* had preſumed to offer Arguments unto the King againſt matching with Idolaters; the King was greatly vext at this adventure, and took great pains to perſwade the Doctor, that a Papiſt was not an idolater, *ſed non perſuadebat etiamſi perſuaſerat*, the people were unſatisfied, and there being then a Parliament, a very Honourable and able Member of the Houſe of Lords prevailed with Maſter *Preſton* to write ſome Arguments againſt it; and though there were ſevere Edicts and Proclamations againſt ſcandalous Papers, and intermedling with myſteries of State, yet he promiſed it ſhould be ſcattered and divulged unto fit perſons, and none ſhould know from whence, or from whom it came; accordingly when it was finiſhed and written faire, one gave it to a Porter, whom he met in *Holborne*, and bade him leave it, according to the direction; The next day a great Lord comes unto him that had perſwaded Maſter *Preſton* unto the ſervice, and tels him that he had met with ſuch a piece againſt the *Spaniſh* match, as he never ſaw, and proteſted he was convinced, that he muſt ſpeak againſt it in the Houſe, what ever came of it; The other asked him who made it, and where he had it, he aſſured him he knew not, but it was left at his lodging, by he knew not whom; The Lord deſired he might ſee it, and ſo it was copied out, and ſpread among thoſe of the Parliament they thought fit, but the Authour of it never known.

King *James* had ſomething always in his Writings and Speeches againſt the Puritans, which was ill taken, for that it was apparent, thoſe meant thereby, were godly, conſcientious perſons; The Houſe of Commons was the only mote in King *James* his eye, the *Remora*, (as he conceived) unto his abſolute dominion, for he knew not how for to engage them, as he did the Lawyers and Divines; but if he ſtopped one mouth with preferment this Parliament, there would be others open the next againſt him; There were ſome now that adventured to apologize for Puritans, and to ſay in Parliament, that honeſt men were wounded under that name; and to propoſe that godly Miniſters might not be ſilenced, and thrown out of their Free-holds for trifles and ceremonies; but King *James* would none of that ſtuffe, breaks up the Parliament, and ſets out Proclamations, *ſed quid prodeſt totius regionis ſilentium, ſi affectus fremant*, people love not to be enforced unto duty, *homines duci volunt non cogi*.

The Chaplains that attended monethly at the Court, were not ambitious of preaching over-often, and ſo a Combination was agreed on for Preachers before the King, when ever he ſhould lie within twelve miles of *Cambridge*: The King did not deſpair of making Schollers his, and therefore uſed all endeavours to oblige them, eſpecially *Cambridge* men, where a ſeed of Puritans had been a long time; and though

the Plains about *Royſton* and *New-market* afforded better winter-game then elſewhere, yet Schollers he conceived might be catcht ſometimes, as well as Hares, and ſo was willing they ſhould preach before him; Young men he knew would preach themſelves, *omnis oratio docet, aut rem, aut animum dicentis*, he ſhould learn either things or perſons.

By this means it came to Maſter *Preſtons* turn to preach before the King at *Royſton*; he was ſo muffled at Court in Doctor *Newcombs* buſineſſe that he knew not what to do, could not decline it altogether, for that would have expoſed him unto too much obſervation, and yet he greatly feared what might befal him in the doing of it, therefore he changed his courſe with one that was to preach a little after, and did it very privately, that if his enemies ſhould have deſignes, they might be diſappointed, and ſo it was not much known; when he was to preach, it fell out that his courſe came upon a Tueſday, when the King did lie at *Finching brook*; the Court was very thin, and the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham* were both abroad, and the King himſelf was for an hunting Match that day, and gave order that the Sermon ſhould begin at eight of the clock. Maſter *Preſton* had ſome at the Court that were ſollicitous as well as he, and they told him it would give very great content, if he would take ſome occaſion in the Sermon, to ſhew his judgment, as he had done before about Set-Formes; Doctor *Young* Deane of *Winchester*, (of whom we ſpake before) did then attend, and when the King came in, and ſate down in the chair, he told him who it was that preached, and ſaid, he hoped he would give content; I pray God he do, ſaid the King; The Sermon is in print, upon *John* 1. 16. which he ſo clearly opened and applied, that the King ſate all the while as quiet as could be, and never ſtirred nor ſpake to any body, but by his looks diſcovered he was pleaſed; when all was done, he came unto him as the manner was to kiſſe his hand; and the King asked him of what *Preſton* he was deſcended, he anſwered of that in *Lancaſhire*: Then ſaid the King you have many of your name and kindred very eminent, and *Preſton* the Prieſt, although a Papiſt, is a very learned man.

Maſter *Preſton* preacheth before the King.

Great haſte was made to bring in dinner, and the King was very pleaſant all the time, had his eye continually upon Maſter *Preſton*, and ſpake of divers paſſages in the Sermon with much content, eſpecially that of the Arminians putting God into the ſame extremity, that *Darius* was put in, *Dan.* 6. When he would have ſaved *Daniel*, but could not, but as ſoon as ever he was retired, the Marqueſſe *Hamilton* kneeled down, and beſought him, that he might commend the Preacher to him for his Chaplain, proteſted he did not ſo much as know him, but that he was moved by the weight and ſtrength of that he had delivered, told him, he ſpake no pen and ink-horn language, but as one that comprehended what he ſaid, and that he could not but have ſubſtance and matter in him: the King acknowledged all, but ſaid it was too early, remembred *New-market* buſineſſe, and was reſerved.

Sir

Sir *Ralph Freeman*, one of the Maſters of Requeſts, had married a *Kin*ſwoman of the Duke of *Buckinghams*, and was a *Kin*ſman unto Maſter *Preſton*, he makes relation of the buſineſſe unto the Duke, and told him if now he would appear in favour of his Couſin *Preſton*, he might oblige the Puritans, and lay a ground-work for his own ſecurity, if tempeſts ſhould ariſe, aſſured him that Maſter *Preſton* was ingenuous, and might be made, that the *King* and all the Court were taken with the Sermon, and did approve it; The Duke of *Buckingham* was a wiſe man, and apprehenſive of what Sir *Ralph* ſuggeſted ſeaſonably, ſaw thoſe they called Puritans were growing, and in the Parliament were thought conſiderable, knew that the *Kings* affections might cool, and he might need friends, and took Sir *Ralphs* diſcourſe into his moſt ſerious thoughts; an honeſt man, one Maſter *Packer* was then his Secretary, and he ſet on what Sir *Ralph Freeman* had ſuggeſted, and ſo it came unto a reſolution, that Maſter *Preſton* ſhould be owned; and the Duke commanded Sir *Ralph* F*reeman*, to go to Maſter *Preſton* from him, and acquaint him with his good opinion of him, and deſire to ſee him, and indeed there was ſuch a concurrence, and concentring of opinions and deſires among the Courtiers, that it was aſſured Maſter P*reſton* he might be Chaplain unto whom he would, and that was now the deliberation, which of theſe offers he ſhould accept, and whom he would acknowledge his Patron and Protector for the time to come; There was not ſo few Clergy men at Court at any time, and ſo no kind of oppoſition, yet the *King* himſelf hung back, and would do nothiug haſtily; he was not reconcileable unto the Puritans, and ſo deſired not in that reſpect for to ingage him; but he deſired to deprive them of Maſter *Preſton*, and to divide him from them, and would do any thing that might drive that on; and conſidering how many he had wonne, that Maſter *Preſton* was a young man and might be drawn on, he would not hinder nor oppoſe, ſo it was the joint opinion of all his friends, that the beſt preferment was to be the Princes Chaplain, who then was grown and had an houſhold; This therefore was repreſented unto Sir *Ralph Freeman*, and his opinion required, who quickly yeilded and propoſed it unto the Duke, both *P*rince and Duke had been abroad, and neither of them heard the Sermon; when therefore Maſter *Preſton* was brought unto the Duke, he very ſeriouſly received him, told him it was the Prince his unhappineſſe and his to be abſent when he did preach, and therefore deſired him that he would vouchſafe a Copy of his Sermon to him, and believe that he vvould be ready, to the beſt and utmoſt of his povver to ſerve him.

There vvere many other Courtiers that deſired Copies of the Sermon, and the Court not ſtaying there, Maſter *Preſton* came home to furniſh copies; He never penned Sermons vvord for vvord but vvrote vvhat came into his mind, and as it came, and that in no good hand, and ſo it vvas a buſineſſe to provide theſe Copies, vvhich yet he ſeriouſly attended till they vvere vvritten faire, and then to Court he goes, vvhere the Duke preſents him to the Prince, and ſo he vvas made and

He is made the Prince his Chaplain.

admitted Chaplain to the Prince in Ordinary; for as then the Prince had not compleated the number he intended, which was ſix, who were accordingly to wait two moneths by the year, and preach unto the houſhold upon the Lords days, and perform ſuch duties as were required of them.

But God was making other work for Maſter *Preſton*, for Doctor *Tolſon*, Biſhop of *Salisbury* dies, and leaves a wife and many children unprovided for, for he had been Biſhop but a little while; This wife of his was Doctor *Davenants* ſiſter; in pity therefore and commiſeration of her caſe, it was propoſed to the King by thoſe that were his friends, that Doctor *Davenant*, a ſingle man, and well-deſerving, might ſucceed his brother in the Biſhoprick, and ſo make ſome proviſion for his children; The King thought very well of Doctor *Davenant*, not only for his ſingular abilities and labours in the Univerſity, but for his pains alſo, and ſervice in the Synod of *Dort* againſt *Arminius*; and it was looked on as a deed of charity, and ſo beleeved he would carry it, and be the man.

But this created Maſter *Preſtons* cares; Doctor *Davenant* had been his conſtant and faithful friend, and given countenance upon all occaſions to him and all his pupils: but now who ſhould ſucceed? and where ſhould Maſter *Preſton* find another ſhelter? The Fellows for the moſt part were not his friends, envied his numbers, and great relations, and there was no man like ſo to befriend him: beſides, the *Margaret*-Profeſſors place would be void alſo by this remove, and many able ſtirring Batchelors in Divinity, propoſed unto him that place, and aſſured him the Election would be eaſily carried for him.

The truth is, he had no great hope to do any great good in the Election of the Maſter of the Colledge, and one Doctor *Manſel* being named, a very moderate good-natured man, he let that care fall, and was more anxious about the Profeſſors place, for though ſound doctrine in the Univerſity was of much uſe, yet Engliſh preaching was like to work more, and win more ſouls to God.

He always highly valued, and frequently conſulted with Maſter *Dod*, and he perſwaded Engliſh preaching, as that wherein God was more immediately ſerved, and ſaid, there were others that might ſupply the Univerſity in the Profeſſors place, that either could not or would not labour mens Converſion; And indeed the Maſter of *Sidney*-Colledge Doctor *Ward*, a vaſt ſcholler, was then in view and nomination for the Profeſſors place, yet Maſter *Preſton* was ſo ſollicited by honeſt men, that he knew not what to do: two things he thought he wanted to enable him; The one was a Latine tongue, the other a Latine ſtyle; in both which by reaſon of deſuetude he was unready; for his ſtyle therefore, he reſolves upon an exact and logical Analyſis of all the Epiſtles which would actuate and exerciſe his ſtyle, and acquaint him with the Scripture-phraſe and language; and if he were called to be Profeſſour, might ſerve for Lectures in the Schools, which work he imme-

immediately applied himſelf unto, and very happily compleated a work of great pains unto him, and in it ſelf of great worth, but being Latin, and written only with his own ill hand, was not thought popular enough to come abroad, but lieth in the dark.

For the exerciſing of his Latine tongue, he reſolves a journey into the Netherlands, where he ſhould have much occaſion of ſpeaking Latine, and ſee thoſe Colledges and Univerſities, but there was no travelling beyond ſea without a Licenſe under the hands of Privy Counſellors; this he procures among his friends with all the ſecrecy that could be, and a great while before he meant to uſe it, that he might conceale it from the Colledge and Univerſity; but this his ſecrecy begat ſuſpition that there was ſome plot; *Velle putant quodcunque poteſt*, it is not ſafe for men to have abilities; it was reſented ſo much the more, becauſe no Clergy man was made acquainted with it, and the opinion was, that ſomething was brewing againſt Epiſcopacy; This they were ſure of, that *Amſterdam* was in the Netherlands, and ever had been fatal to the Hierarchy; The Lord Keeper then was Biſhop *Williams*, he ſees this plague afar off, *Prov.* 22, 3. and provides a Meſſenger to go along unknown to Maſter *Preſton*, that ſhould obſerve and give intelligence weekly of all that paſſed, *integer vitæ ſceleriſque purus, non eget Jaculis nec arcu*; A breaſt-plate of righteouſneſſe is a better guard then a ſhirt or coat of male; it was *Davids* uprightneſſe that did preſerve him, P*ſal.* 25. 21. ſo was it *Maſter Preſtons*, for he knew nothing of this attendance, till after his return, but gave out in the Colledge, and among his pupils, that he would go the next Vacation into *Kent*, to viſit Sir *Richard Sands*, and drink if he ſaw cauſe; the *Tunbridge* waters, concludes to take one of his pupils with him, a *Yorkſhire* Gentleman, Sir *Henry Slingsbeys* ſonne and heire, and did accordingly acquaint his father and make proviſion for it long before. The time came, and he goes into *Kent*, and is received in the paſſage boat for *Rotterdam*, in the garb and notion of a Gentleman, with his skarlet cloak and gold hatband, and all things anſwerable; and ſo goes over all the Provinces, both Proteſtant and Popiſh, where there was any thing obſervable, and encounters frequently with divers Prieſts and Jeſuites, profeſſing himſelf a Proteſtant Gentleman that was willing to find out the truth, and try all Tenents, and accordingly was courted by them very much, and ſollicited to be a Papiſt; and they gave him very many popiſh books, and ſo he came back into *Kent*, and to the Colledge at the time appointed, unknown to any in the Colledge, but only one of his pupils, from whom he ſelde me concealed any thing; He was no ſooner ſetled in the Colledge, but a rumour flies abroad, that Maſter *Preſton* had been beyond the ſeas; he ſhewed them that it was incredible, and wonders at their ſillineſſe, that they would beleeve ſo unlikely a relation; the matter was not great, now all was paſt, and ſo it reſted doubtful and undetermined.

His travel in the Low-Countries.

He had a Long time been ſucceſſeful in the way of pupils, but Doctor *Davenants* leaving of the Colledge troubled him; a great Tutor,

hath much occaſion to uſe the Maſters influence, for accommodation and advancement of his pupils, which now he ſaw he could not promiſe unto himſelf; and it fell out much about this time, that Doctor *Dunn*, Preacher at *Lincolns-Inn*, died, and ſome in that ſociety propoſed that Maſter *Preſton* might be tried whether he were willing to accept that place for Tearm time: He was himſelfe, neither carleſſe, nor cracking of his good name, *famæ nec incurioſus, nec venditator*, but it was much grown by Reaſon of his ſucceſſe in the conflicts and encounters he had at Court; it was ſome refreſhing unto honeſt men, that Maſter *Preſton*, ſo reſolute, and conſtant in the ways of God, was yet the Prince his Chaplin, and helped forward the deſire of theſe men; it ſuted with him, to have an opportunity to exerciſe his Miniſtry in a conſiderable and intelligent congregation, where he was aſſured, many Parliament men, and others of his beſt acquaintance would be his hearers; and where in Tearm time, he ſhould be well accommodated, ſo he conſented and undertook the place; the Chappel then was very little, and at the firſt, the numbers that attended on his Miniſtry, beſides their own ſocicty, were few, but when the Chappel was new built, as now it is, the numbers were exceeding great, that were his conſtant hearers, and foundations laid, that will not eaſily be ruined.

He is choſen to *Lincolns-Inn*

This was ſome eaſe unto his greived mind, for Doctor *Davenant* leaving off the Colledge and Univerſity; But filled not his great capacity and large deſire of doing good, the Colledge he gave over in his thoughts, but not the Univerſity, where his Preaching was much reſented, and made great impreſſions, and though at *Lincolns-Inn* he had gown-men to be his hearers, yet they were not like to propagate and ſpread it; a Preacher in the Univerſity, doth *generare patres*, beget begetters, and tranſmit unto poſterity, what God is pleaſed to reveale to him in a word, doth what the Apoſtle doth enjoyne, 2 *Tim.* 2. 2. and he of all men, thirſted after opportunities of doing ſervice, and might well ſay with the ſpouſe, that he was ſick of love, *Cant.* 2. 5.

Some of the Fellows of *Emanuel* Colledge were very eminent for parts and learning, yet clouded and obſcured, (as they thought) by an opinion that lay upon the Colledge, that they were Puritans, that is, not only Godly and Religious, for ſo they were, and were content to be eſteemed, but non-Conformiſts, and averſe to Government, for which cauſe there had been lately ſome alteration made, both in their Chappel, and manner of their diet; they thought therefore, if they could prevaile with Doctor *Chadderton* their preſent Maſter, to reſigne, who was eſtabliſht in it by the Founder, & named in the Statute, but was grown very old, and had out-lived many of thoſe great relations which he had before, they might perhaps procure that Maſter *Preſton* might ſucceed him, and bring the Colledge into reputation, being a good man, and yet a Courtier, the Prince his Chaplin, & very gracious with the Duke of *Buckingham*; but this was ſooner ſaid then done, the old Doctor was exceeding wary and jealous not only of his own diſparagement, but eſpecially

cially of the good and welfare of that brave foundation that had grown and flouriſhed under his Government ſo long; for if it were but known that he were out, there were divers lay in wait to get a Mandate, and come in againſt their minds, a freſh example whereof they had lately ſeen in their next neighbours, *Chriſts* Colledge, where after Maſter *Pemberton* was choſen; Doctor *Carew* Dean of *Exeter*, was forced on them, and did all he could to mould anew, and alter the conſtitution & *genius* of the Colledge; But the Fellows anſwered, that this might be better hindred and prevented whilſt he was alive, then at his death; for his Reſignation might be carried privately, but his death could not, and if all the Fellows were content, the Election might be paſt before the Reſignation were diſcovered; and ſo they promiſed to ſound and try the judgement of the other Fellows, and then repair again unto him.

There were two things in the Colledge that (in their opinions) greatly pinched them; The one was the Statute for attendance and continuance whilſt they were Fellows, ſo that they had not opportunity to live in noble mens houſes, or take Lectures to exerciſe their Miniſtry, and make themſelves known unto ſuch as had it in their power to prefer them; Another was the Statute of departing at ſuch a ſtanding, whether they were provided or not provided; and there was then a freſh example in Doctor *Traverſe*, a man of great worth, yet forced to ſojourn as a Fellow-Commoner in Chriſts Colledge until he could be better accommodated; the Fellows therefore were eaſily induced to affect this change, for they thought Maſter *Preſton* might be an inſtrument by reaſon of his great acquaintance, either to get ſome mitigation of the Statute, or procure more livings to be annexed to the Colledge for their preferment.

So they returned to the old man, and told him that the Fellows were all agreed, and ready to do what he ſhould preſcribe, and it reſted now in him to prevent the danger that did threaten, not only them in their particular concernments, but the growing good and welfare alſo of the Colledge; The poor man wiſt not what to do, to outlive the Maſterſhip he thought was to out-live himſelf, and to go into his grave alive; yet he honoured and loved Maſter *Preſton* very much, and could not anſwer that *dilemma* of the Colledge-ſafety, therefore he told them he would not be wanting to the Colledge-good, but it concerned them as well as himſelf to provide they were not cheated, and another forced on them, whether they would or not; and therefore deſired that Maſter *Preſton* might be requeſted to deal with his friends at Court, and procure ſome promiſe that there ſhould be no Mandate granted, in caſe his reſignation ſhould be known; he told them likewiſe how unprovided he was for maintenance when that was gone, and how unſeemly it would be for him now in his old age for to want, and therefore deſired he might be taken in this particular into conſideration; but Maſter *Preſton* quickly eaſed the old man of all theſe fears, by procuring a letter from the Duke of *Buckingham* in theſe words.

Sir,

The Duke of *Buckinghams* letter.

Sir,

I Have moved his Majeſty, concerning Maſter Preſton's *ſucceeding of you, in the Maſterſhip of* Emanuel *Colledge, who is not only willing, but is alſo graciouſly pleaſed to recommend him to the place in eſpecial manner before any other; ſo that in making this way for him, you ſhall do a very acceptable thing to his Majeſty, as alſo to the Prince his Maſter, of which I am likewiſe to give you notice, and to put you out of all doubt, that another may be thruſt upon you; you ſhall not need to feare any thing, in regard that from his Majeſty there will be no hinderance to his ſucceſſion; and for that point of ſupply of maintenance, I ſhall (as I promiſed) take care for to procure it, when fit occaſion ſhall be offered; ſo taking kindly what you have done, I reſt,*

Theobalds, Sept. 20. 1622.

Your very loving friend, G. Buckingham.

When the Doctor had received and read this letter, he was in all things ſatisfied, as to the Court, but they all knew that Doctor *Traverſe* lay in wait for this preferment; for being outed by the Statute at *Emanuel* Colledge, he ſojourned at *Chriſts* Colledge as Fellow-Commoner, and preſumed either by his friends at Court, to get a Mandate, or be choſen in the Colledge by a Party of the Fellows, whom he thought his own, therefore great care was taken to keep all ſecret, and though the Statute do ordain a vacancy of ſeven days, and notice by a ſchedule paſſed upon the Chappel-door, yet ſuch was the concurrent uniform agreement of all the Fellows, that it was not diſcovered to any of the Schollers until the day of Election; and becauſe there is a Sacrament to be immediately before it, they were conſtrained to lock up all the gates that none might come in or go out till it was paſt, and then two of the Fellows were diſpatcht to *Queens* Colledge, to acquaint Maſter *Preſton* with what they had done, and to deſire that at two of the clock he would repair unto the Colledge to be admitted, and undertake the charge.

He is choſen Maſter of *Emanuel.*

It was ſtrange news at *Queens*, and all the Colledge were much affected with it, wondring extreamly that ſuch a great tranſaction ſhould be carried with ſo much ſecrecy, and that amongſt Maſter *Preſtons* twelve diſciples (as they called them) there ſhould be never a *Judas* but all concentre in it; but there was order given preſently that all the ſchollers ſhould be ready againſt two of the clock that day, to attend Maſter *Preſton* and the Fellows to *Emanuel* Colledge, in habits ſuitable unto their ſeveral qualities, which was done accordingly, and a very goodly company attended him from *Queens* unto *Emanuel*, where they were cheerfully received and entertained according to the cuſtome, with a generous and coſtly banquet, and then returned unto *Queens* again, but left Maſter *Preſton*, the prop and glory of it, at *Emanuel*.

In the plantation of *Emanuel* Colledge at the firſt, the godly Founder, took great care to ſtore his Colledge with godly and able Fellows from

from all the other Colledges, and ſome were after added that were eminent, but now a Maſter is beſtowed; but God in mercy hath enabled that good ſociety to pay their debts, by ſending not only Members, but alſo Heads into very many of the other Colledges, ſo as they may now well ſay, *quæ regio in terris noſtri non plena laboris*,

Sir *Walter Mildmay* their Noble and religious Founder, was wont to ſay unto his friends, that he had ſet an Acorn, that might perhaps in time become an Oak, bleſſed be God our eyes have ſeen it, not only grown and flouriſhing, but fruitful, ſeaſonable ſhowers, a great promotion unto a new plantation, and earneſt prayers unto God, a ſpecial means to bring theſe down, of which I think no Colledge ever had more, which in theſe laſt years have returned a glorious harveſt, to God be praiſe.

This news ran ſwiftly all the Kingdome over, and was received as men were affected; good men were glad that honeſt men were not abhorred, as they had been at the Court, and preſaged much of that inlargement and deliverance, which we have lived to ſee; The Courtiers made full account that he was theirs, and would mount up from one ſtep to another, until he were a Prelate, eſpecially the Duke of *Buckingham*, who from this time ſeemed ſincerely to affect him, *multum fuit ad amorem, dediſſe beneficium*, thought he had given earneſt and could not be defrauded of the purchaſe; The Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Counteſſe of *Bedford* had a great intereſt in him, and he in them, and all men looked on him as upon a riſing man, and reſpected him accordingly; as for *Lincolns-Inn*, they made account they had a ſpecial influence into this honour, as having firſt expreſt their good opinion of him, and there was an honeſt godly old man, one of the Benchers, Maſter *Ayres*, that upon hearing of the news, would needs be young again, and make an Anagram upon his name, though he was uncertain how he wrote it in Latine, for he had ſeen it written divers ways; being therefore reſolute and loath to miſſe it, he reſolves to write it both ways, as he that uſed to ſay his Prayers in Latine and Engliſh, that both might not faile, and ſo firſt he wrote it, *Johannes Preſtonius* with this Anagram, *En ſtas pius in honore*, and this diſtich,

Doctrina, ingenium, virtus tua, præmia poſcunt
En, dedit Emanuel, ſtas in honore pius.

But leſt this ſhould be miſtaken, he writes it *Johannes Preſtonus*: with this Anagram, *ſe noſſe non turpia*: and this diſtich,

Turpia non noviſſe bonum, ſe noſſe beatum:
Iſta doces alios, ſed prius ipſe facis.

The reſt of that ſociety rejoyced that their Lecturer was Maſter of *Emanuel*, and took occaſion to expreſſe it according to their ſeveral diſpoſitions and relations, when he came to them in the Tearm, which ſhortly followed; There was one thing in the Colledge-Statutes that greatly troubled him, and that was that the Maſters abſence from the Colledge was confined to a month in every quarter, and he ſaw not how he could attend at Court, and preach at *Lincolns-Inn* in Tearm time, but

he ſhould tranſgreſſe; but the Fellows ſoon conſented to an interpretation, that abſolved him from the rigid ſenſe, there being in the Statute a double liberty; firſt that in caſe of violent detention it ſhould not hold, they reſolved that not only a natural, but alſo a moral violence was to be underſtood; The other was, that in caſe of Colledge-buſineſſe he ſhould not be eſteemed abſent: Now the Colledge was at that time in ſuit for a Living in the Weſt, of good value, with one Maſter *Ewins*, a Gentleman in the pariſh, who had bred up a younger ſonne to be a Scholler, in relation to that Living, and therefore contended for it as it had been his own inheritance, and when he was worſted at Common-Law, prefers a Bill in Chancery, and thought by mony to carry it againſt the Colledge-right. Biſhop *Williams* the Lord Keeper then, was his great friend, and when after many delays it came at laſt to hearing, would not allow the Counſel for the Colledge to ſpeak; Maſter *Preſton* being preſent, craved leave to ſpeak in the cauſe himſelf, but was not only ſilenced, but ſeverely reprehended for it; it was *Trinity*-Tearm, and the plague was very hot in *London*, ſo that *Michaelmas* Tearm was wholly adjourned, and the next Tearme was proclaimed at *Redding*, and the Records removed thither; but before that, the Lord Keeper was removed from his Throne, and Sir *Thomas Coventry*, one of the Colledge-counſel that were not permitted before to ſpeake, ſucceeded him, by whoſe integrity and juſtice, the Colledge was reſtored to their right, which ever ſince they have enjoyed, and ſo his following the Colledge buſineſſe excuſed his abſence all his time.

Being therefore now eſtabliſhed, and greatly minding the good thereof, he obſerved that the ſchollers kept Acts but ſeldome, and accordingly when they came unto it, performed it but meanly; he therefore adviſed with the Fellows in it, and after many conſultations, it was reſolved that the number of Acts ſhould be in a manner doubled, of thoſe under Maſters of Art, which was a great advancement to learning of all ſorts in the Colledge.

About this time Sir *Arthur Chicheſter*, afterward an *Iriſh* Baron, was choſen to go Embaſſadour into *Germany*, about the Palatinate affairs, and Maſter *Preſton* was by the Duke of *Buckingham* and other friends, deſigned to go along with him; he did not greatly fancy the employment, but would not contradict, only it was conſidered, that though he was the Prince his Chaplain, and Maſter of a Colledge, yet he was not Doctor, which they thought might found ill abroad, and reflect upon his Maſter, and there was not time to go unto it, in the ordinary way of Acts and Exerciſes, therefore a Mandate was addreſſed to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, that foraſmuch as Maſter *Preſton* was to wait upon my Lord Ambaſſadour, and could not in ſo ſhort a time perform his Acts, he ſhould be forthwith admitted Doctor in Divinity, that he might be ready to attend the ſervice, which was done accordingly with all alacrity.

Being therefore thus engaged, and not knowing what might befal him in the voyage, he reſolved to ſettle his temporal eſtate before he

went,

he was not willing to be accounted rich, would often ſay, *manifeſtus theſaurus citò expenditur*, and therefore though he had great incomes from his pupils, and was not prodigal, yet he was not Maſter of his money, for he had been adviſed to adventure in the *Eaſt-India* Company, then newly ſet up, and becauſe eſtates there were inviſible, he was the willinger, but by that means wanted mony, for there was paying for many years but no returns, yet there was hope it might at laſt come in, and ſo it did without diminution of the principal, but not in his lifetime, therefore he thought it needful to make a legal diſpoſition of his eſtate by Will, and ſo he did, and named a very Honourable perſon his Executor, who lived to enjoy that money as well as other by vertue of it; But the voyage came to nothing, for Sir *Arthur* did not go as he intended, yet this was his laſt Will, and according to it all was enjoyed, though he made additions by way of requeſt or direction, which were accordingly performed.

It was ever his ambition not to be mercenary in his Miniſtry, but at liberty to preach where he might do moſt good, without relation or reſpect unto the wages, and he conſidered that the Maſter of *Emanuel* could have no Living that had cure of ſouls annexed, and therefore was willing to give ear unto the ſollicitations of the Townſmen, who greatly preſt him to be their Lecturer at *Trinity*-Church, for they had applied themſelves to Doctor *Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely*, and propounded to him Maſter *Ieffries*, one of the Fellows of *Pembroke-hall*, and he had given way, and Maſter *Ieffries* did preach at *Trinity* ſome years, but was deſirous of a more ſetled condition, and had deſired Doctor *Preſton* to procure him to be Chaplain unto ſome Noble man, that was like to help him to a Living, which was a very eaſie thing for him to doe, having ſo much intereſt in many great ones; ſo he pitched upon *Marqueſſe Hamilton*, who preſently admitted Maſter *Ieffries* Chaplain to him, and ſhewed him much reſpect, as well for Doctor *Preſtons* ſake as for his own, and long it was not before a Living fell, namely the Rectory of *Dun-mow* in *Eſſex*, which the Marqueſſe procured and beſtowed upon his Chaplain Maſter *Ieffries*, for he had not then commenced Doctor, and by that meanes the Lecture at *Trinity* was ſhortly to be void.

The Townſmen made account that now they had what they deſired, namely an opportunity to ſettle Doctor *Preſton* in the Lecture at *Trinity*, and great care was taken to increaſe the ſtipend from fourty or fifty pounds *per annum* unto fourſcore, that the Doctor might have twenty pounds a quarter paid him; for they thought the former inconſiderable, not knowing what principles the Doctor lived by, and when they had effected that, they employed ſome of the chief to propoſe the matter to the Doctor very ſolemnly, who was eaſily perſwaded to accept their offer, without relation to the ſtipend, but there was one of the Fellows of *Sidney*-Colledge, Maſter *Middlethwite* that put in for it, and though few or none of the Contributors or Townſmen ſided with him, yet he procured letters from the Biſhop of *Ely*, and ingaged all his

friends, both in the Court and Univerſity, that it came unto a very great conteſt; Doctor *Preſton* who was offered any Biſhoprick he would reſolve on, and told at *Royſton* by the Duke of *Buckingham*, that the Biſhoprick of *Gloceſter* was then void, contends with Maſter *Middlethwite* to be Lecturer at *Trinity*-Church, for a ſtipend of fourſcore pounds *per annum*, as the upſhot of all his hopes, and fruit of all his great atchievments at the Court, and the contention was ſo great on all ſides, that it could not be concluded by any mediation, but was referred to an hearing at *Royſton* before King *Iames*, who was really againſt the Doctors preaching in the Univerſity, the conſequence whereof he well ſaw, and was informed fully of; *I* confeſſe I often wondred why Maſter *Middlethwite*, an eminent Scholler, and like enough to get preferment, as afterwards its known he did, ſhould ſtickle for ſo ſmall an opportunity to preach, againſt the inclination and diſpoſition of the Townſmen, until I underſtood that he was ſet on by the Prelatical Heads, who told him that it was a ſervice acceptable to the King, and he ſhould be rewarded for it; At the time appointed it came unto an hearing, and an argument was urged againſt the Doctor, namely that it was a Lecture maintained by ſix-pences, a thing unſeemly for a Maſter of a Colledge and the Prince his Chaplain; but the Duke had taken care that nothing ſhould be ordered and concluded againſt the Doctors mind, for the Duke reſolved not to loſe him, ſo the meeting was diſſolved and nothing done; but that night, Sir *Edward Contvey* then Secretary, invited Doctor *Preſton* to ſupper, and after Supper told him that the King had ordered him to tell him, that if he would give over his purſuance of that Lecture, and let the Heads diſpoſe of it, he ſhould make his choiſe of any other preferment, that was more honourable and profitable for him, but the Doctors end was to do good, not to get good; the Kings to make him uſeleſſe, and divide him from the Puritans; the Duke was more indifferent, who laboured in him to win and gratifie the Puritans, whoſe power in Parliament was now grown very formidable, therefore when nothing elſe would content him, he was confirmed Lecturer at *Trinity*-Church, the laſt preferment he ever had, where he preached after all his time, and did much good.

The Duke had now obliged Doctor *Preſton* in the judgement and opinion of all the honeſt Party, and much diſpleaſed the Prelatical, and he ſaw apparently that King *Iames* approved not his ſiding with him, yet he was more expreſſe then ever in his affections to him and freeneſſe with him; he had indeed a very happy and rare compoſure of ſweetneſſe and ſolidity, would play and dally with the King as if he were a woman, and yet enquire, and apprehend, and argue counſels and debates of State, as if a *Burleigh* or a *Walſingham*: ſaw clearly the affections of the King were fading, which the Puritans (though never ſo much his friends,) could not repair, and therefore eyed and adored the riſing Sun, who now was grown and fit for marriage, but no Preparatives to find a Conſort for him; He knew the Spaniſh match was but a colour, and a Treaty dandled between *Briſtol* and King *James*, to

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fool the Prince off, and ſhut his ears againſt the French propoſals; This he diſcovers to the *Prince*, tels him *Kings* did not love an Heire apparent, how near ſoever; that the daughter of *Spain* was deſigned to a Monaſtery, and kept for a reſerve unto the houſe of *Auſtria*, that in *France* there was a Lady much before her; that if he pleaſed he would wait upon him into *Spain* in a diſguiſe, and take the French Courr in their way, and ſee that Lady, and ſo diſcover *Briſtols* and his fathers jugling, the Prince reſents and hugs this overture; they tell King *Iames*, the Earle of *Briſtol* and the Spaniſh Miniſters abuſed him, that it was time to bring that Treaty to ſome Concluſion, deſire they might go into *Spain*, and play the game out.

The *King* ſaw who had plowed with his Heifer, feared, (as he was apt to do) a check-mate, yet for the preſent urgeth only his affections to them both, and asketh them how he ſhould ſubſiſt ſo long without their companies? but they perſiſting, ſignes a warrant with his owne hand for *Jack Smith* and *Tom Smith*, with each of them a ſervant and their horſes to go beyond ſea.

The Duke even now was not unmindful of Doctor *Preſton*, but leaves order with the Dutcheſſe and Counteſſe of *Denbigh*, to be careful for him; and Sir *Ralph Freeman* having a child to baptize, Doctor *Preſton* is intreated for to preach, and the Dutcheſſe and Counteſſe were both Goſſips, who ſhewed to the Doctor very great reſpect, and gave him hopes of doing good, and ſome he did, for he procured by their means, Maſter *Hilderſams* liberty, and reſtitution to his place at *Aſhby de la zouch*, and gave great hopes unto good Miniſters of fairer times, then had been formerly, only he would relate with much regret, that he often found Doctor *Laud*, then Biſhop of Saint *Davids* with them, and therefore doubted of the iſſue and event.

The Doctor ſaw by the debates about the Lecture, that he had enemies as well as friends at Court, that the Duke was mutable as well as mortal, knew that the King abhorred that journey into *Spain*, and would remember it, if able, *dulcis inexperto, cultura potentis amici, expertus metuit*, and therefore though now he were ſetled and aſſured in the Univerſity, yet would not leave his Lecture at *Lincolns-Inn*; but being ſtill in *London* in the Tearm-time, about the Colledg-buſineſſe, continued Preacher at *Lincolns Inne*, and thought it might be a good reſerve, in caſe the naughty Heads or Factions in the Court ſhould fall upon him; and it was well he did, for the Prince and Duke rerurned the next *October*, highly offended with the Spaniſh gravity, and both they and all their train did nothing but tell ſtories of the Spaniſh baſeneſſe; ſo a Parliament was called, and the Duke cryed up by all the godly Party in the Kingdome; The Spaniſh Agent at the Court had order from his Maſter out of *Spain*, for to defie him and proteſt againſt him at the Counſel-Table, but ſeriouſly he could not have done him a greater courteſie, for the People univerſally did hate the Spaniard, and now the Duke became the Peoples Martyr; *I* have ſeen Verſes made in his defence and commendation; and Agents preſently diſpatched into *France*,

to treat of that Match; *King James* liked not this ſtuffe, but the Prince was able now to go alone, and eſpecially when he had the Duke for one of his Supporters; all things are fairly carried for Religion, and the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, the Princes and Peoples Favourite. The People ſeemed now to have the better, and the Court-affairs for to decline and droop; Doctor *Preſton* like another *Mordecai* was very great, the Prince his Maſter, and the Duke his friend, and the Courtiers eyes upon him, becauſe they ſaw he came not thither for preferment, as all men elſe; *Piſoni in imperium adoptato nihil in vultu mutatum, quaſi magis imperare poſſet quam vellet*; His honours altered nothing in him, but gave encouragement to all the godly Party, and his Sermons at *Lincolns-Inne* much wrought upon the Parliament, ſo that a bold Petition was contrived and preſented to the King at *Whitehall*, from both Houſes of Parliament, *April* 23. 1624. againſt the ſpreading and increaſe of Popery, and the Indulgence given unto Prieſts and Jeſuites; *King James* was in the evening of his glory; his Party in the Court under a cloud; another Sunne almoſt in view, and the φόσφορος or day-ſtar already riſen, and accordingly he anſwered warily to their Petition, bewails his want of information as the real ground of this their trouble, which otherwiſe he had prevented; acknowledged that whilſt the Treaties laſted with *Spain* and *Auſtria*, he was obliged to comply, but now both being broken off, he would be rigid and ſevere againſt the Prieſts and Jeſuites, bids them find out a way for to reſtrain the growth of Popery, and he would ſecond them, but reſolves to pay the Duke of *Buckingham* for all this, and gives order to the Earle of *Briſtol* to prepare an information for that end; but the match with *France*, and other intervenient accidents obſtruct it for the preſent.

The Duke having told tales out of ſchool, and broken off the match with *Spaine*, was much obliged to further and promote the French, which he did ſeriouſly excuſe to Doctor *Preſton*, upon this ground, that there was not any Proteſtant for to be had, and for to marry with a ſubject had always been unlucky and fatal to the Kings of *England*; that the French would not be rigid in religious obſervations, but the Doctor conſtantly oppoſed, only acknowledged this difference, that Spaniſh Popery was an abſolute ingredient to their intended Weſtern Monarchy, but French was not ſo, and ſo this was leſſe evil.

But the French found out this obligation, and were untractable, unleſſe the Duke would aide the King of *France* againſt the Rochellers; This was a hard chapter for one ſo much obliged unto the Puritans and Doctor *Preſton*, and therefore he declined all he could, but nothing elſe would ſerve, and he knew *King James* lay ready to take advantages, ſo in Concluſion, eight ſhips were granted to oppoſe the *Rochel*-fleet, and many colours ſought to clouder it and hide it from the world, but from that time Doctor *Preſton* doubted of the Saint-ſhip of the Duke of *Buckingham*, whom otherwiſe he honoured and loved very much.

But it was high time for the Duke to look about him, *King James* was

was not to learn now how for to play his game, he was an old, but not a fooliſh King, *Eccl.* 4. 13. and therefore failed not to make Proviſion, and lay rods in piſſe, that he might uſe upon occaſion. Kings uſe for to account an ague in the Spring their Phyſick, yet Phyſick till *March* be paſt is not good, but this ague antidates the months, and comes in *February*; the King was then at *Theobalds*, and the Ague was made but ſmall account of; he feared death, but was the moſt impatient & diſordered of any living, what rules ſoever the Phyſitians gave, he would obſerve none, which intemperance might very well occaſion the growing, ſtrength and vigour of the diſeaſe, which howſoever more and more increaſed, and at laſt began to be conſiderable, then he began to take advice and to ſubmit to rules, but now it was too late, for *March* 27. 1625. on the Lords day in the morning, about ten of the clock at *Theobalds* the King dies; Doctor *Preſton* then attended in his moneth, and was ſometimes haſtned to the Prince to comfort him, and ſometimes to the Duke, and indeed it was a very mournful morning; death is a ſerious thing, and knocks alike at Pallaces as at the meaneſt Cottage; King *Iames* was very much beloved of all his ſervants; ſome of the Huntſmen could not be gotten from him; the Prince and Duke were both of them retired and wept exceedingly, but Sir *Edward Conwey* and ſome of the Lords drew up a Writing, and proclaimed *Charles Steward* King with all his Titles, and haſte was made to pack away to *London*; the Prince and Duke, and Doctor *Preſton* in Coaches ſhut down, haſten to *White-hall*, and there he is proclaimed again with more formalities, and the Lord Major and the City ſent to, where it was done with much ſolemnity, and great rejoycing of the people, for the Prince had that exceeding happineſſe to come upon the ſtage unprejudiced, for he had never interpoſed nor acted, but in the Spaniſh buſineſſe, and that ſucceeded to his great advantage, ſo that if he liſted he might have been as popular as ever any were.

This fall occaſions many alterations in the Court, the Biſhops generally, and Doctor *Preſtons* enemies, and all that had contended with the Duke were Creſt-fallen; King *Iames* was like enough to have outlived the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had been very ſick ſince his return from *Spaine*, but all is altered, and the Duke does all.

But he had many things to do, the affronts received in *Madrid*, and at the Counſel-table by the Agent, were to be ſent back by a puiſſant and mighty Navy, and Proviſions made accordingly; King *James* to be interred; a Parliament for to be ſummoned; the French Lady to be ſought for, and brought into *England*, which the Duke eſpecially intended, and ſpake to all the Gallants of his Retinue to attend him, and to many other of the Gentry and Nobility throughout the Kingdome, but he found it hard thus in the morning of the Kings affairs, to be attended, there being then a Parliament, and the ſickneſſe much encreaſed in the City, ſo he was conſtrained to employ the Earle of *Holland*, to attend himſelf at home; all were not gratified in this great revolution and mutation of affairs, and the diſcontented Party murmured and

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let flie at the Duke, and the ſickneſſe much increaſing, began to make a mutiny, and it was much deſired that the Parliament might be prorogued till ſome other more healthful and leſſe dangerous time; but the Navy againſt the Spaniards, and the preſſing wants of all ſorts that depended on the Court would not permit, ſo it was only adjourned to *Oxford*, yet there the ſickneſſe was as ſoon as they, and ſome of their members ſmarted for it, but haſte was made to gratifie the new King, and the Proviſions for the Navy went forward, many men ingaged, and the King reſolved to attend that buſineſſe, as admitting no delay.

There was one thing that invited Doctor *Preſton* to a journey that year, and that was a ſtrong ſuſpition that the plague was in the town, in which caſe there is a liberty to diſſolve the Colledge, without any detriment unto the officers and members of it; He was not willing to omit the opportunity, becauſe he had many invitations into the Weſt; The Biſhop of *Salisbury* he deſired to conſult withal, about a book of Maſter *Mountagues*, that was commended to him by the Duke of *Buckingham* to peruſe and give his ſenſe upon it; Maſter *Shervil* the Recorder of *Salisbury* was a Bencher of *Lincolns-Inne*, and a very good friend of his, he had divers friends at *Dorcheſter*, and was deſirous to be ſeaſick, and was ſtill enticed forward, and at laſt reſolved to wait upon the *King*, and Duke at *Plimmouth*, whether they were gone to ſee the Navy ſet ſayle; whilſt he was there, the *Rochel* fleet was broken by thoſe ſhips the *King* lent, and *Mounſieur Sabeeza* came into *Falmouth* with the remainder, and thence to *Plimmouth*, with moſt lamentable outcries againſt the Duke, who ſeemed to be very much affected with it, and made mighty promiſes of wonderful repairs, but Doctor *Preſton* failed not to ſet that buſineſſe home, he did beleeve the Duke was overruled to lend them, and ſorry when he ſaw the ſad effects.

But whilſt the Duke was thus detained in the Weſt, the Earle of *Briſtol* and the Lord Keeper *Williams* combined againſt him, and drew in many to their Party, among others the Earle of *Pembroke*, and divers great ones in the Houſe of Commons, and was ſo incouraged and heartned in it, That the Earle of *Briſtol*, *May* 1. 1626. preferre the Houſe of Lords twelve Articles againſt the Duke of *Buckingh* tending to prove, *That the Duke had promiſed unto the Pope and M ſters of* Spain *to make the King a Papiſt, and had over-ruled him, again judgement of the Earle of* Briſtol, *to write unto the* Pope *with the title of* ctiſſimè Pater; *That his carriage in the matters of Religion was ſo offen that he ſtuck not to kneele before the Hoſt as often as he met it; That he ſo licentious and unchaſt in his behaviour, that the Spaniſh Miniſters re not to have any thing to do with him; That when he could not bring abo match to his own particular advantage, he uſed means to obſtruct it and it off; That he had informed King* James *of all theſe things, who pro to heare him, and leave the offender unto Juſtice, and that not many before his ſickneſſe.*

The Duke had now reaſon to look about him, and was very

to do, and firſt he labours to divide the Party by drawing off the Earle of *Pembroke*, by promiſing his daughter to the Earle of *Mountgomeries* ſonne, which afterwards he did accompliſh, then he endeavoured to oblige the Puritans, by gratifying Doctor *Preſton* all the ways he could, and particularly in the buſineſſe of the Colledge-ſuite, by depriving Biſhop *Williams* of the Seal, and giving it to Sir *Thomas Coventry*, who was one of the Colledge-counſel; yea he went ſo far as to nominate the Doctor to the King to be Lord Keeper, and the King was ſo firme to him, that the Earle of *Briſtol* could do no good, and ſo withdrew his articles.

Doctor *Preſtons* friends were Newters all this while, and looked on, neither engaged for him, nor againſt him, which was ſadly repreſented to the Duke by the Biſhops and that Party, who wondred he ſhould dote upon a man that either could not or would not own him in his need, bad him conſider whether Puritans were like to be his friends, whoſe ways were *toto cœlo* different, and told him plainly he could not have them both, if he adhered to thoſe that ſought their ruine, they muſt adhere to ſuch as would ſupport them, ſo that the Duke was in a great ſtrait, and knew not what to do.

Doctor *Preſton* alſo was importuned to put it to an iſſue, and if he would not leave the rotten and corrupted Clergy, then to leave him, and becauſe there had been informations againſt that book of Maſter *Mountagues*, they propounded it might come to a debate, and not remain as now it did, unſetled: the Doctor and the Duke were both of them unwilling to an open breach, loved for to temporiſe and wait upon events; but Doctor *Preſtons* friends would not be ſatisfied, but urged a conference, whereunto they were incouraged by ſome Orthodox and very learned Biſhops, and at laſt it was concluded by two religious Noble men, that a conference there ſhould be, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Doctor *White*, then Dean of *Carliſle*, on the one ſide, and the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* and Doctor *Preſton* on the other; A day was ſet, a Satturday in *Hillary*-Tearme, at foure of the clock in the afternoon, the place was *York*-houſe, and Doctor *Preſton* ſent to in the morning for to attend it, the Noble men came unto the Biſhops lodgings, about two of the clock, and ſent for Doctor *Preſton* to them, who gave many reaſons why he could not go, but they were reſolute, and taking the Biſhop with them went without him, but the Doctor conſideting, and fearing his abſence might betray the cauſe, and give encouragement unto the other ſide, went afterward himſelf unto the place, and ſate by as an hearer ſilent until all was done; but talking afterwards occaſionally of falling from grace, the Biſhop ſhewed that a godly man might go far and yet return, by the inſtance of the Prodigal, *Luke* 15. but Doctor *White* exclaimed againſt any that ſhould think the Prodigal in acts of drunkenneſſe and whoredome not to be fallen from grace, and urged that of the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 1. 32. That thoſe that do ſuch things are worthy of death, that is, ſaid he, in a ſtate of everlaſting death, and therefore fallen from grace, ſo 1 *Cor.* 6. 9. 10. ſhall not inherit the Kingdome

of God, that is, are not ſons, for if ſons then heyres, *Rom.* 8.17.

But Doctor *Preſton* anſwered, that theſe ſins made indeed a forfeiture of all their intereſt into the hands of God, and he might make the ſeiſure if he pleaſed, but did not unto thoſe which were his children, and in Covenant with him; as two Tennants, by not paying of their Rent, or keeping covenants forfeited their Leaſes, yet the Lord might ſeize the one, and not the other, as he pleaſed. But the Biſhop and the Dean both cried out, this was the way to all licentiouſneſſe and looſeneſſe; to which the Doctor anſwered, that the ſeed of God, as the Apoſtle cals it, 1 *Iohn* 3.9. remained in the ſinning Saint, or ſonne, and would repair him, as in water, there remains a principle of cold, even when it boyleth over, that will undoubtedly reduce it, when the heat and fire is removed, as in *Peter*, *David*, *Sampſon*, and others, was apparent, ſo that they could not run out into all licentiouſneſſe, for the ſpirit luſted againſt the fleſh, that they cannot do the things they would, *Gal.* 5, 17. and though he did not diſinherit them and blot their names out of the Book of Life, *Phil.* 4 3. yet he might, and would withdraw his favour, imbitter all their comforts, *Mat.* 26. 75. raiſe trouble to them from their deareſt intereſts, 2 *Sam.* 12.11. fill them with anguiſh, *Pſal.* 38. 3, 4. which in reaſon will keep them from running out, ſeeing the evil is commenſurable unto that good of pleaſure or profit their ſin afforded, and if need be he can adde unto it eternal apprehenſions, and make them feel the fierceneſſe of his anger, *Pſal.* 88. 6, 7. without any hope of being eaſed, and after this can reſtrain and withhold them, as he did *Abimelech*, Gen. 20. 6. for if one ceaſe to be a ſonne, becauſe he commits a ſinne that doth deſerve eternal death, then every ſin a child of God commits, rends his relation or ſonſhip off, for every ſin deſerves eternal death, *Rom.* 6. 23. and becauſe in many things we offend all, *Iam.* 3. 2. we ſhould be always out of ſonſhip, and have neither certainty nor comfort in our eſtate, unleſſe he could give ſome ground out of Scripture, to aſſure what ſins put us out, and what did not.

The Duke had ſent to Doctor *Preſton* to decline this claſhing conference, and aſſured him he was as much his friend as ever, and would have ſtopt it if he could, but the Biſhops had over-ruled it, which the Doctor at the firſt beleeved, and ſo was backward; but when he ſaw the confidence of Doctor *White* and his companion, he doubted the ſincerity of that aſſurance, and was afterward informed that there had been a meeting at the Counteſſe of *Denbies*, and the Duke had promiſed to leave him, this gave him reſolution and encouragement againſt the ſecond conference, which was managed in a manner by him alone, againſt Maſter *Mountague* and Doctor *White*, for when the Doctor ſaw the Duke begun to double with him, he was leſſe fearful to offend him, though the Duke ſtill carried it, with all the fairneſſe that he could, and appeared not in perſon.

When the time came for the ſecond Conference, the Doctor readily appeared, and the firſt thing he charged Maſter *Mountague* withal, was about his doctrine of Traditions, which he affirmed he had delivered

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as groſly and erroneouſly as any Papiſt, *Gag. Pag.* 38, 39, 40. for he juſtified that place in *Bazil*, where he ſays, the doctrine retained in the Church, was delivered, partly by written inſtructions, partly by unwritten traditions, having both alike force unto Piety, which was ſo unlike to *Bazil*, and the opinions of thoſe times, that it was generally beleeved to be put in by the Papiſts of later times. Maſter *Mountague* confeſſed, it was ſuſpected by ſome of the preciſer cut, but Doctor *Preſton* told him, Biſhop *Bilſon* was none of them, yet he did judge it ſuppoſititious, and it muſt be ſo, or *Bazil* acknowledged to be erroneous; for he inſtanceth in praying towards the Eaſt, and uſe of Chriſme or Oyle in Baptiſme, both which being rejected by the Church of *England*, argues they held that place of *Bazil* not Canonical.

Maſter *Mountague* anſwered that δογμα there uſed by Saint *Bazil*, might ſignifie a thing that ſeemed ſo, and ſo the ſenſe might be, that ſome things that ſeemed true, of leſſe eſteem and conſequence, might be delivered by tradition, as long as matters more ſubſtantial were taken from the Scriptures, but Doctor *Preſton* ſhewed that δογμα ſignified oftentimes doctrine, and was uſed here by *Bazil* for thoſe Heads of doctrine that were more principal, and leſſe expoſed, comparing them unto thoſe places in the Temple, whereunto the people had not acceſſe.

Maſter *Mountague* anſwered farther, that his aſſertion was hypothetical, that if a doctrine came from the ſame author, it was no great matter, whether it were by writing or word of mouth, for either had the ſame authority; but Doctor *Preſton* told him, *Bazil* was poſitive, and ſpake directly, and him he juſtified, and therefore could not be hypothetical, as he pretended.

It is a great ſtep unto victory for to divide; *Paul* ſets the Phariſees againſt the Sadduces, *Acts* 23. 6, 7, 8. that he might ſave himſelf, the Jeſuits are ſo good at it, that though they have but one to be their adverſary, they will endeavour to divide him from himſelf, by moving paſſion, or compaſſion, or ſome affection of his own againſt him; Doctor *White* had openly in the Commencement houſe, maintained that Election is not *ex præviſis operibus*, and therefore Doctor *Preſton* reſolved to pinch Maſter *Mountague* in that particular, that he might bereave him of his animating Champion Doctor *White*.

There were foure ſeveral places that Doctor *Preſton* had obſerved to make good this charge, the firſt which he produced, was *Gag. pag.* 179. ſome Proteſtants hold, that *Peter* was ſaved, becauſe God would have it ſo without reſpect unto his faith and obedience; and *Judas* damned, becauſe God would have it ſo, without reſpect unto his ſin; and added, this is not the doctrine of the Proteſtants, this is not the doctrine of the Church, the Church of *England* hath not taught it, doth not beleeve it, hath oppoſed it.

Now Doctor *White* was very fierce and eager to engage, told him it was no doctrine of the Church of *England*, but a private fancy of ſome, that *Judas* was condemned without reſpect unto his ſin, *for the*

wages of ſin is death, *Rom.* 6. 23. *The ſoul that ſinneth ſhall die*, Ezek. 18.4. but Doctor *Preſton* anſwered, he did not charge that upon Maſter *Mountague*, but the former part of the aſſertion, that *Peter* was not ſaved, without reſpect unto his beleeving and obedience, and ſo Election ſhould not be abſolute, but grounded upon faith and works foreſeen; then ſaith Dr. *White*, I have nothing againſt that, but leave Maſter *Mountague* to anſwer for himſelf.

Dr. *Preſton* was glad that he was eaſed of Dr. *White*, and yet reſolved to make advantage of it, and therefore told Dr. *White*, if he thought Election was not *ex fide Prævisa*, he deſired to know whether ſaving grace were an effect, and fruit of Election or no? Dr. *White* acknowledged readily it was, then ſaid Dr. *Preſton*, whoſoever hath ſaving grace is elected; now you know that an Elect perſon can never finally miſcarry, or fall away, therefore whoever hath true grace can never fall away; the old man ſaw the ſnare, and would have avoided it, by denying of the conſequence, but the Dr. urged, that whereſoever the effect is, there muſt be the cauſe, but ſaving grace is an effect of Election; this Dr. *White* would have denied, but the hearers murmured that the effect could not be without the cauſe, as the day is not without the preſence of the Sunne; then Dr. *White* anſwered, that ſaving grace was an effect indeed, but a common effect, but Dr. *Preſton* urged that it was not more common then Election, for all the Elect had ſaving grace, and none but they, and therefore they could never fall away, but this, ſaid he, is by the way, I will now apply my ſelf to Mr. *Mountague*.

But when Mr. *Mountague* perceived that his great *Goliah*, Dr. *White*, forſook him, he was greatly troubled, and cavilled at the words a while, but the book adjudging it for Dr. *Preſton*, he ſaid, the Church of *England* had not declared any thing againſt it, Dr. *Preſton* alledged the ſeventeenth article, but told Maſter *Mountague*, that he affirmed the Church of *England* did oppoſe it, and he deſired to know where?

But after one of the Lords had whiſpered with Mr. *Mountague*, he confeſſed that for *Arminius*, he had never read him, and that he had written ſome things negligently in that book which he never thought ſhould thus be ſcanned among friends, and therefore promiſed to write another book in butter and honey, and therein more exactly for to acquit himſelf.

Some of the good Lords propoſed, that in ſtead of this book which Mr. *Mountague* had promiſed to write, the Synod of *Dort* might be received and eſtabliſhed as the doctrine of the Church of *England*, ſeeing there was nothing there determined, but what our Delegates approved: but Dr. *White* oppoſed this mainly, for ſaid he, the Church of *England* in her Catechiſme teacheth to believe in God the Son, who redeemed me and all mankind, which that Synod did deny.

Dr. *Preſton* anſwered, that by redemption there, was only meant the freeing of mankind from that inevitable ruine, the ſin of *Adam* had involved them in, and making of them ſavable upon conditions of another Cove-

Covenant, *Iohn* 3.16.17. ſo as now ſalvation was not impoſſible, as it was before the death of Chriſt, but might be offered unto any man, according to the tenor of that Commiſſion, *Mark.* 16.15,16. Which could not be unto the devils, for they were left in that forlorn condition, whereinto their ſin and diſobedience put them, *Heb.* 2.16. 2 *Pet.* 2.4. that the Jaylor was a boyſterous bloody fellow, *Acts* 16.24,27. yet *Paul* makes do doubt for to tell him, *verſ.* 31. *That if he beleeved on the Lord Ieſus, he ſhould be ſaved with his houſe.*

But *Dr. White* in no ſort received this, but affirmed earneſtly, that Chriſt died for all alike in Gods intention and decree, for *Cain* as well as *Abel*, for *Saul* as much as *David*, for *Iudas* as much as *Peter*, for the reprobate and damned in hell, as well as for the Elect and Saints in heaven.

But *Dr. Preſton* anſwered, that there was a ſpecial ſalvation afforded to believers, 1 *Tim.* 4.10. That Chriſt was indeed a ranſome for all, 1 *Tim.* 2.6. but the Saviour only of his body, *Eph.* 5.23. that he redeemed all, but called, and juſtified and glorified whom he knew before, and had predeſtinated to be conformed to the image of his ſonne, *Rom.* 8.29,30. that to whom in this ſenſe Chriſt was given, to them were given alſo all things appertaining unto life and godlineſſe, 2 *Pet.* 1.3. as faith, 2 *Pet.* 1.1. *Phil.* 1.29. *Eph.* 2.8. repentance, *Acts* 11.18. 2 *Tim.* 2.25. A new heart, *Ezek.* 36.26. his Spirit, *Gal* 4.5,6. ſo that nothing can be charged on them, but Jeſus Chriſt hath undertaken, and is engaged to diſcharge them, *Rom.* 8.31,32,33,34. ſo that they can never periſh nor be taken out of Chriſts hand, *Iohn* 10.28,29,30. but as they are begotten again unto a lively hope, 1 *Pet.* 1.3. ſo they are kept by the power of God through faith unto ſalvation, *verſ.* 5. whereas *Iudas* was loſt, *Iohn* 17.12. and is gone to his own place, *Acts* 1.25. and there are many nations and people of the world, that have no outward offer made unto them in the Goſpel, *Pſal.* 147.19,20. *Acts* 16.6,7. and thoſe that have it, have not hearts given them to underſtand it and beleeve it, *Deut.* 29.2,3.4, *Eſa.* 6.9,10. *Mat.* 13.13,14,15. and therefore they are loſt, 2 *Cor.* 4.3,4. and are damned, 2 *Theſ.* 2.10,11,12. for he ſhewed that in *Adam* all men were loſt, *Rom.* 5.12. and none recovered but by Chriſt, therefore ſuch as had not Chriſts interceſſion, could not recover, but Chriſt prayed not for ſome, *Iohn* 17.9. and therfore ſuch could not be ſaved, *Heb.* 7.25.

Dr. *White* acknowledged there was a difference, for though all had ſo much as by good improvement might ſerve their turn, yet the Elect had more, for God abounded towards them, *Eph.* 1.8,9. *Rom.* 5.15,17.20. as all the Troop have horſes, but the officers have better, both Travellers have ſtaves to leap over the ditch, but the one a better and ſtronger then the other, the worſt had grace enough to keep corruption, & the renitency of their natures down, but the Elect, ſuch as would do it eaſily; for Chriſt had taſted death for every man, *Heb.* 2.9. and died for thoſe which yet might periſh, 1 *Cor.* 8.11. & bought thoſe, that yet brought upon themſelves ſwift damnation, 2 *Pet.* 2.1. becauſe they did not husband and improve the favour offered to them.

Dr. *Preſton* anſwered, that Chriſt was in himſelf ſufficient to ſave all, and might be ſaid to be provided for that end and uſe, as a medicine is to cure infected perſons, though it cure none actually, but thoſe that drink it as *Proſper. Habet in ſe quod omnibus proſit, ſed ſi non bibitur non medetur*, as 1 *Iohn* 5. 11, 12. but many did not thus apply Chriſt, becauſe they had him not ſo offered and exhibited as others had, *Mat.* 11. 21. *Luke* 10. 13. for God gave ſome faith and repentance as we have ſhewed, as the ſerpent *Moſes* was commanded for to make, was in it ſelf ſufficient to cure thoſe that were bitten, *Num.* 21. 8, 9. yet cured none, but only thoſe that looked on it; ſo as *Moſes* lift up the Serpent in the wilderneſſe, ſhall the Son of man be lift up, that whoſoever beleeveth in him ſhould not periſh, but have life everlaſting, *Iohn* 3. 14, 15.

But Dr. *White* urged that place *Eſa.* 5. 4. that God had done all he could, but they neglected and rejected the counſel of God againſt themſelves, *Luke* 7. 30.

Dr. *Preſton* anſwered, that God had done all that they could challenge of him, for he had given them in *Adam* power, *Eccl.* 7. 29. and propoſed another way of mercy in a Mediator, and therefore he appeals to any one that was indifferent, *Eſa.* 5. 3. but this was unto *Iſrael*, he dealt not ſo with other nations, *Pſal.* 149. 20. beſide, he had done what he could, without reverſing and reſcinding his decree, *Iohn* 12. 38, 39, 40. for otherwiſe he could have given them the ſame ſpirit of faith, 2 *Cor.* 4. 13. the like gift that he did unto others who beleeved on the Lord Jeſus, *Act.* 11. 17. could have wrought in them both to will and to do according to his good pleaſure, *Phil.* 2. 13. could have healed them as he promiſed, *Eſa.* 57. 18. and as he did perſecuting *Saul*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 6. but God had other ends, *Rom.* 9. 17. and attributes, *Rom.* 9. 22. which he was willing to diſcover, *Prov.* 16. 4.

But Dr. *White* asked how then he could require faith and repentance, *Mark* 1. 15. *Acts* 17. 30. which was all one, as if he ſhould require one to give his judgment and opinion of a colour, that had his eyes ſhut, and then ſhut his eyes as faſt as he could.

Dr. *Preſton* anſwered, that he might do it to ſhew and diſcover our impotency, as we bid our little children riſe, that by their own fault fell, that we may let them know their inability, and be the more beholding unto us to help them up, as *Mark* 9. 23, 24. and becauſe the call and command of Chriſt is the *Vehiculum* & Conduit-pipe of ſtrength and power, *Acts* 14. 10. *John* 5. 8, 9. as *Lazarus*, Iohn 11. 43, 44. thus God by bidding and commanding men to take grace, doth thereby fit them and enable them to do it, as that Creeple, *Act.* 3. 6, 7, 8, was by the command inabled, ſo *Saul*, *Acts* 22. 13. being commanded to receive his ſight, was inabled the ſame moment to look upon him, and ſo *verſ.* 16. being commanded to waſh away his ſins, had the blood of Chriſt provided ready for to do it, ſo theſe commands are not like thoſe the Apoſtle ſpeaks of, *Iam.* 2. 16. for here is ſomething given, when God bids, he doth not, *verba dare, ſed rem.*

But it was further urged by the Doctor, that God had no pleaſure in

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the death of wicked men, *Ezek.* 33. 11, but that he would rather they ſhould repent and leave their ſins, *Ezek.* 18.23. and *verſ.* 32. if therefore God were not ready to the utmoſt of his power to give them grace, he could not be excuſed from diſſembling and double-dealing.

But *Dr Preſton* anſwered, that ſuperiours may command unable perſons for many reaſons, but cannot be ſaid for to diſſemble, unleſſe they refuſe to give when the required condition is performed; as if I bid one come unto me and I will give him ſix-pence, if I refuſe when he is come, I did diſſemble, but if he comes not, he cannot charge me, for their not coming may be for want of will, *John* 5. 40. as well as for want of power, *John* 6. 44. now if I know a Creeple will not come, though he could, I may puniſh him for it. Its true, God delights in nothing but himſelf, his joy and comfort, is terminated only in himſelf, not in the creature, but as ſome way ſerved and repreſented by it, for God made all things for himſelf, *Prov.* 16. 4. yea for his pleaſure, *Rev.* 4. 11. That is, the exerciſe and illuſtration of ſome one of his attributes, as his power, *Exod.* 9. 16. *Rom.* 9. 17. his wrath, *Rom.* 9. 22. never did ſtrong man glory of his ſtrength, more then God doth of his ſoveraignty and omnipotency, *Iob* 40. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. Now, if it fall out, that in the illuſtration and exerciſe of theſe his glorious attributes and excellencies, ſome creatures ſmart, yet he delights not in their ſmart and ſufferings, but in the demonſtration of his own Omnipotency; *Ahaſhuerus* makes a feaſt to all the States and Orders of his Kingdome, to ſhew the riches of his glorious Kingdome, and the Honour of his excellent Majeſty, *Eſth.* 1. 3, 4. this was not done without the ſmart and ſuffering of many of the creatures, yet he delights not in their ſufferings, but in his own magnificence and bounty; when Chriſt was at the feaſt, *John* 2. 1. 2.. he doth not condole the death of all thoſe innocents that went to make it up. *qui fruitur pœna ferus eſt*, but rejoyced in the good cheere and good will of the friend that bade him.

There were few preſent of Doctor *Preſtons* friends, and accordingly this conference was repreſented and reported with all the diſadvantage that could be to him, inſomuch that many Parliament men that were his friends, were much offended at it, which occaſioned him as ſoon as he came to *Cambridge*, to write the ſeveral paſſages, and ſend them to thoſe friends that were unſatisfied, but it was an evidence that the Duke and Dr. *Preſton* were not ſo great, but that he ſticked to the Prelates, and would in the iſſue leave Dr. *Preſton* and the Puritans, which much abated good mens affections to the Duke, and it was beleeved that he had no ſuch footing in the Kings affections as he did pretend unto, *poſteà Mæcenas ſpeciem potius, quam vim tenuit in amicitia Principis*, they thought his greatneſſe began to lang[illegible]h, and it was beleeved in the Univerſity that there was another favourite in being, though yet obſcure, for the Earle of *Suffolke* much about this time died, who had been a long time Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, and great means was uſed to ſet the *D*uke up for to ſucceed him, but good men were

were fallen off, becauſe of his deſerting Dr. *Preſton*, and others did beleeve his glory was departed, and ſo the Earle of *Berkſhire*, the former Chancellors ſecond ſonne, was ſet up againſt the Duke, and many viſited for him that loved greatneſſe, and were ſervants good enough unto the times, and its beleeved, it had been carried for him againſt the Duke, if the wiſedome of Dr. *Goſling*, then Vice-Chancellor, and ſome others in the ſcrutiny had not prevented it, but it was pronounced for the Duke, and great care was taken for the inveſting of him in a very ſolemn manner; a repreſentative of the Univerſity is deſigned to attend him at *York*-houſe in their habits, and a ſumptuous Feaſt provided for their entertainment, the Duke ſate in the midſt of the Table among the Doctors, where, by ſome body, there was an health begun unto the King, when it came to Dr. *Preſton* for to pledge it, he was uncovered and bowed as others had done, but drank but very little, and ſo delivered it unto the next, but one of the Doctors took notice that he drank not all, and told him he had ſeen him drink as great a glaſſe of wine, and did beleeve he could have drunk this if he would, but that he loved to be ſingular; the Dr. acknowledged he was not skilful in the laws of drinking healths, and therefore if he had offended, he deſired it might be imputed to his ignorance, but he thought the end was to ſhew reſpect unto the perſons named, which was done beſt by the Ceremonies that preceded, as being bare, ſtanding up and ſuch like, wherein he ſaid he had not willingly offended, but if it were an Engine to Court-intemperance, and ingage men unto greater quantities then themſelves liked, it fell ſhort of that modeſty and freedome of the Heathens, *Eſth.* 1.8. and was a ſin in all, but in men of their degree and rank an abominable wickedneſſe.

The Duke miſliked this incivility, and frowned on the Doctor that occaſioned it, but it was beleeved it could not have been done without aſſurance that the Dukes affections were ebbing towards Dr. *Preſton*, and no wonder, for his end being to make impreſſions of good upon the Court, he could not but ſee, if they did not ſucceed, they would recoile; if you manure and ſow your land, if the ſeed ſubdues it not and conquers it, it is enabled to bring forth the ſtronger weeds, *Heb.* 6.7,8. if your pearles be caſt before Swine, they will alſo turn again and rend you, *Mat.* 7.6. the Duke had now ſeen the worth and way of Dr. *Preſton*, he had found that he could not winne him and make him his, he could not therefore in the way of policy, but labour and reſolve to wrack and ſink him; When *Herod* was convented by prevailing conquering *Auguſtus*, for his great aſſiſtance of *Mark Anthony* his adverſary, and knew it would be in *Auguſtus* power to take his head off, he ſetled his affairs, but gave peremptory order that his beloved *Mariamne* ſhould be put to death, for this only reaſon, becauſe another ſhould not enjoy ſo great a beauty; ſo the Duke would not another ſhould enjoy the great abilities of Doctor *Preſton*, but was reſolved to break him if he could, yet in a civil Court way.

But the Doctor was too knowing not to ſee this afarre off, *Prov.* 22,3.

22.3. *quæ alii levia faciunt, diu patiendo, ea ſapiens, diù cogitando,* and had accordingly provided a ſucceſſion of reſerves wherein to hide himſelf; the firſt and ſureſt was his conſcience, 2 *Cor.* 1.12. *This is our rejoycing, the teſtimony of our conſcience, that in ſimplicity and godly ſincerity, not with fleſhly wiſedome, but by the grace of God we have had our converſation in the world*; If a man be well come into his conſcience, he needs not fear the ſtormes and bluſters that he meets abroad, *in te recedas, cum cogeris in turba eſſe,* when a man is forced to be where he would not, as *Peter* was foretold he ſhould be, *Iohn* 21.18. yet he may in deſpite of them retire into himſelf; *Paul* made it his buſineſſe to have his conſcience always void of offence, *Acts* 24.16. and ſo did Dr. *Preſton*, for though his actings, being many of them above the common ſize, were not always underſtood, and very often miſ-interpreted, yet he was innocent and upright always in them; an undeniable argument whereof was, that he never ſued for the leaſt preferment, as we have ſaid, but ſtudied, and often conſulted, how without breaking, he might avoid them; and though he lived like himſelf, and gave relief to others, yet it was ever of his own, as very many yet alive can witnes; and indeed he was a man of very much Communion and ſweet Society with God, prayed much in private, and by himſelf; beſides, as Tutor with his Pupils, and after, as Maſter in his family, whatever weakneſſe he was in, or buſineſſe did occur, kept many private days of Faſting by himſelf, eſpecially before the Sacraments and Sabbath days, and accordingly enjoyed a conſtant clearneſſe and aſſurance of his Juſtification and intereſt in the blood of Chriſt, even then when frailties and infirmities did moſt of all afflict and wound him; he never (that I know,) was troubled or perplexed about adoption, though very often about the imperfection of his graces, and the unconſtancy of Sanctification, ſo as he ſtudied moſt exactly that Treatiſe of the Saints infirmities, and there is nothing in all his works that may more properly be called his.

His next retreat was *Lincolns*-Inn, for now he ſaid the *D*uke was Chancellour, and would endeavour to ingratiate himſelf, and be a Benefactor, and had bought *Erpenius* manuſcripts, and did verily intend to found a Library, and ſo it would be eaſie, and in his power to out him of the Colledge and Univerſity; for there was a reſolution in ſome of the Fellows, to petition the Duke without him, to annul the Statute of continuance or Commoration in the Colledge, yet he conceived the Lawyers would pretend a kind of freedome and exemption; for he ſaw when that holy bleſſed *D*r. *Sibbs* was outed both of Fellowſhip and Lecture in the Univerſity, yet by the goodneſſe and prudence of Sir *Henry Yelverton*, that conſtant Patron unto godly Miniſters, (a vertue yet running in the veins of his poſterity) he was received and retained at *Grayes*-Inne unto his death, therefore he would in no ſort leave his title unto, and intereſt in, *Lincolns*-Inne, but reſerved it in his power unto his dying day.

But he knew Kings had long hands, and that the Dukes were nothing ſhorter, and that *Lincolns*-Inne, though a great deal ſtronger and

better built then *Grayes*-Inne, yet would not hold out long in caſe the *D*uke ſhould ſeriouſly beleagure it, therefore he pondered of removing farther off if need were; and having weighed all retreats, reſolved upon *Baſil* in the Switzers country, as a place which the longeſt handed Kings had ſeldome touched, even when it was a receptacle of their greateſt enemies, and therefore he reſolved in caſe he could not be free in *England*, to ſettle there, and ſpend the reſidue of his ſurviving days, in writing what he was not ſuffered to preach, or had not publiſhed according to his mind.

He was naturally very affable and courteous unto ſtrangers of any country, and by converſing much with them, endeavoured to preſerve his knowledge in the French and Italian languages, but after he had thus reſolved upon *Baſil*, he was very friendly to all the Germans that were diſperſed from ſeveral Univerſities, eſpecially from the Palatinate, for whom he procured ſeveral ſorts of entertainments, both in the country abroad, and in the Univerſity; for which, as he had very many Gratulatory Epiſtles from particular perſons, ſo one of note from the King of *Bohemia*, under his Hand and Seale.

But he knew that theſe were but the foxes earths, that might ſucceſſively be taken and poſſeſſed, he therefore alſo thought upon that *unum magnum* of the Cat, or rather of the Holy Ghoſt, *Prov.* 18. 10. the name of the Lord, that is, the goodneſſe, mercy, power of the mighty God; where he was well aſſured he ſhould for ever be free enough from Kings and Dukes; yet theſe did no way retard his induſtry in uſing means; Obſtructions quicken induſtrious and active minds, but damp and clog the dull; There is a Stateſman of no mean eſteem, that writes profeſſedly againſt the uſe of Cittadels and Forts, becauſe it makes the Souldier leſſe reſolved in engagements; and the Spartans were forbidden to wall their City becauſe it would incourage Cowardiſe, but it did not take off Dr. *Preſton* from his duty; for finding that his ſtanding at Court was undermined, he reſolved upon Buttreſſes to underprop him in the Country.

There was in the Country of *Northampton* a Gentleman of very able parts, and clear affections to the publike good, no ſtranger to the Court in former times, nor to the Duke of *Buckingham*, with whom the Doctor uſed to communicate affairs, and who was then a Parliament man of much eſteem, to him the Doctor in a letter diſcovers all, ſhews him the hopeleſſe poſture of the *D*uke, how much they both were diſappointed in him, lays ſome directions what to do, and urgeth activeneſſe; This letter by a ſad misfortune was let fall by him that was intruſted to convey it, about *Temple-bar*, and handed from one to one untill it came to Sir *Henry Spillers*, who having viewed and pondered the contents, concluded it was a purchaſe that would ingratiate him unto the *D*uke, and ſo immediately preſents it to him.

The Duke was troubled to read his faults and face ſo ſhrewdly intimated and preſaged; His temper was exceeding good, and he could mannage his affections many times with much ſerenity and moderation, but

but now he was quite off, and could not think of any thing but a revenge; I have not known any thing ſo trouble and afflict the Doctor as this did, that the Duke ſhould have his hand againſt him, and that he had involved ſo good a man to whom he wrote; but it pleaſed God to cut the *Duke* out other work, for the cry of *Rochel*, and the Proteſtants of *France*, was ſo exceeding great, and ſo much reſented by the Parliament, that the *Duke* reſolves to vindicate his honour by relieving them, and whilſt he was buſie to ſet that fleet out, and furniſh forces for ſurpriſing of the Iſle of *Rhees*, he could not undertake that work of revenge intended againſt *Dr. Preſton*; but the *Doctor* thought not that he had done enough, unleſſe he proclaimed in the Pulpit what he had often told the Duke in private, according to that Command of Chriſt, *Mat. 6. 27. What I tell you in darkneſſe, that ſpeak you in light, and what you heare in the eare, that preach on the houſe-tops*; as *Chryſoſtome* to his people, *cum verum ſinguli audire non vultis, publicè audietis*; When the French match was concluded, he preached that Sermon of the pillar and ground of truth, againſt the mingling of Religions, and mixing truth with falſhood, and ſhewed how impoſſible it was to mingle truth with errour, or make up one Religion of theirs and ours; for ſhould they leave out any tenet of their Church, it would follow that the Church in that before had erred, and ſo that pillar would be overthrown, on which have hanged ſo many neceſſary points of Popery; neither could we part with any one truth, for Religion is of a brittle nature, break it you may, bend it you cannot; it cannot be accommodated to reſpects of policy, and intereſts of States and Kingdomes, but as elements, when mingled in a compound body, do loſe their proper Formes; ſo Religions when made ingredients and compounding parts of any other, do loſe their formes, and ceaſe to be Religions in Gods account, 2 *Kings* 17.33,34. *Pillar and ground*, pag. 16.

And when the Rochellers were in diſtreſſe, and laid their ruine and diſaſters at our doore, fathered their loſſes and calamities on us, he preached that Sermon of the new life, where *Page* 48. we have theſe words, *We cannot ſtand alone, what meaſure we mete to others in their diſtreſſe, men ſhall meaſure the ſame to us in our neceſſity*, Luke 6. 38. *and how ſoon the fire may take here alſo we know not.* And pag. 52. *If any be an impediment, nay, if any do not do their beſt, I pronounce this in the name of the moſt true God, that ſhall make it good ſooner or later, that they and their houſes ſhall periſh*, Eſth. 4. 14. The Court was hood-wink't in all theſe Comminations, for by Church they underſtood the Prelates & their Party, and the King thought if he adhered to them, and did their work, he was abſolved; but thoſe that read the Commentaries that have been written ſince in red letters, will have occaſion to beleeve the contrary.

And when the Duke was in the Iſle of *Rhees*, in which voyage he had engaged many of his very good friends, and much of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdome, the *Doctor* preached that Sermon called the Demonſtration of the Diety, where *pag.* 81. yee have theſe words, *It is certain, that evil is intended againſt us, and will come upon us, except*

something be done for to prevent it, for there is a Covenant between God and us, and breach of Covenant causeth a quarrel; now the quarrel of God shall not go unrevenged, Lev. 26. 25. *I will send a sword upon you, which shall avenge the quarrel of my Covenant*; *Gods quarrels are not rash and passionate as mens are, and therefore he will not lay them aside without some true and real satisfaction, if we will not beleeve his word, yet will we not beleeve his actions? Are not our Allies wasted? are not many branches of the Church cut off already, and more in hazard? In a word, have not our enterprizes been blasted, and withered under our hands for the most part? have not things been long going down the hill, and are even now hastning to a period?* This Sermon was preached to the King at *White-hall* on the Lords-day, and on the *Wednesday* following the news came of the total routing of our Army in the Isle of *Rhees*, which was such a ratification of his Prediction, but the Sabbath day before, as made many to beleeve he was a Prophet, and they called him *Micaiah*, because he seldome propheci-ed good unto them; and Dr. *Neal*, then Bishop of *Winchester*, said, that he talked like one that was familiar with God Almighty, and they were the more affected with it, because the Doctor had another course to preach before his moneth was out, for every Chaplain was to preach twice, once upon the Lords day, and also upon the Tuesday; but the Doctor was desirous to exchange his course upon the Tuesday for a Sabbath-day, so Dr. *Potter* preached on the Tuesday, and Dr. *Preston* was to preach upon the Lords day following, and was resolved to proceed upon the same text; but to handle a point relating to the third verse, for having shewed in this Sermon that things were not done by chance, but by God, he now resolved for to shew, that God did things that men do not look for, which being known among the Bishops, and they affrighted with that disaster at the Isle of *Rhees*, they interceeded with the Clerke of the Closet, that seeing Dr. *Prestons* turne was past already, and this was Dr. *Potters*, another might be put up, and he deferred till another time, which was consented and yeilded to, and so upon the Friday before, a Messenger was sent unto the Doctor, to tell him that another was provided to preach for Dr. *Potter*, and he might spare his pains; the Dr. wondred at the Providence, for he was resolved fully to have said that in that Sermon, if he had been suffered, that would in reason have deserved *Micaiahs* entertainment, 1 *Kings* 22. 27. but God was merciful unto him, and used his enemies as instruments to save him from the danger; it would have damped some men to be thus refused, he might have said with him, *Mat.* 22. 4. *Behold, I have prepared my Dinner, my Oxen and my Fatlings are killed, and all things are ready*; but he considered what he had preached before, *That a Sparrow fell not to the ground without Gods Will*; That his Will and Resolution for to sacrifice his all, was now accepted as *Abrahams* was, that his Sermon, whilest an *Embrio*, and only in intention, had an efficacious operation upon the Auditory; for as they had shewed and discovered their fears, so good men did their joys, and the Sermon was more talked of at Court and in the City, then any Sermon that ever he had preached before, for

A special Providence.

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all men enquired what that Sermon was that Dr. *Preston* was not ſuffered to preach, and many wiſe men were perſwaded that it did more good then it would have done in caſe it had been preached; ſo that in ſtead of being damped and dejected at the affront, he was enlivened and encouraged, *repulſus generoſo excitat iram, languido triſtitiam*; I never knew him come home from the Court more ſatisfied, then he did this time, nor more encouraged in his Miniſtry at *Cambridge*, for he was then upon thoſe Sermons of the Attributes, that ſince are printed, and God was greatly with him in them.

Thoſe Fellows at *Emanuel* that had been active in making of him Maſter there, were much unſatisfied, becauſe the Doctor never would conſent to the annulling of that Statute, De *mora ſociorum in Collegio*, for he was convinced that the Founder had added it upon very weighty grounds, and he ſaw it was a means to make the Fellows preach, and look abroad, and leſſe intend the actings of the Maſter, that young Schollers were heartned in their ſtudies, with hopes that there would be preferments ready for them; and it was ordinary among the Schollers to obſerve how long ſome Fellows were to ſtay, therefore obſerving theſe affronts at Court, they petitioned the King that that Statute might be abrogated: the Duke was glad of this occaſion to be revenged upon his old friend Dr. *Preſton*, and did embrace it with all alacrity, Commiſſions were diſpatched for to hear and conſider their Allegations, and many meetings and debates were had about it, in which it was acknowledged, it was a Statute of equal power and validity with the reſt, though added three years after, and upon that, one of the Fellows that had petitioned fell off; The Doctor uſed all his friends for to ſupport and keep in power and effect this Statute, and found very many very forward to aſſiſt him in it, but above all, a very noble Grandchild of the Founder yet living, did much encourage and enable the defence, who though a Courtier and much obliged, yet adventured and waved all his intereſts, rather then he would be found to his Grandfathers wiſe and prudent care ſo overthrown; ſo at length was at laſt agreed on, that it ſhould be ſuſpended from all ſuits in law, until ſix livings of an hundred pounds *per annum* ſhould be annexed to the College.

The ſoul is the undoubted Soveraign of the body, and hath *Deſpoticum imperium*, an abſolute and uncontrolled Juriſdiction; and in caſe of injury or over-burdening there is no action lies, but ſouls ſhould conſider, ſoft and faire goes far, *qui vult regnare diù, languidè jubeat, maturè*: It was *Hobſon* that told the Schollers they would come time enough to *London*, if they did not ride too faſt; it was incurable in this good man to over-ride himſelf, for the body is *pars compoſiti*, when it is tired it cannot take a new one at the next ſtage, as we do horſes; but [illegible] all was one, ſome lived as much in ſeven years, as others did [illegible] *non diù vixit, ſed diù fuit* was his opinion of many men [illegible] life is like fire upon that will conſume with reſt as much as [illegible] employment. *Vota ſicut ſentum, exerceas ut pote*, theſe were his principles, and all his actings were according, the moſt unmercifull [illegible] his fleſh

of any living, and its true, that not time, but action ſhould be the Metwand of all mens lives, *non annos meos, ſed victorias numero*, not how long I have lived, but how: yet God doth uſually allow his deareſt ſervants time to do their work in; *Moſes* 120. years of age, *Deut.* 34.7. *David* an old man before he dies, 1 *Chron.* 29.28. *Paul* aged, *Phil.* 9. notwithſtanding all his labours and activity, but the Doctor had a ſhorter period put unto his dayes: all mens is ſet, *Job* 7. 1. His was ſhort, it was no diſparagement to good *Joſiah* to die about the Doctors age, 2 *Chron.* 34. 1. Our glorious King *Edward* that ſcarce out-lived his minority, out-ſtripped notwithſtanding all his longeſt living Predeceſſors in doing good, God that had ſet his time haſtned his ſervice, and ſo he did the Doctors; His preaching and ſtudying labours were exceeding great, but that which ſpent and wore him, was his care and troubles for the Churches ſafety & proſperity; often he would inculcate that, 2 *Cor.* 11.28. *That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches.*

His laſt ſickneſſe.

When his body therefore began to be ſick and languiſh, he was content a little to abate and take off, and thought a country houſe in ſome good aire might help, as formerly it had done, and accordingly took one at *Linton*, near the hils about ſix miles off, which he furniſhed and purpoſed to be in all the week, and come on Saturdays to preach upon the Lords days, and had this courſe been taken time enough much might have been; but now he feared, ſollicitude would but be changed into ſolitude, the aire of ſuitable converſe he doubted would be wanting there, and being alone he ſaw would too much gratifie his melancholy; the Spring therefore approaching, he was willing to conſult with ſome Phyſicians, and *London* being far off, he ſent to *Bury* for Dr. *Deſpotine*, his preſent malady was want of reſt, which now Tobacco would not help him to, as formerly it had done; and therefore he propoſed letting blood; the Doctor plainly told him that might perhaps allay his heats, and purchaſe ſleep, but if he were within the verge of a Conſumption, it would be fatal to him, he was inticed notwithſtanding with the deceitful hopes of preſent eaſe, and ſo was let blood, but never lived to repair that loſſe, for ſinking more and more he went to *London*, and took advice of thoſe were beſt acquainted with his ſtate of health, by their advice he retired a little unto *Newington*, unto a loving friend of his that lived there, and then to *Hartfordſhire* unto a thinner and more penetrating aire; The malady they all agreed was in his lungs, which were not ulcerated neither, but obſtructed and oppreſt with ſtiffe and clammy matter, that he could not void, and perſpiration was that he wanted, and they ſuppoſed a penetrating aire might do the cure, but that was found too ſearching and corroſive for the other parts, which were pervious enough and penetrable, he therefore thought upon *Northamptonſhire*, his native Countrey, which would in reaſon be moſt propitious unto him, however he would leave his breath where firſt he found it, and thankfully return what had been ſerviceable now a long time to him: He had at *Preſton* foure miles from *Heyford* a very dear and boſome friend, that was ambitious of entertaining good men, old Maſter *Dod*,

Dod was but a mile off, and being ſeriouſly invited thither, he pitcht upon it, where he enjoyed with great contentment, what aire, converſe of friends, and loving entertainment could afford, and at the firſt was much refreſhed by it, but nature being ſpent, and no foundation being left to work upon, all his refreſhing quickly flagged; he had before made uſe of Dr. *Aſhworth*, and he was one of much experience and knew his body well, therefore he thinks of riding over unto *Oxford* to him, which he did, and there continued about twelve days, and conſulted with ſuch as were there of any note; Men die and periſh when their time is come, as well *errore medici*, as *vi morbi*; Doctor *Aſhworth* was perſwaded that the Scorbute was his diſeaſe, and that the *London*-Doctors had all miſtook their mark, and therefore pitcheth upon applications ſuitable, a great errour for ſo experienced and grave a Doctor: deſire of reſtitution into a ſtate of health, made ſhift to flatter him into beliefe it was ſo; the old man upon this perſwaſion, comes over unto *Preſton* with him, ſtrains and ſteeps ſcurvy-graſſe, and gives him *D*renches able to have weakned a ſtronger man then he was now, and having ſtayed and tampered with him about three weeks, and finding nothing anſwer expectation, he takes his laſt leave of him, giving ſuch order and direction as he thought good, and ſo leaves him, and returns to *Oxford*, *July* 9. 1628.

When this dream and fancy of the Scorbute failed, and Dr. *Aſhworth* was gone, he reſigned up himſelf to God alone, and let all care of Phyſick and the *D*octors go, he had a ſervant who had been laborious with him, and whom he often uſed as a friend; he would ſay, *ſervi ſunt humiles amici* was very true of him, to him he therefore now unboſomed himſelf, not only touching the vanity and emptineſſe of all things here below, but his own belief and expectation of a ſudden change, not of my company (ſaid he,) for I ſhall ſtill converſe with God and Saints, but of my place and way of doing it; His Will was made (as we have ſaid) ſome years before, but he was doubtful if it come to proving, it might be baffled and affronted, and therefore purpoſed to wave it, and make a deed of gift to him that was in that Will his Executor, with ſuch reſtrictions and limitations as he thought good, all which he ſet down with his own hand, wherin he carefully provided for his mother during life, and both his brothers; His books and all the furniture & goods belonging to and in his lodgings at *Emanuel*-Colledge he gave one of his Pupils that was Fellow there, whom he always greatly favoured, ſome exhibitions he gave ſchollers there to be diſpoſed of from time to time, by him that was Executor; and as he truly valued, ſo he liberally rewarded his ſervants faithfulneſſe, who liveth yet in very good condition and reputation, of whom is verified what is ſaid, *Prov.* 27. 18. *Who ſo keepeth the fig-tree ſhall eat the fruit thereof, ſo he that waiteth on his Maſter, ſhall ſurely come to honour*; and having thus diſcumbred himſelf of worldly cares, he took care for the places he now poſſeſſed, prayed for the Colledge, that it might continue a flouriſhing nurſery of Religion and Learning, told thoſe about him as *David* before his death, 1 *Chron.* 29. 2, 3, &c. what he had done to-

towards that goodly building since erected, and what care he had taken to get those Rectories in the Kings letter mentioned, whereof we spake before, prayed God to furnish *Lincolns*-Inne from time to time with able preaching Ministers, and so the Lecture at *Cambridge*, that had cost so much trouble in the procuring; Then for his Sermons, that they might not come into the world like Vagabonds; but seeing the father lived not to see them setled and provided for, those would be careful whom then he named, and is long since intimated upon occasion; in all which great things God hath so answered him, as I think no man was since *Elisha*, 2 Kings 2. 9, 10.

The night before he died, being Saturday, he went to bed, and lay about three houres desirous for to sleep, but slept not, then said, *My dissolution is at hand, let me go to my home, and Jesus Christ who hath bought me with his precious blood*; and so lay still as in a slumber till about two of the clock in the morning; then drinking and resting on his servants armes, he fell into a cold and clammy sweat, which he told them was the Messenger of death, and so continued for about two houres very silent; about foure of the clock he said, I feel death coming to my heart, my pain shall now be quickly turned into joy, and so his friends were called that were present in the house, who spake unto him, but had no answer from him as they were use to have; They kneeled all down, and a Reverend Divine there present prayed; when Prayer was ended, he looked on them, and turning away his head gave up the ghost, it was about five a clock on the Lords day, but to him an everlasting Sabbath; he never (by his good will) rested that day since God was truly known unto him untill now; God gave him therefore now an everlasting rest; No man deserved better Funeral solemnities; but Master *Dod* was much against it, and his friends at *Cambridge*, who did highly honour him, and desired nothing more then to have waited on his dust unto its long home, were now obliged to attend the Election of another Master, that they durst not so much as make it known, or do any thing from which it might be gathered; so he was buried decently, but without state, in *Fawsley* Church in the County of *Northampton*; old Master *Dod*, the Minister of that place preached, and a world of godly people came together, *July* 20. 1628. being within a little of one and fourty years of age.

This Life was written by my Revrrend friend, Master Thomas Ball *of* Northampton.

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